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# **The Influence Of Christianity On The Vocabulary Of Old English Poetry**

BY  
**ALBERT KEISER**

**PART I**

**UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
1919**

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## PREFACE

In undertaking to present the influence of Christianity on the vocabulary of Old English poetry, we have attempted for Old English what Rau-mer and Kahle have done for Old High German and Old Norse. A similar investigation, but including the prose, was begun by MacGillivray, who published the '1st Half of Part I' in 1902. No continuation has ever appeared, and in a letter of December 2, 1916, the author states that certain circumstances had led to "the complete shipwreck of my hopes for the completion of my book." His consent to take up the work was obtained.

After a careful survey of the field it did not seem advisable to continue the investigation according to the plan of MacGillivray, whose four chapters, corresponding to our first three, take up 171 pages. It was limited to the poetry as the more promising and profitable field. Neither could it be our intention to go to such lengths as our predecessor had done, for the generally favorable reviews of his work point out the diffuseness from which it suffers. We note E. Björkman's remark *Litbl.* XXV, p. 235: "Nicht gerade nachahmenswert finde ich die ermüdende Weitschweifigkeit, womit allbekannte Dinger bis ins kleinste Detail auseinandergesetzt werden. Wenn man alles in der Wissenschaft so weit ausführte, wäre es doch zu schlimm!", as also in A. Pogatscher's appreciative review, *E. St.* XXXII, p. 390: "Die arbeit leidet unter einer geradezu ermüdenden breite und weitschweifigkeit."

From our complete collections we have given in many instances, especially in the case of rare words, all occurrences noted. Otherwise the examples were carefully selected with a view of illustrating characteristic features. Occasionally unimportant terms could be omitted without loss. For the sake of completeness, the more important kennings have also been included; however, in view of their large number and the special studies devoted to them, sometimes only selections have been given. But our lists, excepting the names of the Deity, are more extensive than those of other scholars. Where the Old English poems have a Latin source, in many cases the Latin equivalents, especially from the *Psalms* and *Doomsday*, were added. The quotations from the *Hymnus De Die Judicii* refer to Loehe's edition, while for *Juliana* and *Elene* Strunk and Kent have been used. Grein-Wuelker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie* forms the basis of our textual study, though in many cases editions of single poems have also been consulted. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of

Old English poetry are from the *Bibliothek*, the arabic numbers referring to lines, except in the case of the *Psalms*, where the verse is given. However, references to *Ps. L. (Cottoniana)* are to lines.

As to the most satisfactory arrangement of the material, there may be a difference of opinion. We have been guided by similar efforts in the related languages, and though the plan is not without defects, no radical departure seemed advisable, as the loss would have been greater than the gain. For the sake of comparison the plan also recommended itself, which since Raumer has been adopted by Kahle in his two investigations, by MacGillivray, and for the Romance loan words of Chaucer by Remus.

In the prosecution of the work, especially for checking up, Grein's *Sprachschatz*, in spite of its numerous omissions and mistakes, has been of great value. *Bosworth-Toller* and *Clark Hall*, the latter also for poetic terms, have been very helpful. In regard to etymologies the *New English Dictionary* has been chiefly drawn upon for a conservative statement of facts, as it could not be our purpose to advance questionable theories for the solution of difficulties.

As the great world war affected communications with Germany, and our own entrance prevented intercourse altogether, no literature pertaining to our subject that may have appeared in that country since 1915 could be consulted.

In closing, the author takes this opportunity to express his appreciation of the help he has received from others. Profs. H. S. V. Jones, H. L. Creek, and J. Zeitlin have offered some helpful suggestions, Prof. Zeitlin also reading the galley proof. From its inception to its completion the work was under the supervision of Prof. D. K. Dodge, who was also kind enough to look over the proof sheets.

ALBERT KEISER.

*Beloit, Wis., July 22, 1919.*

## INTRODUCTION

Great spiritual movements as the embodiment of new ideas and conceptions are bound to influence the language or languages which serve as the medium of their expression. Thus Christianity in its attempt to reveal ultimate truth in the speech of man has fashioned to a considerable extent the instrument for conveying its meaning. Either old material is utilized and takes on a new meaning, or a new word is created or adopted with the new idea.

The religion of Christ first finds adequate expression in the highly developed and flexible Greek, a language capable in a remarkable degree of conveying all the finer shades of meaning and therefore admirably suited to serve as the means of propagating a spiritual religion. A fitting vehicle for the Jewish-Christian doctrines is provided in the New Testament *κοινή*, while later the Alexandrian School with the help of philosophy creates a distinctly Christian terminology. Simultaneously Christian ideas seek expression in the less flexible Latin, which, especially in the hands of Tertullian, is molded and enriched by ecclesiastical terms. In both cases a highly developed language with a wealth of expressions and a literature of centuries becomes the garb in which the new conceptions appear.

In a certain sense the same story repeats itself as nation after nation embraces the new faith, though the mental and spiritual plane of converted tribes not seldom necessitates the taking over of many new terms, where the language does not even possess words of an analogous character. Missionaries to the American Indians and to some Polynesian tribes can testify as to the poverty of suitable native terms for the new spiritual ideas. To a great extent the medium of expression has to be created.

Among the Germanic tribes the Goths fall first under the sway of the Gospel, and the remnants of Ulfilas' translation of the Bible bear testimony as to how the great bishop sought to express the new ideas. The native material is utilized to a very large extent, surprisingly few foreign words being adopted.<sup>1</sup> Old terms take on a new significance, and new forms are created where the language is deficient.

However, when we consider the influence of Christianity on the vocabulary of the Germanic languages, we are confronted with a difficulty. Greek and Latin can boast of literatures antedating the Christian era by centuries, and we know in each case the exact meaning and connotation

<sup>1</sup> Compare Weinhold, *Die Gotische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums*.

which a word had in heathen times. Hence the transformation in meaning, or the acquisition of a new connotation, can generally be observed. Less fortunate is the situation in regard to the Germanic dialects, where, with the partial exception of Old Norse, the negligible remains from heathen times preclude such observation and detailed proof in all but rare instances. In Old English and the related languages the poetical remnants of the early Christian period do not fairly represent the actual literature, since the works preserved 'have escaped total destruction only by a series of lucky chances.' If we had only the more important pieces of the doubtless flourishing Christian literature, the influence of Christianity would appear to be much greater than it is possible to trace under the existing conditions. The large number of comparatively rare poetical terms in Old English, however, cannot be adduced as strong corroborative evidence, since many of them may be due to the invention of an individual.<sup>3</sup>

In their continental home the tribes which later settled in Britain were not entirely ignorant of Christianity. The contact of the Goths with Christian culture and their christianization seem to have passed on a few conceptions and terms to other Germanic tribes, where they gain a firm hold. We may point to Old English *cirice*, *engel*, *dæofol*, and possibly also to *biscop*, as representatives of this class. In the case of *cirice* the term becomes so firmly rooted that the Latin *ecclesia* is unable to supplant it. Contact with other tribes more influenced by Christianity, communication with Gaul, as also the raids on the "Saxon shore" of Britain, in which the wealth and ornaments of churches and monasteries formed part of the spoil, would further add to the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of Christianity. The few acquired terms are carried along to the new island home.

From all appearances the old heathen religion still had a strong hold on the new-comers. They clung firmly to the traditions of their Teutonic paganism, and the Christian Britons made no impression on the religious conceptions of their conquerors. In the words of Bright,<sup>3</sup> "it might even seem that their very successes had hardened them in antipathy to the religion of the Cross." Not even an attempt to evangelize the detested barbarians seems to have been made by the Britons.<sup>4</sup> Later, when St. Augustine's visit furnished an opportunity to co-operate in the christianization, they also stood aloof. Too little is known about the condition of the Britons at the time of the Saxon conquest to warrant any safe conclusion as to whether Vulgar Latin was spoken to any great extent in the conquered island. Extreme positions have been maintained by different scholars. After a review of the literature on the subject, we may accept as a con-

<sup>3</sup> See the list of poetical words on p. 132 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Chapters on Early English Church History*, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book I, ch. 22: *Addebant . . . ut numquam genti Saxonum . . . verbum fidei prædicando committerent.*

servative statement Remus' summary.<sup>5</sup> "Während in anderen römischen Provinzen, z.B. Gallien, für die Gesamtbevölkerung die *lingua rustica* Lebensbedingung war und daher allgemein gebräuchlich wurde, erhielt sie sich auf der pazifzierten Insel nur in den grösseren oder kleineren Kulturzentren und vielleicht auch längs der das Land durchquerenden Heerstrassen sowie im ganzen Süden und Westen des Mittellandes." Whatever the facts in the case may be, nobody has been able to show any appreciable influence of Celtic on the Old English Christian vocabulary during the period that preceded the coming of the Roman missionaries.<sup>6</sup> The Christian Britons refused to give the blessings of the Gospel to barbarous idolaters at whose hands they had cruelly suffered, while the heathen victors scorned to stoop to the god or gods who had been unable to protect their devotees against the strong hand of Wodan and his votaries. The result is that practically no addition is made to the Christian vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxons, though one cannot help believing that the inevitable contact with some external features of Christianity served to keep alive certain ideas and terms.<sup>7</sup>

It seems that about the time of the arrival of the Roman missionaries the polytheistic religion had begun to lose its hold upon the thinking men of at least some of the tribes. The circumstances surrounding the conversion of Northumbria suggest that the old religion no longer satisfied their needs, a fact plainly apparent from the speeches of Coifi and one of the chief councilors. The rapidity with which Christianity was adopted would point in the same direction.<sup>8</sup> Contact with Christian ideas had begun to undermine the old paganism and to hasten the process of degeneration.

Before turning our attention to the Latin influence, we may briefly survey the coming of Aidan and his missionaries to Northumbria, with its opening up of a wide field for speculation as to the influence upon the language. After an examination of the facts it will hardly cause surprise when the Celtic influence is found to be negligible.<sup>9</sup> With a proper appreciation of the noble and fruitful work accomplished by the Celtic missionaries, we cannot help agreeing with Bright:<sup>10</sup> "His (Aidan's) relation to English Christianity on a whole has indeed been somewhat seriously overrated, whether on account of his rare merits or from the controversial instinct of underrating our religious obligations to Italy." The inefficient

<sup>5</sup> *Die kirchlichen und speziell-wissenschaftlichen Romanischen Lehnworte Chaucers*, p. 6. Literature on pp. 4-6.

<sup>6</sup> On the Celtic influence in general see Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 928 f.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Pogatscher, pp. 11-12. He also points to communications with Gaul.

<sup>8</sup> Hunt, *The English Church*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 930, remarks: "Dass teilweise irische Missionare das Evangelium verkündeten, lässt sich an Lehnmaterialien nicht zur Gewissheit erheben."

<sup>10</sup> *Early English Church History*, p. 160.

organization coupled with the craving for meditation in secluded cloisters, from which the monks emerged at intervals to perform the sacred rites of religion before the masses, was not favorable to a pronounced influence upon a foreign tongue. The steady recruiting from Iona made the mastery of the vernacular at best uncertain, necessitating the constant employment of interpreters. We would not deny the probability of some influence on Old English, but whatever it was, it has left scarcely any trace. *Dry*, m., magician, exemplified by *syððan him geblendan bitere tosomne / dryas þurh dwolcraeft dryne unheorne*, And. 34, and *sæge* (Simon regarding Christ's chosen thegns) *hy dryas wæron*, Jul. 301, may be due to Old Irish *druí*, but this cannot be claimed for other words.<sup>11</sup> In some respects the case is analogous to that of the English missionaries in Germany, of which Raumer says, p. 279: "Ohne Zweifel hat die Angelsächsische Muttersprache des Bonifacius und seiner Genossen auch auf ihre Hochdeutsche Predigt Einfluss geübt. Dieser Einfluss ist jedoch meist so versteckt, dass er sich mit Bestimmtheit weder behaupten noch läugnen lässt," and on the same page: "In ihren Predigten sind sie sicherlich oft genug ins Angelsächsische verfallen. Allein die Hochdeutsche Sprache hat diese Angelsächsischen Elemente in ihre Wortmasse entweder gar nicht aufgenommen oder, wo sie es in einzelnen Fällen tat, sich dieselben völlig assimiliert." In our case we must remember that the two dialects are not closely related at all. At all events, after thirty short years the Celtic influence was struck its deathblow by the Roman triumph at the synod of Whitby, 664, and though it lingered for some time after Colman's departure, it may safely be dismissed from further consideration.

The official attitude of the Roman Church toward heathen worship was tolerant in a remarkable degree. Gregory deliberately adopted it on principle,<sup>12</sup> which some may be inclined to judge more charitably than does J. Earle, who also remarks about the purpose behind the writing of Gregory's dialogues:<sup>13</sup> "It (the book) reflects the policy of converting the barbarians by condescending to their tastes, and belongs to the same system as that increase of pomp and ceremony which was due to the same motive." It was a deliberate attempt to make Christianity attractive to

<sup>11</sup> Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 929, says: "An keltischen Lehnworten zeigt das Angelsächsische einige religiöse wie *dry*, 'Zauberer' = altir. *druí*, *sacerd* = air. *sacerd* . . . auch das *t* von ae. *Crist* deutet im Zusammenhange mit der eben vorgeführten kirchlichen Terminologie auf air. *Crist*," and further: "In einigen Fällen mag—bei etymologischer Klarheit—Zweifel bestehen über die eigentliche Quelle von englischen Worten . . . ae. *almesse*, obl. *almessan* dürfte sich näher an altir. *almsan* anschliessen als an die kontinentaldeutschen Entlehnungen aus rom. *almosna* = lat. *elemosyne*; vielleicht auch ae. *munuc* näher an altir. *monach* als an ahd. *munih*." But the form of these words may just as well be explained otherwise. Compare Pogatscher, 16, 17, 37, 38.

<sup>12</sup> Compare chapter IV, 75.

<sup>13</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, London, 1884, p. 17.

the new converts, a policy fraught with danger. According to Hunt,<sup>14</sup> "it seems probable that the heathenish and superstitious practices against which the Church had to struggle so long in this as in other Teutonic lands, would have died out more rapidly if the missionaries had from the first insisted that their converts should forsake everything connected with their former paganism," and p. 93: "Many nominal Christians must have looked upon the religion of Christ rather as an addition to the old beliefs of their race than as wholly incompatible with them."

But scant remains of the heathen beliefs and the heathen terms have come down to us. Bede, for instance, shows a certain reluctance to discuss the subject of Anglo-Saxon heathenism, though he was probably in a position to reveal much more than he actually does. In the poetry only a few of the heathen terms, which would be utilized by the new religion, have come to our notice. A few of these may be taken up here. In the case of *æstor* the heathen connotation must have been gradually lost, supplanted by an exclusively Christian one. *Ealh*, a word denoting a holy place, a temple, keeps the heathen meaning in the compound *ealh-stedas*, while the simple term is twice applied to Solomon's temple. *Hearg*, mf., ON. *høgr*, OHG. *harug*, is found a number of times, *swylce se halga herigeas* (shrines) *preade*, And. 1687, *onhnigon to þam herige hæðne þeode*, Dan. 181, *hergas breotap*, / *fyllað and feogað*, Cr. 485-6, *cwæð, þæt his hergas* (idols) *hyrran wæron / and mihtigran mannum to friðe*, / *þonne Israela ece drihten*, Dan. 715-17, *hæðene herigweardas* (priests), And. 1124. *Lāc* is used to designate Old Testament and Christian sacrifices, in the latter case referring to the mass, though originally the term would seem to have had an exclusively heathen significance. So also *with* with its compounds. *Hūs* never refers to heathen sacrifices, but it is probable that this old Teutonic stem was not without a definite heathen connotation at an earlier time. In the case of *wyrd* we observe that the mythological force has been lost almost completely. The word takes a twofold development under Christian influence, being used in the sense of God and predestination and in that of the fallen angel or devil. Other terms, such as *heofon* and *hel*, receive a fuller and deeper significance.

When Latin Christianity with its splendid organization and its emphasis upon external representation became dominant, the influence exerted upon the language was tremendous. As far as our subject, the Old English poetry, is concerned, it will be mirrored in the large number of words directly borrowed, translated, or closely imitated. A careful count of all religious terms reveals that the Latin-loan words comprise almost five per cent.<sup>15</sup> Here of course the several hundred Biblical proper names, which have entered Old English through Latin, are not included. The importance

<sup>14</sup> *The English Church*, p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> See list of Loan Words and Hybrids on p. 138 f.

of the Latin loan words, however, is greater than the numbers indicate. Partly at least the adopted words are terms for the more striking external features of Christianity, though those for spiritual conceptions are not lacking. Naturally in some cases certain manifestations of Christianity were so foreign to the heathen mind that no appropriate native terms could be utilized.

However, in the great majority of cases native material has been used, though not seldom the Latin term is either translated or closely imitated. *Hālig gāst*, *hellewīte*, *ānboren*, *āncenned*, *eſenēce*, *eſenweſende*, *ānnes*, *brȳnes*, *bēc*, *gewritu*, *āfenlāc*, and others belong here. In such terms the triumph of Christianity over the old beliefs is clearly mirrored. The original meaning of ethical designations could be modified and the expressions serve in a new capacity. Here belong a number of words referring to virtue, such as *milde*, which at first probably meant liberal in a secular sense, while later it assumed also a distinctly religious connotation. In this case, as also in that of *lufu*, a new religious meaning is added to the old secular one, which is kept. The native terms for sin and sinful states are extremely numerous, which would of course, as Abbetmeyer has pointed out,<sup>16</sup> indicate a deep sense of man's moral perversity; we note that these expressions are almost without exception native, and this seems to give support to the assumption that the ethical ideas of the heathen Anglo-Saxon tribes were not on such a low plane as some would have us believe. Though the 'Teutonic mind had of course no conception of innate moral weakness,'<sup>17</sup> a point of departure for the expression of the loftier conceptions of Christianity must have existed. This must be firmly maintained against the opinions of those who hold the heathen Anglo-Saxons destitute of every 'virtue' except courage.<sup>18</sup>

The new religion was taken into the life of the people, and in many respects adapted to their mode of thinking. As Ferrell<sup>19</sup> well remarks: "God, angels and devils become Teutonic heroes with all the virtues and vices of the same, and Heaven and hell show well-marked traces of the Anglo-Saxon way of thinking before the introduction of Christianity. As the poets draw the Christian religion as well as all that belongs to it within the horizon that bounds their own life, it becomes to them and their hearers a real religion—a Germanic religion—to which they can devote themselves body and soul, inasmuch as they can feel that it is thoroughly their own." In spite of the fact that Teutonic influence is not seldom invoked where other factors must be taken into account, this molding of the Christian ideas plays a large part. To cite a few instances. As cruci-

<sup>16</sup> *Poetical Motives*, p. 36.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Compare chapter on Sin, 329 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 8.



fixion is unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, *galga* not seldom serves as a designation for the cross. Christ is the people's king, viewed as the guardian of his adherents and the dispenser of bountiful gifts, an idea very dear to the minds of the men. The wholly new thought of a strong and powerful Redeemer made a very strong appeal to the Germanic imagination. In some of the poems, notably *Christ*, his eminence is all-overshadowing, while the Godhead and God the Father play a minor rôle. In poems dealing with Old Testament history and even in the *Psalms* Christ is introduced almost as a matter of course. After an examination of all the poetry one cannot get rid of the feeling that terms applied to the Godhead may often more specifically refer to Christ. Not seldom he appears where one would not expect his presence. We note two passages in the paraphrasing of the Lord's Prayer, which may indicate the difficulty of distinguishing between the persons of the Trinity if clear statements as in this case do not occur. In elaborating *Qui es in celis*, the poet tells L. Prayer III, 12, that the angels *clypiað to Criste*, while L. Prayer II, 1-5 runs, *Pater noster, qui es in celis. / Fæder manncynnes, frofres ic þe bidde, / halig drihten, þu ðe on heofonum eart; / Sanctificetur nomen tuum, / Ðæt sy gehalgod, hygecræftum fæst, / þin nama nu ða, neriende Crist, / in urum ferhðlocan fæste gestaðelod*. At times the Son is even identified with the Father and the Holy Ghost or is called Son and Father at the same time. These and other daring statements must not be interpreted as heresy, as they are nothing more than expressions of the emphasis or overemphasis placed upon Christ. And to call, for instance, Melchisedec a bishop and the three youths in the fiery furnace masspriests, is simply due to unhistorical thinking and to local color. So the appearance of the apostles, martyrs, etc., as retainers of the heavenly king, is nothing more than an uncritical application of the Anglo-Saxon political system to other nations and conditions. The idea of the Christian as servant, *þeow*, was less sympathetic, though it occurs. As to the former idea, the spiritual warfare described in the Bible, the Latin designation of the faithful as *miles Christi*, and similar terms, would furnish the poet a welcome suggestion for further elaboration and invention.

The great number of kennings for religious conceptions would seem to call for a brief discussion. That metrical necessities and alliteration account for many, is without doubt. In Bode's words,<sup>20</sup> "Kenningar . . . dienen namentlich zum Flicken, zum Weiterkommen." Rankin well illustrates this in regard to the variations from the Latin pattern, giving terms which actually occur.<sup>21</sup> "For such variation, the chief causes lay in the demands of alliteration and metre in Anglo-Saxon verse. For example, instead of *dryhten* in the common phrase *weoroda dryhten* (dominus exer-

<sup>20</sup> *Kenningar*, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Kenningar*, VIII, p. 396 f.

cituum) an author might need a word beginning with *sc* and so substitute *scyppend*, making a new phrase *weoroda scyppend*, or he might need a word beginning with *w* and substitute *wealdend* or *wuldorcyning*, producing the new phrases *weoroda wealdend* or *weoroda wuldorcyning*; or instead of *dryhten* in the phrase *engla dryhten* (*dominus angelorum*) he might need a word beginning with *b* and substitute *brego*, or a word beginning with *w* and substitute *weard* if he desired one syllable or *wealdend* if he desired two; or, instead of *cyning* in the phrase *wuldres cyning* (*rex gloriae*) he might need a word beginning with a vowel and substitute *agend*; or, instead of *dryhten* in the phrase *ece dryhten*, he might need a word with *w* and substitute *wealdend*."

This general method is of course just as applicable where the poet had no Latin pattern before him. The kennings employed are not felt by the poet in their original meaning, being applied in a purely conventional fashion. Often they are not only not appropriate, but decidedly out of place. So *se eadega wer* serves Gen. 1562 as a designation for the intoxicated Noah, 2232 for Abraham who has intercourse with Hagar; regarding the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah it is said, 1924-6, *oð þæt nergend god / for wera synnum wylme gesealde / Sodomian and Gemorran, sweartan lige*, and Sat. 85-6 the words are put into the mouth of Satan, *ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman, / bearn helendes*. In Elene 846 the author thoughtlessly speaks of *sigebeamas. III.*, the crosses of the two thieves being included, etc.

As to the origin of the kennings there may be a difference of opinion. Rankin thinks that "for the great majority of terms for religious conceptions . . . there can be no doubt as to Latin origins."<sup>23</sup> Undoubtedly Latin exerted a powerful influence in shaping the religious vocabulary of Old English poetry, as the terms from the *Psalms* and from poems patterned after the Latin show, though the poets do not follow the original slavishly. But Rankin goes too far in his emphasis upon the Latin influence by ascribing such kennings as *cyning*, *dryhten*, *helm*, *weard*, *hyrde*, and a host of others to Latin, and by suspecting a Latin source for almost any kenning that occurs, though he might be unable to find the Latin equivalent. Such an assumption denies on insufficient grounds initiative and imagination to the Anglo-Saxon poets. We heartily subscribe to his less daring statements, "that such a classification of kennings as borrowed, native, and common Germanic, is necessarily simply tentative and a matter of probabilities,"<sup>23</sup> that "a Latin equivalent does not in every instance necessarily mean a direct Latin source,"<sup>24</sup> and that he does not maintain "that in every case where an exact equivalent does occur the Anglo-Saxon kenning is necessarily derived from the Latin and could not possibly have

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 358.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, as above.

had an independent origin."<sup>28</sup> However, in his detailed discussion he often becomes dogmatic, seemingly forgetting the principles he himself has laid down. Though it would be folly to underestimate the tremendous Latin influence, Bode<sup>29</sup> not inappropriately speaks about "den geringen unanzweifelbaren Ergebnissen, die die Litteraturgeschichte von derartigen Vergleichen bisher gehabt hat, wiewohl doch so viele Litteraturhistoriker von einem krankhaften Eifer befallen sind, mit Hülfe der beliebten, aber unsicheren Methode, aus Ähnlichkeiten auf Einwirkungen zu schliessen, überall neue Entdeckungen zu machen."

But whether borrowed or native, whether molded or newly formed, the extremely large number of religious terms in the poetry shows conclusively the great part the new religion played in the life of the Anglo-Saxons. Christianity with its solution of the problems connected with life and the hereafter had once more won over virile Teutonic tribes. And a people that could glory in the learning of Bede and Alcuin, did not lack poets to set forth the anxieties, the aspirations, and the hopes imparted by the new religion. In the remains of that poetry we find mirrored the consciousness of sin and guilt, the firm trust in the powerful Redeemer, the world-weariness and melancholy yearning for a future life with its pleasures and blessings—in short, all the important features and ideas connected with Christianity. How these conceptions found expression in the poetry, and to what extent the terms were employed, the following pages will show.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367.

<sup>29</sup> *Kenningar*, p. 22 f.

## CHAPTER I

## DIVISION OF THE HUMAN RACE

## I. THE NON-CHRISTIANS

1. To the non-Christians belong, together with heathen nations, also the Jews. The most common designation of them is *Judēas*, the plural being in accordance with the OE. use of folknames, while the singular is not found. The term goes back to the stem of Latin *Judaeus*, which originally was applied to a Hebrew of the kingdom of Judah, but later assumed a wider meaning.<sup>1</sup> Examples of the OE. term are comparatively frequent, the use being illustrated by such passages as *þone Judeas ongietan ne mehtan*, Cr. 637, *Judea cynn*, And. 560, *mid Judeum geomor wurde*, 1408, *geond Judeas*, El. 278, which latter poem mentions them a number of times. The term *Israēl*, *Israhēl*, m., is also applied to them, for instance Ex. 198, 265, etc. Among other terms and designations encountered may be noted such as *weras Ebrēa*, El. 287, *mid Ebrēum*, Wids. 83, *weras Ebrēsce*, El. 559, *we Ebrēisce æ leornedon*, 397, as also *on Ebrisc spræc*, 724.

2. As to Jewish sects, they are not mentioned in the poetry, though we have in the passage *þær bisceopas and boceras / and ealdormenn æht besæton / mæðelhagende*, And. 607-9, a reference to the scribes in *bōceras*, a word of somewhat wide meaning, as illustrated by *Ða hæfde Daniel dom micelne, / blæd in Babilonia mid bocerum*, Dan. 164, *Sume boceras / weorþað wisfaste*, Fates 71, while Durham 14 we hear of *ðe breoma bocera Beda*. In the passage quoted from *Andreas*, the priests or highpriests and the elders are referred to in *bisceopas* and *ealdormenn*. *Ūðwita*, scribe, learned in the Law, we find El. 473, *þonne uðweotan æht bisæton*. *Ælærend*, El. 506, seems to be a general term.

3. In Christian Latin the non-Christians were designated by the terms *gentes*, *gentiles*, *pagani*, and *ethnici*.<sup>2</sup> The last word was taken over by the Vulgate from Greek *ἔθνη* (e.g. Matt. 6, 7), while *gentes* renders *τὰ ἔθνη*. The word *pagani* does not appear in the Vulgate, being used in a specific Christian sense first in the 4th century, the original meaning of *paganus*, villager, rustic, having shaded into that of pagan, heathen, as Christianity became the religion of the towns while in the rural districts the ancient deities were still worshipped.

<sup>1</sup> NED.

<sup>2</sup> Raumer, p. 285 f. For this chapter compare Raumer, p. 285 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 321 ff., II, 97-9.

4. In OE. poetry the term heathen is generally rendered by *hæðen*, m., the form in OHG. being *heidan*, and in ON. *heiðinn*. In all the Germanic languages this word is used in the sense of non-Christian, pagan, and it is assumed that the term was first thus employed by the Goths and thence passed to the other Germanic tribes. This view is supported by the occurrence of the fem. form *haiþnō*, Mark 7, 26, in Ulfilas' translation. The term is generally supposed to go back to Gothic *haiþi*, heath, the derived word being a loose rendering of the Latin *paganus*, though difficulties both chronological and etymological remain.<sup>3</sup>

5. As in prose, the term *hæðen* is comparatively frequent in OE. poetry, being used both as an adjective and a substantive, as will appear from the examples quoted. The word is variously employed. Thus in contrast to the Christians, as in *hæpenra hyht*, Beow. 179, where the evidently heathen Danes seek help against the terrible Grendel by sacrificing and praying to their idols. The Danes were sometimes designated simply as heathen, illustrated for instance by *feallan sceolon / hæþene æt hilde*, Maldon 55, *hæðene scealcas*, 181, also in *Denum wæron / æror, under Norðmannum nede gebæded / on hæpenum hæfteclammum / lange þrage*, Chr. II, 10, the now Christian Anglo-Saxons feeling the heavy hand of the heathen Norse. The Huns are called heathen in El. 126, *hæðene grungon, / feollon friðelease*, which is the regular designation of the Mermedonians in *Andreas*, as 1124, 1144, etc., etc. Maximianus is called *hæþen hildfruma*, Jul. 7; *hæðne wæron begen, / synnum seoce*, 64, is said of Helisius and Juliana's father, the former also being thus designated 533, etc. The contrast between the Christian and the heathen is brought out in passages such as Gn. Ex. 132, *husl* (is fitting) *halgum men, hæþnum synne*, also Sat. 268, where Satan takes charge of the unregenerated, *ah ic be hondum mot hæþenne scealc / griþan to grunde, godes andsacan*, as also Cr. 705, *þa seo circe her / æfyllendra eahtnysse bad / under hæþenra kyrda gewealdum*, pertaining to the persecution of the Christian Church.

6. Sometimes the author takes the Jewish point of view and styles the opponents of the chosen people heathen. Thus in passages of *Judith*, as 98, 179, referring to Holofernes, to whom the epithet *þone hæðenan hund* is applied 110. The Israelites have to endure *hæðenra hosp* (of the Assyrians) in 216. The term is further applied to Nebuchadnezzar Dan. 203, 434, 540, etc., to the Babylonians 307, 330, etc., *hæðne þeode* 181, while the term *hæðne leode* is used for them Az. 162. In Gen. 2416 we have *hæðnum folce*, and 2483 *hæðne heremæcgas* applied to the people of Sodom. However, the use of the term depends very much upon the circumstances and the particular viewpoint of the author, for in El. 1075 reference is made to the Jews, *on þa ahangen was hæðenum folmum / gasta geocend*, as also Sat.

<sup>3</sup> See article *heathen* in *NED*. Compare also MacG., p. 14.

540, *þec gelegdon on laðne bend / hæpene mid hondum*, who are thus branded as heathen.

7. *Hæðen* may be applied in various ways, serving to designate the hoarded gold in *Beow.* 2216, *gefeng / hæðnum horde*, and 2276, *þær he hæðen gold / warað wintrum frod*, and also referring to Grendel in 986, *hæpenes handspora*, and 852, *in fenfreoðo feorh alegde, / hæðene sawle*. In *Jul.* 536 even the devil is called by that name, (*Heo þæt deofol teah*) *halig hæpenne*, an appellation not as strange as it may seem when we compare such a passage as *Jud.* 61, *Gewat ða se deofulcunda* (Holofernes), *Dan.* 750, *ge deofu*, (Babylonians), *And.* 43, *sippan deofles þegnas / geascodon æðelinges sið* (Mermedonians). The line was evidently not always sharply drawn, room being left for metaphorical application.

8. A number of compounds occur, of which *hæðendōm*, the state of being a heathen, properly belongs here. There is only one occurrence of the term in poetry, *Dan.* 221, and here it is contrasted to the worship of Jehovah, the state of belonging to the chosen people. *Hæðencyninga* occurs *Dan.* 54, applied to Nebuchadnezzar and his vassals, while the people of Sodom and Gomorrah are called *hæðencynn* *Gen.* 2546. Words like *hæðengild* and *hæðenweoh* as well as similar terms will be treated in chapter VIII, 325.

9. Another term denoting heathen is the plural of *þeod*, f., people, which we find in the *Psalms*. We note, *geond þeode* (*in gentibus*), *LVI.* 11, *þeoda him ondrædað þinne egesan* (*Turbabuntur gentes*), *LXIV.* 8, *þy læs æfre cweðan oðre þeoda*, *hæðene herigeas* (*Ne forte dicant in gentibus*), *LXXVIII.* 10, *ealle þeode* (*patriae gentium*), *XCV.* 7, *Beoð deofolgyld dysigra þeoda gold and seolfur* (*Simulacra gentium argentum et aurum*), *CXXXIV.* 15.

## II. THE CHRISTIANS

10. The other part of the human race is composed of the Christians, the adherents of Christ. In *Acts* 11, 26 we read that the disciples of Christ were first called *χριστιανοί* in Antioch. This was taken over by Latin as *christiani*. The OE. term is *cristen*, derived from *Crīst*; in OHG. appear *christan*, *christāni*, and *christandō*, while in ON. we find *kristenn*, probably influenced by the OE., or the Middle High German form *kristen*. In the scanty Gothic literature the word does not occur, though we have there the name *Xristus*.

11. While in OE. prose the term is of frequent occurrence,<sup>4</sup> both as an adjective and as a substantive, only nine examples have been encountered

<sup>4</sup> MacG., p. 20.

by me in the poetry. The use of the adjective we find in *Forðon hine on cyrcean cristenes folces / hean ahebbað (in ecclesia plebis)*, Ps. CVI, 31, *cristenum folce*, El. 988, *þæs latteowes larum hyrdon, / cristenum þeawum*, 1210, *cwealde Cristne men*, Jul. 5, *ealle, þa ðe cunnon cristene þeawas*, Dox. 28, *cristene bec*, 37. Of the substantive use only three examples occur, *Cristenra weox / word and wisdom*, And. 1677, *þær hie (the Jews) hit for worulde wendan meahton, / Cristenra gefean*, El. 979, and *Be ðam frignan ongan / Cristenra cwen (Elene)*, 1068.

12. As in prose, terms like *gelēafful*, *sōðfast*, etc., occur as designations of Christians, but these will be treated later. No compound of *cristen* is found in the poetry.

13. From *cristen* is derived the verb *cristnian*, which in prose renders the Latin *catechizare*, signifying primarily the *prima signatio* of the catechumens as distinguished from baptism proper.<sup>5</sup> The term in question occurs only once in the poetry, and there may have the meaning to make a Christian or to baptize, (*water*) *cristnað and clansað cwicra manigo*, Sal. 395.

14. All believers are gathered into the Church, the whole body of the Christians, for which OE. prose and poetry alike use *cirice*, *circe*, *cyrce*, f., a term also applied to the church building, which was probably the original meaning. The word also occurs in other Germanic languages, as *chirihha* and variants in OHG., *kirika*, *kerika*, in OS., the ON. form being *kirkia*, *kýrkja*, very probably going back to OE., all from the common Westgerm. stem *\*kīrika*.

15. It is now generally accepted that the Westgerm. term goes back to the Greek *κυριακόν* or *κυριακά*, (belonging to the Lord), which from the 3rd century at least came to be used as a name for the Christian house of worship, Constantine afterwards calling several churches built by him *κυριακά*. Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) first discussed the question involved,<sup>6</sup> and having given the Greek derivation, asked: *qua occasione ad nos vestigia haec greccitatis advenerint?* He pointed to the Germanic mercenaries in the service of the Roman Empire and particularly referred to the Goths in the Greek provinces. But in the extant Gothic literature we have no word derived from the Greek *κυριακόν* or *κυριακά*, the Gothic rendering of the New Testament *ἐκκλησία* being *atklēsjō*; however, as it does not designate the place of public worship, but the Christian society or assembly, a Gothic representative of Gr. *κυριακόν* or *κυριακά* may be assumed. Other avenues of entrance have been suggested, as for instance the early penetration of

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*; Kluge, *Gotische Lehnworte*, p. 126.

Christianity from the Rhone valley into that of the upper Rhine, but, as the *NED.* points out,<sup>7</sup> "it is by no means necessary that there should have been a single *kirika* in Germany itself; from 313 onward, Christian churches with their sacred vessels and ornaments were well known objects of pillage to the German invaders of the Empire: if the first with which these made acquaintance, wherever situated, were called *κυριακά*, it would be quite sufficient to account for their familiarity with the word. The Angles and Saxons had seen and sacked Roman and British churches in Gaul and Britain for centuries before they had them of their own, and, we have every reason to believe, had known and spoken of them as *cirican* during the whole of that period." For "long before they became Christians, the Germans were naturally acquainted with, and had names for, all the striking phenomena of Christianity, as seen in the Roman provinces and the missions outside."

16. However, while the term *kirika* originally was applied to the building, it came to be used for the Latin *ecclesia* in all its senses. The L. term goes back to the Gr. *ἐκκλησία*, meaning etymologically the body of the *ἐκκληστοι*, a name given by Solon to the public formal assembly of the Athenian people, and later used for similar gatherings of other Greek cities. "By the LXX it is used to translate the Hebrew *קהל*, the 'congregation' or assembly of Israel met before the Lord, or conceived in their relation to him. In the N.T. the word has a twofold sense: a. (after the LXX.) the whole congregation of the faithful, the Christian Society, conceived of as one organism, the body of Christ; b. (after classical Gr.) a particular local assembly of Christ's enfranchised met for solemn purposes."<sup>8</sup> Other meanings were gradually added: the word came to be applied to the meeting house as well as to the outward organization of the congregation of the faithful, used in various shades of meaning. Among the Teutonic peoples *kirika* was employed as the naturalized equivalent of L. *ecclesia*.

17. As stated before, *cirice* appears in the sense of both the congregation and the meeting place, the latter meaning to be discussed in chapter IV. In the sense of body of the faithful we have, *Ofer middangeard mona lizeð, / gæstlic tungol, swa seo godes circe / þurh gesomninga soðes and rihtes / beorhte bliceð*, Cr. 699, and similarly, *þa seo circe her / æfyllendra eahtnysse bad*, 703. The idea of the congregation is the only one used in the *Psalms*. We note, *on ciricean Crist drihten god bealde bletsige bearn Israela* (*In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino, de fontibus Israel*), LXVII, 24, *þa halgan eac hergeað on cyricean þine soðfæstnesse* (*in ecclesia sanctorum*), LXXXVIII,

<sup>7</sup> Our discussion is mainly based on the able article *church* in that work.

<sup>8</sup> *NED.*



4. Similarly we have, *wese his herenes on haligra clænre cyricean. cyðed geneahhel* CXLIX, 1, where the Vulgate has *laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum*. The idea of congregation is furthermore clear in *Forðon hine on cyrcean cristenes folces hean ahebbað* (*Et exalient eum in ecclesia plebis*), CVI, 31.

18. Of compounds with church only two occur in the poetry, *circnyt*, the sole example being found in Gifts 91, *Sum cræft hafað cyrcnyttā fela, / mæg on lofsongum lifes waldend / hlude hergan, hafað healice / beorkte stefne*, and *ciricsōcn*, church-going, found once, Exhortation 47, *mid cyric-socnum cealdum wederum*.

19. Other designations for the congregation of the faithful, such as *gesomnung*, *gelaðung*, *gefërræden*, *gegaderung*, and *crīstendōm*, more or less frequent in prose,<sup>9</sup> are either not met with in the poetry, or, as in the case of *gesomnung*, do not have a specific religious meaning.

<sup>9</sup> MacG., p. 27 ff.

## CHAPTER II

## THE DEPARTED MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH

## I. THE VIRGIN MARY

20. The Virgin Mary and her cult occupied a very prominent place in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the references to her in both prose<sup>1</sup> and poetry<sup>2</sup> are numerous. The simplest designation of her is Virgin, the idea being expressed by different words; other appellations showing the rank and qualities attributed to her are also found. Very frequently the term *fæmne*, virgin, is met with, so for instance Cr. 35, 123, 175, 195, 418, 720, Ap. 29, Creed 19, etc. Among other designations we note *mæg*, *mægð*, *mēowle*, *weolme*, *frōwe*, *drūt*, all of which are poetic. We find that the highest regard is paid to her, and the invocation of her aid, which before the Council of Ephesus (431) had been resorted to only hesitatingly and occasionally,<sup>3</sup> is very common in the Anglo-Saxon Church. We note, *fultumes bidde friclo uirginem aliam*, Invocation 21, and *Gepinga us nu pristum wordum, / þæt he us ne lāte leng owihte / in þisse deaðdene gedwolan hyran, / ac þæt he usic geferge in fæder rice, / þær we sorglease sibban motan / wunigan in wuldre mid weoroda god!* Cr. 342-7. Thus the mother of Christ was supposed to have great influence upon her son, and her intercession was thought to be especially effective. His high regard for her is brought out Rood B, 92-4, *his modor eac Marian sylfe / almihtig god for ealle menn / geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn*.

21. Absolute sinlessness of the Virgin Mary, originally quite unknown to Catholicism, and Augustine's repeated assertion that she was born in original sin (*De ger. ad. lit.* V, 18) notwithstanding,<sup>4</sup> is in Anglo-Saxon times often asserted, though one as late as Anselm (*Cur Deus Homo*, II, 16) says that the Virgin herself was conceived in iniquity, and born with original sin. Perpetual virginity, not taught during the first three centuries, and first appearing in a book placed upon the papal *index librorum prohibitorum* as heretical, is also a number of times alluded to and openly claimed in OE. poetry. The following examples will illustrate, *ides unmane*, Creed 14, *mægð manes leas*, Cr. 36, and *no gebrosmad wearð / mægðhad se micla*, 85-6, *hu ic fæmnanhad, / mund minne geheold and eac modor gewearð / mære meotudes suna*, 92-4, *saga ecne þonc / marum meotodes sunu, þæt ic his*

<sup>1</sup> Compare MacG., p. 33 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For OHG. see Raumer, p. 292 f., for ON. Kahle, I. 325, II, 99 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*

*modor gewearð, / fæmne forð se beah, 209-11, womma lease, 188, þæt þu þinne mægðhad meotude brohtes, / sealdes butan synnum, 289-90, and þe, Maria, forð / efne unwemme a gehealdan, 299-300, unmæle ælces þinges, 333, mægeð unmæle, 721, beah wæs hyre mægdenhad / æghwæs onwalg, 1420-1, etc.*

22. A few times the Virgin Mary is spoken of as the mother of Christ. We note, *Marie, modur Cristes*, Charm VIII, 17, *cyninges modor*, Men. 21, *drihtnes modor*, 169.

23. Not infrequently figures are used to designate the Holy Virgin. *Hordfate halgan gæste*, Maxims 18, only once, the word being poetic, *nu ic his* (Christ's) *tempel eam* (gefremed), Cr. 206, *þær gestapelad wæs / æpelic ingong*, 307-8, *duru ormæte*, 309, *swa fæstlice forescyttelsas*, 312, *ðæs ceasterhlides clustor*, 314, *ðas gyldnan gatu*, 318, *þa fæstan locu*, 321, *þu eart þæt wealldor*, 328. In 280-1 we find *þæt þu bryd sie / þæs selestas swegles bryttan*, and 292 *bryd beaga hroden*.

24. A few attributes of the Virgin may be noted here. *Sancta Maria*, Cr. 88, *ða soðan sancta<sup>5</sup> Marian*, Charm I, 29, *sanctan<sup>6</sup> Marian*, Creed 13, *seo clæneste cwen ofer eorþan*, Cr. 276, *meowle seo clæne*, Doom 293, *clæne and gecorene*, Cr. 331, *Eala þu mære*, 275, *mærre meowlan*, 446. Numerous others occur, as also some designations that show the greatest respect and veneration. We quote, *ealra femnena wyn*, Prayer III, 26, *wifa wynn*, Cr. 71, *wifa wuldor*, Men. 149, *þurh þa æpelan cwenn*, Cr. 1199, *Cwena selost*, Men. 168, *sio eadge mæg*, Cr. 87, *mædena selast*, Doom 294, *mægeð modhwatu*, Maxims 16, *mægða weolman*, Cr. 445, *fægerust mægða*, Men. 148, *gebletsodost ealra*, Doom 296, *fæmne freolicast*, Cr. 72, *ænlicu godes drut*, Doom 291, *seo frowe*, 292. We add here the passage from Doom, 291-4, in order to show the rendering of the Latin line: *ænlicu godes drut, / seo frowe, þe us frean acende, / metod on moldan, meowle seo clæne: / þæt is .Maria., mædena selast* (*alma Dei Genitrix, pia virgo Maria*, 148). The Virgin is further called *hlæfdige halgum meatum / wuldorweorudes and worldcundra / hada under heofonum and helwaral* Cr. 284-6. This list, which could be extended,<sup>7</sup> contains a large number of poetical terms, some of them occurring only once, as seen from the list of poetical words at the end.

## II. PATRIARCHS

25. The Latin *patriarcha* as a designation of the venerable Old Testament characters is rendered in OE. poetry by *hēahfæder*, OHG. *hōhfater*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> MS. *scā marion*.

<sup>6</sup> MS. *Scā*.

<sup>7</sup> Compare kennings of Virgin Mary in Jansen, *Synonymik*, p. 18 f.

<sup>8</sup> For ON. see Kahle, I, 326. For OE. prose MacG., pp. 38-9 may be compared.

Only a few examples occur, which we give in full. The disciples of Andrew report about their vision during the journey to Mermedonia, *heahfæderas halige oncneowon / and martyra mægen unlytel*, And. 875. Further examples are, *þær martiras meotode cwemað / and herigað hehfæder halgum stefnum / cyning in cestre*, Sat. 656, *betwyx heahfæderas and halige witegan (validicis junctos patriarchis atque prophetis*, 144), Doom 284, *heahfædra fela swylce eac hælepa gemot*, Har. 47, *heahfædera sum* (Abraham), Ex. 357, (*þær*) *heahfædera hra beheled wæron*, And. 791, while *heahfædra nan*, Jul. 514, is able to gain power over the devil, the accomplishment of the saintly Juliana being magnified by the spirit of darkness. As will be gathered from these examples, the patriarchs are generally mentioned with the prophets, the connection between them being close. In And. 801 Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are even spoken of as *ða witigan bry*.

26. Once *hæahfæder* is applied to God the Father, namely in Rood B, 134, *lifiaþ nu on heofenum mid heahfædere*, a use also appearing in prose and being equivalent to the Latin *pater excelsus*.

### III. PROPHETS

27. The term for prophet in OE. poetry<sup>9</sup> is *witega*, *witga*, from the Germanic stem *\*witags*, wise one; OHG. has *wizago*.<sup>10</sup> In accordance with this fundamental meaning the word is probably used in a purely secular sense Dan. 41, *to þæs witgan foron, / Caldea cyn to ceastre forð*. In Ph. 30, *swa us gefreogum gleawe / witgan þurh wisdom on geuritum cypað*, the idea of wise is also very prominent. Judas or Cyriacus is called *witgan sunu* El. 592, and in the same poem, where the nails of the cross are mentioned, we hear *Be ðam se witga sang, / snottor searubancum*, 1188.

28. In the sense of prophet the term *witega* occurs not infrequently, especially in *Elene*, *Christ*, and other poems. A few examples will suffice here. *þurg witgena wordgeryno*, El. 289, *ge witgena / lare onfengon*, 334, and *hu on worulde ær witgan sungon, / gasthalige guman be godes bearne*, 561. In El. 351 Isaiah is called *witga*, and in Cr. 306 *wisfæst witga*. *Witgan wisfæste wordum sægdon, / cyðdon Cristes gebyrd*, we hear Cr. 64-5, while 1193-4 they are spoken of as *witgan drihtnes / halge higegleawe*. *Halige witigan* raise Christ on his throne, Sat. 460. Of further occurrences of the term we note *witgan larum*, Ex. 390, *oð þæt witga cwom, / Daniel to dome*, Dan. 149, *ne on mine witigan wergðe settan (in prophetis meis nolite malignari)*, Ps. CIV, 13.

29. However, the term *witga* is also a designation for heathen prophets or magi. Thus in Dan. 135, *andswarode / wulfheort cyning* (Nebuchad-

<sup>9</sup> For the prose compare MacG., pp. 36-8.

<sup>10</sup> Compare for OHG. Raumer, p. 322 f., ON. Kahle, I, 325-6.

nezzar) *witgum sinum*, and perhaps also in 647, *Ne lengde þa leoda aldor / witegena wordcwide*.

30. In the original sense of *propheta* as proclaimer, utterer, we have the poetic *boda* in Moods 4, *wordhord onwreah witgan larum / beorn boca gleaw, bodan ærcwide*. More often the compound *spel(l)boda* is used, originally meaning messenger, proclaimer of a message. The secular use of the term is illustrated Ps. CV, 10, where it is said about the Egyptian disaster in the Red Sea, *þæt þara æfre ne com an spellboda*. In a religious sense the word is applied to Daniel, *godes spelboda*, Dan. 533 and 743. In the *Phenix*, where Job appears in the rôle of prophet, *godes spelboda*, line 571, serves as a designation for him, the reader having been exhorted 548-9, *gehyrað witedom / Jobes gieddinga!* The same term is also applied to the apostles Gu. 11, *swa þæt geara iu godes spelbodan / wordum sægdon and þurh witedom / eal anemdon, swa hit nu gongeð*.

31. Further uses of the word are found in *Daniel*, where in lines 230 and 465 the three youths in the fiery furnace are called *godes spelbodan*. Cr. 336, in referring to the Annunciation, speaks of *godes spelboda Gabriel*; Gen. 2494 the angels bringing Lot the fateful news of Sodom and Gomorrah's disaster are called (*frome*) *godes spellbodan*, and Cr. 449 those announcing Christ's birth to the shepherds *bodan*. As will be seen from the passages, the use of the term is often, though not always, explained by the function assumed in a particular case. *Wōðbora*, otherwise orator, speaker, is applied to Isaiah Cr. 302.

32. Prophecy, prophesying, is expressed by *witedōm*, *witigdōm*, a term occurring five times in the poetry. Ph. 548, *gehyrað witedom / Jobes gieddinga*, and Gu. 12, *þurh witedom / eal anemdon*, have already been quoted in connection with *witega*. The other examples are, *Wæs se witedom / þurh fyrrwitan beforan sunge, / eall æfter orde, swa hit eft gelamp / ðinga gehwylces*, El. 1152, *sceolde witedom / in him sylfum beon soðe gefylled*, Cr. 212, and *Ne meahte þa seo mænigeo on þam meðelstede / þurh witigdom wihite apencean*, Dan. 146. In the sense of to prophesy the verb *witgian* occurs only once, namely Dan. 546, and (Daniel) *him witgode wyrda gepingu*. Once we find *ærcwide*, m., Moods 4, *wordhord onwreah witgan larum / beorn boca gleaw, bodan ærcwide*, which may have the sense of prophesy.

33. The magi of the Chaldeans, otherwise also designated simply prophets, are called *dēofulwītgan* Dan. 128, the term being found only once in OE. literature.

#### IV. APOSTLES

34. The first adherents of Christ are called in the New Testament *μαθηται* in contradistinction to the master as *διδάσκαλος*, and in reference

to their being sent to preach, ἀπόστολοι. The Vulgate renders μαθηταί by *discipuli*, and takes over the term ἀπόστολοι as *apostoli*. *Apostol* as the designation of disciples is found only twice in OE. poetry,<sup>11</sup> namely Men. 122, where Peter and Paul are spoken of as *þa apostolas*, / *þeoden holde þrowedon on Rome*, and Sat. 571, *þæt he þæs ymb ane niht twelf apostolas* / *mid his gastes gife, gingran geswiðde*. A direct translation of the term *apostolus*, which in OHG. besides the rare *postul* is generally rendered by *boto*,<sup>12</sup> does not occur in OE. poetry, though once the compound *spelboda* is found, Gu. 11, *swa þæt geara iu godes spelbodan* / *wordum sægdon*. But references to the Twelve are by no means absent. We note, *twelfe under tunglum tireadige hæleð*, And. 2, *þa ðu us twelfe trymman angunne*, 1419, *Twelfe wæron* / *dædum domfæste, dryhtne gecorene*, Ap. 4-5, *Ðys ða æðelingas ende gesealdon*, / XII. *tilmodige*, 86, and *eom ic þara twelfa sum, þe he getreoweste* / *under monnes hiw mode gelufade*, Gu. 681.

35. Only one compound of *apostol* appears, the poetic *apostolhād*, denoting the rank or position of an apostle, occurring only twice, (Andrew) *gesette* / *wisfæstne wer*. . . / *in þære beorhtan byrig bisceop þam leodum* / *and gehalgode fore þam heremægene* / *þurh apostolhad*, *Platan nemned*, And. 1651, and (At Rome died) *Petrus and Paulus: is se apostolhad* / *wide geweorðod ofer werþeoda*, Ap. 14.

36. However, the disciples and followers of Christ appear frequently in OE. poetry, though not often under the name of apostles. Thus we find *ærendraca* in Doom 286, *þær þa ærendracan synd ælmihtiges godes* (*inter apostolicas* . . . *arces*, 145), and *folgere*, once, Creed 35, and *he .XL. daga folgeras sine* / *runum arette*. The term *geongra*, comparative of *geong*, in the sense of servant or disciple, occurs not infrequently. The simple meaning servants is applied to Adam and Eve in Gen. 450, where they are called *drihtnes geongran*, and in 458, 515; in other places the term is similarly used. Referring to the disciples of Christ, we find for instance *gingran sinum*, Sat. 522, *gingran*, 526, 530, 531, and 572 in the passage quoted about the twelve apostles. In And. 1330, *ðæt hie ðe hnægen* / *gingran æt guðe*, reference is made to Andrew, though the term even in its religious or Christian meaning is by no means limited to the Twelve, for *gingran sine*, And. 427, similarly 847 and 894, is applied to the followers of Andrew.

37. Other appellations are also used for the followers of Christ in accordance with the view taken in a particular case. While thus in *swa dyde lareow þin*: / *cyneprym ahof*, *þæm wæs Crist nama*, And. 1321-2, *lāreow* as Andrew's teacher would be the διδάσκαλος κατ' ἐξοχήν, Andrew is

<sup>11</sup> For the prose compare MacG., p. 39 ff.

<sup>12</sup> See Raumer, pp. 364-6. A discussion of the terms used in ON. will be found in Kahle, I, p. 327, and II, 106-7.

called *leofne lareow* 1707, and James *frod and fastræd folca lareow* Men. 135. Not seldom Christ is represented as a king and his followers as his *þegnas*, retainers. This is an especially favored term, conspicuously in *Andreas*, but also in other poems. We note as designation of the Twelve, *þeodnes þegnas*, And. 3; *his maguþegne*, 94, applied to Matthew; *his magoþegne*, 1207, referring to Andrew, 384, *Gif ðu þegn sie þrymsittendes / wuldor-cyninges*, 417, *þegen gebungen þrymsittendes*, 528, also mentioning him as retainer. But the term is also employed for Andrew and his followers, 323, 344, while *þegnas wlitige*, 363, is used of Andrew's followers. The disciples at Christ's ascension are called *þegnas gecorene* Cr. 497, and 541 we find, *Bidon ealle þær / þegnas þrymsfulle þeodnes gehata / in þære torhtan byrig* (Jerusalem). Simon in Samaria accuses *þa gecorenan Cristes þegnas* opposing him as magicians, Jul. 299, and Nero commands that *Cristes þegnas / Petrus and Paulus* be killed, 303. Thus Gu. 665 Bartholomew is designated *dyre dryhtnes þegn*, calling himself *meotudes þegn* 680.

38. Other terms might be added in order to show the attitude of mind with which the authors of different poems view the followers of the man of meekness and peace. We note only *ðrettmæcgas*, And. 664, applied to the Twelve, *ðretta* used of Andrew in *eadig oreta*, 463, *anræd oretta*, 983, etc., *halig cempa*, 461, *Cristes cempa*, 991. Similar terms are also applied to Saint Guthlac, who as a true warrior defends himself against the hosts of evil spirits.

39. In relation to each other the apostles are conceived as brothers. Thus And. 183 Andrew is told about Matthew as *þinne sigebroðor*, and again 940, *þær þin broðor is*. We have further, *Syb was gemæne / bæn þam gebroðrum*, And. 1014, *wuldres þegnas, / begen þa gebroðor*, 1027, and *þa gebroðru*, *Petrus and Paulus*, Charm VIII, 18. In Gu. 686 Bartholomew, coming to the help of the saint, says, *Is þæt min broþor*, where the term has a more general significance.

## V. MARTYRS

40. The Latin *martyr* (from late Greek *μάρτυρ*) as the designation for one who suffers persecution on account of his belief, is expressed in OE. literature by two terms, the learned *martyre*, *marytr*, *martir*, and the native *brōwere*, from *brōwian*, to suffer<sup>13</sup>. Only four times the learned term is employed. Once it refers to Saint Guthlac, who valiantly puts up a good and successful battle against the evil spirits, *was se martyre from mon-cynnes / synnum asundrad*, Gu. 485. A reference to departed martyrs we find Sat. 655, *þær martiras meotode cwemað / and herigað hehfæder halgum stefnum / cyning in cestre*. The passage And. 876 is similar, *We þær heah-*

<sup>13</sup> For the prose compare MacG., p. 52 ff. The OHG. terms are discussed by Raumer, pp. 293-4, the ON. by Kahle, I, 327-8, II, 107-8.

*fæderas halige oncneowon / and martyra mægen unlytel.* A memorial in honor of all the martyrs was celebrated in the Anglo-Saxon Church, to which reference is made in the enumeration of the *halige dagas*, Men. 69, *Sculan we hwæðere gyt / martira gemynd ma areccan.*<sup>14</sup>

41. The native term *brōwere* is used only twice in poetry, both occurrences being in *Guthlac*. In line 132, *Oft þurh reorde abead, / þam þe þrowera þearwas lufedon, / godes ærendu*, it is rather general, while the passage *Frome wurdun monge / godes þrowera*, 153, refers to those still undergoing suffering.

42. The Latin *martyrium*, the witness or death of a martyr, is expressed by *martyrdōm*, *martyrhād*, and *brōwung*, the latter term being employed for the suffering of holy men as well as for the *passio* of Christ. In Men. 126 *martyrdōm* is used of the supposed joint suffering of Peter and Paul, *þa apostolas, / þeoden holde þrowedon on Rome / ofer midne sumor miccle gewisse / furðor fif nihtum folcbealo brealic, / mærne martyrdom*, while the death of Laurentius is mentioned 145, *þænne forð gewat / ymb þreo niht þæs þeodne getrywe / þurh martyrdom, mære diacon*. In a somewhat peculiar sense the term is employed Prayer IV, 80, *Gode ic hæbbe / abolgen, brego moncynnes: forþon ic þus bittre wearð / gewitnad fore þisse worulde, swa min giewyrhto wæron / micle fore monnum, þæt ic martirdom / deopne adreoge*. As has been pointed out by Wuelker,<sup>15</sup> the term *martirdōm* would suggest that the exiled author considers himself innocent as to the particular cause of the punishment, though realizing the unjustly inflicted punishment as a just retribution overwhelming him on account of other sins. *Martyrhād* occurs once in *Guthlac*, where it is applied to the state of suffering to which the numerous devils subject the saint, (God would) *æfter þrowinga (him) þonc gegyldan, / þæt he martyrhād mode gelufade*, 443.

43. *brōwung* in a somewhat general sense as referring to a saint is used in the passage just quoted, *æfter þrowinga*, Gu. 442, similarly 356, *Nis þisses beorges sell / meodumre ne mara, þonne hit men duge, / se þe in þrowingum þeodnes willan / dæghwæm dreogeð*, and also line 750, *þoncade þeodne, þæs þe he in þrowingum / bidan moste*. The references to the *passio* of Christ will be quoted in chapter VII, Life of Christ, 248.

## VI. SAINTS

44. In order to express Latin *sanctus*, two different terms are employed in OE. poetry,<sup>16</sup> one native, while the other has been taken over from the

<sup>14</sup> Further remarks will be found in chapter V, Festivals and Holy Seasons.

<sup>15</sup> *Grundriss*, p. 377.

<sup>16</sup> In regard to prose see MacG., p. 60 ff. For OHG. compare Raumer, 294, for ON. Kahle, I, 328-9, II, 108 ff.



Latin. Sometimes the borrowed word even retains its Latin ending, as shown in *sanctus Paulus*, El. 504 and Panther 69. The term is applied several times to the Virgin Mary, as will be seen under subdivision I, 24. Like the adjective, the noun *sanct*, m., is also rare. We note, to *þam æpelan / hnigan him sanctas*,<sup>17</sup> Sat. 240, and *sanctas singað*, 355. In Men. 200 reference is made to the festival of All Saints,<sup>18</sup> *we healdað / Sancta symbel, þara þe sið oððe ær / worhtan in worulde willan drihnes*.

45. However, the usual expression corresponding to Latin *sanctus* is *hālig*, OHG. *heilig*, OS. *hēlig*, ON. *heilagr*, from Teut. \**hailag-oz*, probably meaning inviolate, inviolable.<sup>19</sup> The term, used both as an adjective and as a noun, is of great frequency in the poetry, so that a few examples will suffice for illustration. (*Gefetigan*) *haligre* (St. Juliana) *fæder*, Jul. 61, *his halige, þe on heofonum synt*, Charm I, 58, *halge cwelmdon*, Jul. 15, *haligra gemynd*, Instructions 63, *haligra iidd*, Men. 229, *þara haligra on heofonan rice* (*sanctorum*, 11), Doom 22, with which may be compared *ic gemānscepe mārne getreowe / þinra haligra her on life*, Creed 52-3, a rendering of the Latin *Sanctorum communionem*; *eallum ðam halgum*, Rood B, 154. *Halig þær inne / wærfæst wunade*, Jul. 237, *ahon haligne on heanne beam* (referring to Andrew), 309, *þonne halige men / lifendum gode lofsang doð*,<sup>20</sup> Soul 68.

46. The noun formed from *hālig* is *hālignes*, which is found only a few times in the *Psalms*, where it is used in the sense of holiness as an attribute of God, and as a term for sanctuary.<sup>21</sup>

47. The verb is (*ge*)*hālgian*, employed in a number of different ways. Thus it is said of God, *ðu sunnandæg sylf halgode*, Dox. 25, of Abraham in regard to the circumcision, *þu scealt halgian hired þinne*, Gen. 2310, while L. Prayer I, 2, we read, *Sy þinum weorcan halgad / noma nippa bearnum*. *Gehālgian*, to consecrate, we find And. 586, *he gehalgode . . . / win of watere*, which is used in the sense of consecration or ordination of a bishop 1650, applied to the dedication of a church building, *cirice gehalgod*, 1646, and employed in a metaphorical sense Cr. 1482, *þæt selegescot, þæt ic me swæs on þe / gehalgode hus to wynne*. Twice the term refers to the consecration of a king, (*Edgar wæs*) *to kinge gehalgod*, Chr. III, A, 2, and *wæs þeoden gehalgod*, 20. In the sense of to keep holy *gehālgian* is met with

<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that the MSS. generally employ abbreviations, so El. 504 for *sanctus sc̃s*; in our passage Sat. 240, *sc̃ds*, etc.

<sup>18</sup> A discussion of it will be found in chapter V, 99.

<sup>19</sup> For the development of the meaning *holy* see *NED.*, also MacG., p. 60.

<sup>20</sup> The term *halig* is employed in many different ways, from *halig feoh* in Gen. 201 to an attribute of the Deity.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in chapters IV and VII.

in *Swa is gehalgod þin heah nama*, L. Prayer III, 18, similarly II, 3-4, the passage in each case rendering *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. The participle used as an epithet of Christ occurs Cr. 435, *se gehalgoda hælend*.

## CHAPTER III

## ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES

48. From the second century on Christianity conceived society as divided into two classes,<sup>1</sup> the whole congregation of the faithful being designated as the *κληρος*, originally meaning inheritance, lot.<sup>2</sup> The Christians were thus the *κληρος θεοῦ*, an expression which goes back to the Hebrew *נחלת יהוה* (*hereditas Dei*), used in the Old Testament of the Children of Israel. Soon, however, the term was transferred to the priestly class, which had gradually developed and which might be said to have chosen Christ as its particular portion. From *κληρος* the adjective *κληρικὸς*, clerical, pertaining to the priestly class, was derived, and both words were taken over by Christian Latin as *clerus* and *clericus*. In distinction to *κληρος*, the others were called *λαϊκοί*, those belonging to the people, the *λαός*, a word also taken over by the Latin as *laici*.

49. In OE. poetry this general division into two classes, laymen and clergy, is not formally indicated. In the prose laymen were termed *lǣwede men*, *ðæt lǣwede folc*, while the favorite name for the clergy was *ðæt gāstlice folc*, *godes ðēowas*.<sup>3</sup> In the poetry a name for the laymen does not appear. The passage *feala wearð todræfed / gleawra godes þeowa*, Chr. III, B, 18-19, does not absolutely demand the interpretation of *godes þeowa* as clergymen, though a parallel passage, *þær wæs preosta heap, / mycel muneca þreat mine gefræge / gleawra gegaderod*, Chr. III, A, 8-10, would suggest such an interpretation. The other examples of the term do not furnish conclusive evidence.

50. The clergy was composed of two originally distinct classes, the clergy proper, and the monastic clergy. It may be noted here that the monks at first were generally laymen, the insistence upon ordination being a very late development. The clergy proper will be taken up first.

51. The whole priesthood of the Roman Church was divided into two groups, the *Ordines maiores*, to which belonged four classes, *episcopus*, *sacerdos*, *diaconus*, *subdiaconus*, and the *Ordines minores*, which embraced the *acolythus*, *exorcista*, *lector*, and *ostiarius*. But according to Ælfric, (*Canons*, Thorpe, p. 443 ff.<sup>4</sup>), the Anglo-Saxon Church recognized only

<sup>1</sup> Raumer, p. 295 f.; for the whole chapter compare 295 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 329 ff., II, 116 ff.

<sup>2</sup> So in the only example of the learned word in OE. poetry, *Gif ge slæpað samod on clero*, Ps. LXVII, 13.

<sup>3</sup> MacG., pp. 67-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

seven orders, and conceived bishops and masspriests as belonging to one order, so that our first and second class of the *Ordines majores* would coalesce into one. To this order naturally belonged also the bishop of Rome, the pope, as well as archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs.

52. The pope may be considered first. The OE. designation is *pāpa*, derived from Eccl. Latin *pāpa*, going back to late Gr. *πάπας, παπās*, a late variant of *πάππας*, father.<sup>5</sup> OHG. has *babes*, *babist*, ON. *pāpe*, *pāfe*. The Greek term was applied to bishops, patriarchs, and popes, being a recognized title of the bishop of Alexandria before 250. The Latin *papa* was employed as a term of respect for high ecclesiastics, especially bishops, and throughout the 5th century all Christian bishops were still called by that name.<sup>6</sup> As late as 640 St. Gall applies it to Desiderius, bishop of Cahors. However, beginning with Leo the Great (440-461), the term became gradually limited in the Western Church to the bishop of Rome, though it was not until 1073 that Gregory VII claimed the title exclusively for the Roman pontiff.

53. As *pāpa* is a late Latin borrowing, it is used in OE. for the bishop of Rome. In the poetry it occurs but once, Met. I, 42, *was þam æpeling* (Theoderic) *Arrianes / gedwola leofre þonne drihtnes æ, / het Johannes godne papan / heafde beheawan*. Where in *Elene* there is an opportunity to mention the pope, he is simply called a bishop, *Siððan Elene heht Eusebium / on rædgeþeahht, Rome bisceop / gefetian on fultum*, 1051, a characteristic feature, since the Anglo-Saxons for a long time regarded the pope simply as a highly revered bishop.<sup>7</sup>

54. The OE. term for bishop is *biscop*, *bisceop*, m., OHG. *bischof*, *piscof*, ON. *biscup*. The word is assumed to be derived from a Romanic *\*biscopō* or Vulgar L. *(e)biscopū*, L. *episcopus*, from Gr. *ἐπισκοπος*, overlooker, overseer.<sup>8</sup> In Greek, as also partly in Latin, it was used in this general sense, being also the title of various civil officers, but with the rise of Christianity it came to be applied to the specific ecclesiastical officer.<sup>9</sup> The OE. *biscop* differs from its Latin prototype in that it is often employed in a more general sense, translating also *pontifex*, *flamen*, *sacerdos*, etc., by no means limited to Christian conceptions.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See article in *NED*.

<sup>6</sup> For examples see Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*.

<sup>7</sup> N. James, *Die Englische Kirche in ihrem Verhältnis zum Papst- und Königtum*, Diss. Halle, 1893. P. 30 ff. See MacG., p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> However, F. Kluge, *Urgermanisch*, 3. Auflage, p. 37 says: "Die westgerm. Lautformen für den Begriff 'Bischof' haben auch ein höheres Alter als eine lateinische Entlehnung aufweisen würde, und so wird augs. *bisceop*, ahd. *bischof* wohl got-griech. Ursprungs sein (*atpiskāpus* = gr. *ἐπισκοπος*)."

<sup>9</sup> See *bishop* in *NED*.

<sup>10</sup> MacG., p. 92.

55. In OE. poetry *biscope* occurs 14 times, mostly in the sense of Christian ecclesiastic. Eusebius is *Rome biscope* El. 1051, *he gesette on sacerdhad / in Jerusalem Judas þam folce / to biscope*, 1056, the term referring to Judas or Cyriacus also in lines 1072, 1094, 1126, 1216, with the epithet *se halga* 1093. Chr. III, B, 14, we are told, *of Brytene gewat, biscope se goda / þurh gecyndne cræft, þam wæs Cyneweard nama*. In Durham rests among others *Aidan biscope*, Durham 11, while we hear line 13, *Is ðerinne midd heom Æðelwold biscope*. Two further examples occur, Men. 104, where St. Augustine is spoken of as *biscope bremran*, while Andrew *anne gesette / . . . / in þære beorhtan byrig biscope þam leodum*, And. 1649.

56. While in prose examples of *biscope* referring to the Jewish highpriests are very numerous,<sup>11</sup> only one occurs in poetry, And. 607, *þær bisceopas and boceras / and ealdormenn æht besæton / mæðelhægende*. *Biscope* is also twice applied to Melchisedec of Salem, who was priest and king at the same time, namely Gen. 2103, *þæt wæs se mæra Melchisedec, / leoda biscope*, and 2123, *þæs hereleames / ealles teoðan sceat Abraham sealde / godes biscope*. To heathen priests *biscope* is never applied in the poetry, though the instances of this use of the word are likewise comparatively numerous in prose.<sup>12</sup>

57. Of *biscope* only one compound, *biscophād*, is found in the poetry, and this only twice. In the example from Ps. CVIII, 8, *Wesan him dagas deorce and dimme and feawe and his biscophad brucan feondas (et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter)*, the word is used in a purely secular sense, but in El. 1211, *Wæs se bissceophad / fægere befasted*, the Christian episcopal office is referred to.

58. To the *Ordines majores* belongs furthermore the *prēost*, *priost*, m., OHG. *prēst*, *priast*, ON. *prestr*. Etymologically the term goes back eventually to Gr. *πρεσβύτερος*, elder, used as elder of the congregation in the New Testament, e.g. Tit. 1, 5. Soon the word came to be applied in the sense of *sacerdos* to the Christian ministers, the consecrated persons performing sacred duties. With this meaning it was taken over into Latin, where the term *sacerdos* as a name for the sacrificing priests of the heathen deities and the Jewish priests came also to be used for the Christian minister. The OE. *prēost* and the other monosyllabic forms are supposed to go back to a common Romance \**prester*, though the origin of the vowel *eo* and the anterior phonetic history of the forms remain to be cleared up.<sup>13</sup>

59. In OE. prose, the word *prēost* may denote either a masspriest (the L. *presbyter*), or a priest in general, any member of the seven orders of the

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *NED.* under *priest*. Compare Pogatscher, 142. A discussion of various attempts to account for the English word is found MacG., p. 70 ff.

clergy proper, thus being often used in the sense of L. *sacerdos*.<sup>14</sup> Though of frequent occurrence in the prose, the term appears only once in poetry, Chr. III, A, 8, *þær was preosta heap, / mycel muneca þreat mine gefræge / gleawra gegaderod*. The term *mæssere*, m., in the sense of *mässeprēost*, curiously enough, is once used for the three Jewish youths in the fiery furnace, *bletsien þe þine sacerdos, soðfæst cyning, / milde mæsseras mærne dryhten*, Az. 149.

60. More often the term *sācerd*, mf., is encountered. As its prototype *sacerdos* in Latin, the OE. word could be applied in prose to a Christian bishop and masspriest, a Jewish priest and highpriest, as also to a heathen priest.<sup>15</sup> In poetry the term is not applied directly to a Christian priest or bishop, but a passage like El. 1054-6, *þæt he gesette on sacerdhad / in Jerusalem Judas þam folce / to bisceope*, shows that this meaning was by no means foreign to the mind of the poet. More generally *sācerd* is used to denote the Jewish priests or highpriests, though sometimes it has a rather wide meaning as in Ps. XCVIII, 6, *Moyses and Aaron mære gebroðor soðe sacerdas (Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus)*. Christ himself is called *þone clænan eac / sacerd soðlice*, Cr. 136-7. As referring to Jewish dignitaries we note, (James) *fore sacerdum swilt prowode*, Ap. 71, (Christ) *septe sacerdas sweotolum tacnum*, And. 742; the term also occurs Ps. LXXVII, 64, CXXXI, 9, 17, *sacerdas* rendering the Vulgate reading *sacerdotes*.

61. Curiously enough, *sācerd* is once used to designate the three Jewish youths in the fiery furnace, *bletsien þe þine sacerdos, soðfæst cyning*, Az. 148. To heathen priests the term is not applied in the poetry, other designations being employed.

62. Only two compounds are found in the poetry, each being used once. *Sācerdhād*, already quoted in the discussion of *sācerd*, denotes El. 1054 *sacerdotium*, the rank of a bishop. *Ealdorsācerd*, And. 670, is an appellation of the Jewish highpriest.

63. Of the two other classes belonging to the *Ordines maiores*, only one is mentioned in the poetry, namely the *diacon*, m., represented by the sole example, *þænne forð gewat / ymb preo niht þæs þeodne getrywe / þurh martyrdom, mære diacon, / Laurentius*, Men. 145. The *Ordines minores* are not referred to in the poetry.

64. In the discussion of the subject of the monastic clergy, a few preliminary remarks on the development of the monastic institution will not be out of place.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Lingard, *History and Antiquities*, etc., I, p. 134; MacG., 73 ff.

<sup>15</sup> MacG., p. 76.

<sup>16</sup> Based upon the articles dealing with the subject in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

65. Christian monachism was inaugurated by St. Anthony in Egypt about 300, when he began to organize the life of ascetics who in solitary retirement had given themselves up to spiritual exercises. Growing out of the purely eremitical or hermit life, Antonian monachism retained many of the characteristic features inherited from its origin, there being for instance no organized community life.

66. Farther south in Egypt a number of monasteries were organized by St. Pachomius between 315-20, regulated in all details by minute rules, with prayers and meals in common. There was also a highly organized system of work, which made the different institutions, all ruled by a centralized form of government, closely akin to agricultural and industrial colonies.

67. St. Basil adapted monastic life to Greek and European ideas, and in so doing followed the Pachomian model, eliminating eremitical life and the competitive spiritual athletics which flourished in Egypt. However, his example, though not without influence, was no determining factor in shaping monastic ideals in the West.

68. For when, about 350, monachism was introduced there, the Antonian ideal with its solitary life and excessive austerities was followed. Climatic conditions and racial temperament rendering this extreme Egyptian pattern unsuitable, by the end of the 5th century monachism in Western Europe was in a disorganized state. From it St. Benedict rescued it through his famous Rule (probably written about 530), the result of mature experience and observation, which gave coherence, stability, and organization to the monastic institution. Oriental asceticism and rivalry in austerities were eliminated, and the individual was subordinated to the community. The idea of law and order came to be introduced into a society which formed a closely knit family, where productive work had a large part in the daily duties. St. Benedict was eager to establish a 'school,' in which the science of salvation was to be taught, so that by renouncing their own will and in taking up arms under the banner of the Lord, the monks might "deserve to become partakers of Christ's kingdom." The regulations breathe the spirit of discretion, moderation, and extreme reasonableness, showing that the author possessed an uncommon fund of common sense.

69. St. Benedict's Rule soon supplanted all others, and is conspicuous for maintaining undisputed sway for centuries, the only exception being among the Irish monks, where the craving for hermit life, for bodily austerities, and individual piety had been strong from the first.

70. References to monks in OE. poetry are extremely rare, though a whole poem is devoted to the hermit Guthlac. He himself is never called

a hermit or by any formal monastic name, but in line 59 hermits are mentioned, *hafað* (devil) *bega craft*, / *eahteð anbuendra*, persons who dwell alone, characterized lines 52-4, *Sume þa wuniað on westennum*,<sup>17</sup> / *secað and gesittað sylfra willum* / *hamas on heolstrum*. *Ānbūend*, m., is poetical and found only once.

71. The monastic clergy were supposed to live according to the *regol*. The word goes back to L. *\*rēgula*, a rule or ruler, which the Germanic tribes used in building their dwellings.<sup>18</sup> The original meaning still occurs in OE. *regol-sticca*,<sup>19</sup> a rule or ruler (the instrument), and in the verb *regolian*,<sup>20</sup> to draw lines with a ruler. After the introduction of monasticism it assumed its ecclesiastical meaning. So we find in *Guthlac* the saint reporting that the evil spirits showed him the dwellings of men and *setton me in edwit*, *þæt ic eaðe forbær* / *rume regulas and reþe mod* / *geongra monna in godes templem*, 459-61. The allusion hardly includes the clergy proper, who are also not to be thought of in *regolfaste*, men who strictly observe the rules, Men. 44, where reference is made to Benedict's death, *þæne heriað wel* / *in gewritum wise*, *wealdendes þeow* / *rinces regolfaste*.

72. Aside from general statements, such as *Sume him þæs hades hlisan willað* / *wegan on wordum and þa weorc ne doð*, Gu. 31-2, and the characterization of monks Gu. 762-82, etc., only two other monastic terms appear in OE. poetry. One is *munuc*, *munic*, m., OHG. *munih*, ON. *múnkr*, which according to its etymology (from *\*muniko*, from Vulgar L. *\*monicus*, for L. *monachus*, taken from Gr. *μοναχός*) meant originally a religious solitary, but from an early period was applied to coenobites, which eventually became the ordinary use.<sup>21</sup> It occurs only twice in the poetry, both examples being found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. At the consecration of Edgar *þær wæs preosta heap*, / *mycel muneca þreat mine gefræge* / *gleawra gegaderod*, Chr. III, A, 9. The other example, Chr. IV, tells of a monastic establishment. The king, Ælfred, is captured, led to *Eligbyrig swa gebundenne*, 18, but on the ship *man hine blende* / *and hine swa blindne brohte to ðam munecon*, 19-20.

73. The other monastic term is *abbot*, m., OHG. *abbat*, ON. *abóte*, *abbate*. In the East *ἀββάς* was originally applied to all monks, but in the West came to be restricted to the superior of a monastery. In OE. prose the common form is *abbod*, *abbud*,<sup>22</sup> taken over from the Latin through the

<sup>17</sup> In a gloss of Ælfric we have *wēstensella* as the equivalent of Latin *emerita*. *Guthlac's* dwelling is called *ānseld*, hermitage, Gu. 1240.

<sup>18</sup> Pogatscher, 44 and 103.

<sup>19</sup> Used by Ælfric.

<sup>20</sup> Napier, A., *Contributions to Old English Lexicography* (1903-6), 316 (Clark Hall's Dictionary).

<sup>21</sup> *NED*.

<sup>22</sup> Compare MacG., *abbot*, pp. 114-15, also *NED*. under *abbot*.



**Romance.** In the 12th century the influence of L. *abbātem* substituted *t* for *d*. The new form predominates in Middle English, and occurs also in our example from the late *Durham Poem*, *Is ðerinne midd heom Æðelwold biscop / and ðe breoma bocera Beda and Boisil abbot*, 14.

74. In the poetry no references to the dress of ecclesiastics or to their source of income are found.

## CHAPTER IV

### CHURCH BUILDINGS

75. When the Christian missionaries began their work of conversion in England, the cult of the heathen gods was in the hands of a priestly hierarchy. For the worship of the idols temples had been erected, in which sacrifices were offered. It seems that the places of idolatry received little toleration at the hands of men who, to judge from the scant material available, set themselves to root out all vestiges of a heathen tradition. It is true that the diplomatic Gregory in a letter, written 601, had counseled moderation, for Mellitus, after having come to the '*reverentissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum*,' was to tell him "*quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi: videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quae consuevit, familiarius concurrat.*"<sup>1</sup> In order that the people may be more easily won over, some outward concessions in regard to festivals etc. are made. For, continues he who knows the human heart, "*duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur.*"<sup>2</sup> It seems that Gregory had merely adapted himself to circumstances, for in a letter to King Ethelbert written a few months before he exhorts him in his zeal for conversion "*idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum aedificia evert.*"<sup>3</sup> There is reason to believe that Coifi's advice to the Northumbrian king "*ut templa et altaria quae sine fructu utilitatis sacravimus, ocius anathemati et igni contradamus,*"<sup>4</sup> the highpriest himself profaning the temple and "*jussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis,*"<sup>5</sup> does not mark an isolated occurrence.

76. Instead of places sacred to heathen divinities, Christian churches and houses of worship rose, and these were made as imposing as possible by the Roman missionaries, men not ignorant of the impression created by external representation.

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book I, ch. 30, Migne, XCV, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Migne, XCV, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 32, Migne XCV, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Book II, ch. 13, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

77. In OE. poetry several designations for Christian churches occur, but on the whole the material is very scant, no detailed description of the building or its interior being given.<sup>6</sup> Aside from the general term in *hūs godes*, Ps. LXXXIII, 11, *Crīstes hūs*, CXXXIII, 2, CXXXIV, 2, *his hālige hūs*, LXXVII, 68, and similar phrases,<sup>7</sup> we find a few times *cirice*, the etymology and significance of which have already been discussed in ch. I, under II. In the sense of Christian church building we have the word in *Elene*, where we read *þæt hio cirican þær / on þam beorhhlīðe begra rædum / getimbrede, tempel dryhtnes / on Caluarie Criste to willan*, 1007. *Cirice* as a place of worship occurs also And. 1633, *þa se modiga het, / cýninges cræftiga ciricean getimbran, / gerwan godes tempel*, the consecration of which is mentioned 1646, *cirice gehalgod*. In the passage *cwealde Cristne men, cirican fylde*, Jul. 5, it is hardly to be doubted that churches are referred to. And *Ðonne hine forcinnað ða cirican getuinnas*, Sal. 107, would seem to have no other meaning than that the sacred buildings of the Christians keep away the evil spirit, possessing a magic power against the principle of darkness.

78. The learned word *tēmpl*, *tempel*, n., is mentioned no fewer than 21 times in the poetry, though not always in the sense of church building. Thus figuratively the Virgin Mary is called Christ's temple in Cr. 206, while in line 707, *hi godes tempel / bræcan and bærndon*, the context clearly indicates that the body or the congregation of the faithful is meant. *To godes temple*, El. 1057, is perhaps applied to the Christian congregation at Jerusalem. In a somewhat loose sense of heaven or sky *tempel* may occur Cr. 495, *Cýning ure gewat / þurh þæs temples hrof, þær hy to segun* (the disciples at the ascension).<sup>8</sup> The dwelling of St. Guthlac is spoken of as a temple of God in Gu. 975, 1086, and 1122, which for instance in lines 1264 and 1284 is called *þæt halge hus*, while 120 it was stated *se þær haligne ham arærde*.

79. A few times *tempel* is synonymous with *cirice* in the sense of Christian church building. Clearly so in the passage *ciricean getimbran, / gerwan godes tempel*, And. 1634, as also *cirican . . . / . . . / getimbrede, tempel dryhtnes*, El. 1009, furthermore *on þam stedewange / girwan godes tempel*, 1021. Some kind of a building, though a monastery is probably meant, is indicated Gu. 461, the saint observing the *rume regulas and reþe mod / geongra monna in godes templum*.

<sup>6</sup> For OHG. terms compare Raumer, p. 303 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 346 ff., II, 118 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Gebetslöw* will be treated in chapter VI.

<sup>8</sup> But see Bright, *Modern L. Notes*, XIII, p. 27, where he explains that the passage refers to a large round church with its porches on the Mt. of Olives, the inner house remaining uncovered on account of the passage of our Lord's body. Taken from the first traveller's account of the Holy Land, with which the poet may have been acquainted. See also note on line 495, p. 122 ff. in Cook's *Christ*.

80. More often we have the term as a designation of the Jewish temple, as in And. 667, *þa we becomon to þam cynestole, / þær getimbred wæs tempel dryhtnes / heah and horngeap*, also 707, *he in temple gestod*. Cr. 186 Joseph speaks of having received Mary as a virgin of *þam torhtan temple dryhtnes*, while 1139 *þas temples segl* is mentioned, characterized 1135 as *godwebba cyst*. The passage Men. 22 also refers to a Jewish sanctuary, mentioning that Mary *bearn wealdendes brohte to temple*. Specific references to Solomon's temple are furnished in *Daniel*, the enemies *bereafodon þa receda wuldor readan golde, / since and seolfre Salomones templ*, 60, when *ða hie tempel strudon, / Salomanes seld*, 711. Daniel in his speech mentions not only the golden vessels which have been stolen, but also that they were stored near the most sacred article of the Jewish sanctuary, the ark, *ða ær Israela in æ hæfdon / æt godes earce*, Dan. 751-2, the only other occurrence of this meaning of the term in the poetry being El. 399.

81. In the *Psalms* *tempel* is sometimes used synonymously with *godes hūs*, *his hālige hūs*, *fāle hūs*, *Crīstes hūs*, and similar terms. Thus we have, *Ealle we ðin hus ecum godum fægere fyllað: fæste is þin templ ece and wræclīc awa to feore (templum tuum)*, LXIV, 5, *on þinum temple tidum gehalgod (a templo tuo)*, LXVII, 26, and *Eac ic þin tempel tidum weorðige þæt halige hus holde mode (adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum)*, CXXXVII, 2.

82. A word twice used to designate Solomon's temple is *ealh*, *alh*, m., so in Ps. LXXVIII, 1, *þa þin fāle hus ealh haligne yfele gewemdan (templum sanctum tuum)*, as also in the fulsome praise of it Ex. 391-5, *getimbrede tempel gode, / alh haligne, . . . / . . . / heahst and haligost, hæleðum gefrægost, / mæst and mærost*. The same term is employed once in a compound denoting places of heathen worship, *diofolgild, / ealde eolhstedas anforlætan*, And. 1642.

83. In the *Psalms* there are further renderings of the Jewish sanctuary or indications of certain parts or furniture, though they are few. The tabernacle at Shiloh is referred to in *he þa swa gelome wiðsoc snytruhuse, wæs his agen hus (tabernaculum)*, LXXVII, 60. *Hālignes* renders *sanctuarium* LXXXII, 9; *atria* is translated by *wictunas*, XCV, 8, the oblique *atriis* by *on wictunum* XCIX, 3, though generally *atriis* is expressed by *on cafertunum*, as in *on þinum cafertunum*, CXXI, 2, *on cafertunum Crīstes huses*, CXXXIII, 2, CXXXIV, 2. A rather general term is *on hālgum (in sancto)*, as LXII, 2, LXVII, 23, etc. Other designations are also encountered, but they are of such a nature that we need not list them.

84. In addition to the ark of the covenant, the altar of the Jewish temple is mentioned several times. The term is *wigbed*, nm., originally holy table or sacrifice table. *Wigbedu* Ps. LXXXIII, 4, renders *altaria*, while we have *oð wigbedes wræste hornas (ad cornu altaris)* CXVII, 25, and *hio*

*ðæt halige cealf / on wigbed þin willum asettað* (*tunc imponent super altare tuum vitulos*), Ps. L. 138. In *Genesis* the same term is used for Abraham's altars, as may be seen from *þa se rinc gode / wibed worhte*, 1791, *Abraham þa oðere siðe / wibed worhte*, 1806, characterized in *on þam gledstyde* 1810; *wibed* occurs also 1882, while we have *weobedd worhte and his waldende / on þam glædstede gild onsægde*, 2841-2. As a designation of heathen altar the word does not seem to occur, though the use of *wīg(wih)*, n., either alone or in compounds, denoting idols, heathen worship or sacrifice, is common enough.<sup>9</sup>

85. Three times in the poetry the term *mynster*, n., is found. It is likely that in one place it has kept the meaning originally attached to it, namely the dwelling place of the monks (*mynster* from \**munistrjo*, Vulgar L. \**monisterium*, L. *monasterium*).<sup>10</sup> We have (*he—sceawode*) *under haligra hyrda gewealdum / in mynsterum monna gebæru* Gu. 387, and as here and 461, *rume regulas and reþe mod / geongra monna in godes templum*, the same objects are described, it would seem that monasteries are referred to.

86. But in the two other examples a church building must be assumed. So Men. 106, *Nu on Brytene rest / on Cantwarum cynestole neah / mynstre mærum*, where St. Augustine's resting place is pointed out. To be sure, Grein glosses it with *monasterium*, but the glorious *mynster* can be nothing else than the splendid church in which the archbishop was buried.<sup>11</sup> From an early time this connotation of the term is available, the *NED.* quoting the first example c.960, Laws of K. Edgar I, 1: *Man agife ælce teoðunge to þam ealdan mynstre* (Lat. *ad matrem ecclesiam*) *þe seo hyrnes tohyrð*. The interpretation church building is also demanded in the passage *Eardiað æt ðem eadigen in ðem minstre / unarimeda reliquia, / monia wundrum gewurðad*, Durham 17, which the Latin prose account describing the burial place of the saints resting in the cathedral at Durham renders very probable, if not certain.<sup>12</sup> The term *mynster*, though at first only used of a church having its origin in a monastic establishment, came to be applied later to any church of considerable size or importance.

87. In Chr. IV parts of a church at a monastery are mentioned. The imprisoned king is buried *æt þam westende, þam styple ful gehende / on þam suðþortice*, 24-5, for we have been informed *þæt man hine lādde / to Eligbyrig swa gebundenne*, 17-18, and *hine swa blindne brohte to ðam munccon*, 20.

<sup>9</sup> See chapter VIII, 326.

<sup>10</sup> *NED.*

<sup>11</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book II, ch. 3. Compare also the discussion of the meaning of *mynster* in Kahle, I, p. 349 f. See also B-T.

<sup>12</sup> Wuelker, *Grundriss*, p. 346.

## CHAPTER V

## FESTIVALS AND HOLY SEASONS

88. In general, it may be assumed that the expression *hālige dagas* served as a designation for the holy seasons and festivals of the Church, illustrated by such a passage as *ac sceal wintrum frod / on circule cræfte findan / hālige dagas*, Men. 66-8, just as in OHG. *wihe taga* or *heilege taga* and in ON. *helgar tíðer* is employed. Aside from the *Menology*, which gives a catalog of *hāligra tíð* that are to be observed according to the edict of the Saxon king, references to holy days and seasons in OE. poetry are extremely rare.<sup>1</sup>

89. Of the days of the week we have Sunday mentioned as *sunnan-dæg* (*dies solis*), the OHG. *sunnun tag*, which seems to be entirely identified with the Hebrew Sabbath, as is gathered from Dox. 24-6, (*and on þone seofodan þu gerestest*). *þa was geforðad þin fægere weorc / and ðu sunnan-dæg sylf halgodest / and gemærsodest hine manegum to helpe*. In reality, the first day of the week came to be celebrated as the principal day for public worship in memory of the resurrection of Christ. The setting apart of a day for public worship would be introduced into England by the missionaries, and the *Doxology* shows that the custom was well established, *þone heahan dæg healdað and freoðiaþ / ealle, þa ðe cunnon cristene þeawas, / haligne heortlufan and ðæs hehstan gebod*, 27-29.

90. In discussing the festivals mentioned, we shall follow the *Menology* in beginning with Christmas. The word *Cristes mæsse* does not come into use until a late period, the first occurrence recorded by the *NED.* being for the year 1101 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a situation paralleled in OHG., where the term does not occur at all, though Raumer<sup>2</sup> asserts, without furnishing the least proof, that it undoubtedly was in use. In OE. the date was fixed on the 25th of December, Men. 226-7, and the birth of Christ is mentioned Men. 2 as *on midne winter*.<sup>3</sup> From Bede's statement we gather that the day was celebrated among the Christian Angles, but long before it had been a festival among the heathen, who on that day began their year: "(*Antiqui autem Anglorum populi*) *Incipiebant autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Ianuariarum die, ubi nunc natale Domini celebramus. Et ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo Modranicht,*

<sup>1</sup> For OHG. compare Raumer, p. 306 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 353 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Einwirkung des Christentums*, etc., p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be considered a general term, but having the more specific meaning of Christmas. See *Bibl.* II, p. 282, note.

*id est, matrum noctem, appellabant, ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in ea pervigiles agebant.*"<sup>4</sup>

91. During the first centuries of the Christian era Epiphany served as the celebration of the physical birth of Christ as well as of the spiritual, and of several other occurrences in the life of the Lord. It was observed on the 6th of January, and came to be looked upon in England as the *fulwihttiid / eces drihtnes*, . . . / *þæne 'twelfta dæg' tireadige / hæleð heaðurofe hatað on Brytene*, Men. 11-14, namely the twelfth day after the birth of Christ, that date having become fixed on the 25th of December.

92. On the second of February the most ancient of all the festivals in honor of the Virgin Mary was celebrated. Reference to it is made in *we Marian mæssan healdað, / cyninges modor*, Men. 20. OE. *mæsse*, f., is from Vulgar L. *missa*, Eccl. L. *missa*. It is generally thought that L. *missa* is a verbal substantive formed like *repulsa* etc. In the early centuries it was used in the general meaning of religious service, though in an eminent sense it always denoted the Eucharist, the celebration of the mass.<sup>5</sup> In the East the second of February was primarily a festival of the Lord, while in the West the Virgin stood in the foreground, though even here the antiphons and the responsories remind one of the original idea, which is also present in the passage *forþan heo (Mary) Crist on þam dæge, bearn wealdendes brohte to temple*, Men. 21-22. Originally the festival had been celebrated on the 14th of February, forty days after the nativity of Christ, but with the shifting of that date to the 25th of December, Marymas was moved accordingly to the 2nd of February.<sup>6</sup>

93. The great festival of the church year was Easter, the memorial of the resurrection of Christ. While mention of his resurrection is not infrequent, as for instance *on þam oftust cymð / seo mære tiid mannum to frofre, / drihtnes ærist*, Men. 56-8, the term *ēastor*, frequent in prose, occurs in the poetry only in compounds, and then only a few times. The occurrences are, *þæs þe Ēastermōnað to us cymeð*, Men. 72, *wendan (Jews) þæt he on þam beorge bidan sceolde / ana in þære ēasterniht*, Har. 15, and *he of deaðe aras / onwald of eorðan in þa ēastortid*, Gu. 1075. As in the case of Christmas, the heathen Angles celebrated a festival at this time in honor of *Ēostre*, the goddess of dawn or of the rising sun, our scanty information being derived again from Bede. In ch. 15 (*De mensibus Anglorum*) of the *De Temporum Ratione*<sup>7</sup> he tells us: "*Rhed-monath a dea illorum Rheda, cui in illo sacrificabant, nominatur; Eostur-monath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum quae Eostre*

<sup>4</sup> *De Temporum Ratione*, ch. 15, Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, XC, p. 356.

<sup>5</sup> NED.

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica and Catholic Encyclopedia*.

<sup>7</sup> Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, XC, p. 357.

*vocabatur, et cui in illo festa celebrabant, nomen habuit, a cujus nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant, consueto antiquae observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solemnitatis vocantes.*"

94. Though there are few references to Easter in the extant poetry, the importance of the festival and also the paschal controversy, which stirred the Christians of England until the question was finally decided in favor of the Roman party, (Whitby, 664), would have a tendency to put it into the foreground.

95. In the *Menology* a festival is mentioned in *martira gemynd*, . . . 69, *þæt embe nihgontyne niht, / þæs þe Eastormonað to us cymeð, / þæt man reliquias ræran onginneð, / halige gehyrste : þæt is healic dæg, / bentiid bremu*, 71-5. This seems to have been an important day, though in our poem a different date than the one fixed later is mentioned. "According to the Sarum Breviary, the *Festum Reliquiarum* was celebrated on the Sunday after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (July 7), and it was to be kept as a greater double 'wherever relics are preserved or where the bodies of dead persons are buried.'"<sup>8</sup>

96. Relics are only twice referred to in OE. poetry, the learned term *reliquias*, m., being used, though the subject must have occupied a prominent place in the mind of both ecclesiastics and the people. Already at the establishment of the OE. Church they are mentioned.<sup>9</sup> The cult increased in the following centuries, and "at the beginning of the 9th century . . . the exportation of the bodies of martyrs from Rome had assumed the dimensions of a regular commerce," as "many unprincipled persons found a means of enriching themselves by a sort of trade in these objects of devotion, the majority of which no doubt were fraudulent."<sup>10</sup> Aside from the mentioning of relics in the *Menology*, quoted in the preceding paragraph, we have also *Eardiað æt ðem eadigen in ðem minstre / unarimeda reliquia, / monia wundrum gewurðad*, Durham 18. Durham thus possessed a good collection of the prized remains, which would add to its sanctity and attractiveness, for "there was a keen rivalry between religious centers and an eager credulity fostered by the desire to be known as the possessors of some unusually startling relic!"<sup>11</sup> To gain possession of a prized relic, with its subsequent fame and profit, was the eager desire of church authorities and monasteries, and in their dealings they were not always above trickery and plain stealing. The presence of Bede's remains at Durham is a good case in point.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, under *relics*.

<sup>9</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book I, ch. 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Preface to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, by Giles, p. XXII.



97. Forty days after Easter, the ascension of Christ would be celebrated. But though that fact is mentioned in several places, as Men. 64-5, little is made of the festival in the poetry. Pentecost as the Christian festival is only once referred to in the poetry, under the year 973 in Chr. III, A, 8, *þær wæs blis mycel / on þam eadgan dæge eallum geworden, / þone niða bearn nemnað and cegeað / Pentecostenes dæg*. The term is a late adoption, the *NED*. citing its first occurrence in the *Homilies* of Ælfric (a.1000).

98. In the *Menology* a number of saints' days are mentioned. So for instance in *þanne wuldres þegn / ymb preotlyne, þeodnes dyrling, / Johannes in geardagan wearð acenned, / tyn nihtum eac: we þa tiid healdað / on midne sumor mycles on æpelum*, 115-19. Immediately after, the *haligra tiid . . . Petrus and Paulus* is discussed. On the first of August would come *hlāf-mæssan dæg* (Lammas), 140, in the early English Church celebrated as a harvest festival, at which loaves of bread, made from the first ripe wheat, were consecrated. In the Roman Calendar it is the festival of St. Peter's Chains, originally a dedication feast of a church of the apostle at Rome, perhaps held on that day or selected to replace the heathen festivities that occurred on the first day of August.<sup>13</sup> In the *Menology* the harvest season is emphasized in connection with the day.

99. Among other days *heahengles tiid in hærfeste, / Michaheles*, (29th of September), is mentioned 177-8, at that time a holy day of obligation. A very important festival occurred on the first of November, *And þy ylcan dæge ealra we healdað / Sancta symbel, þara þe sið oððe ær / worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes*, 200. Originally each saint had his celebration in certain limited sections of the country, but in order that nobody should be overlooked, and to supply any deficiency in the celebration of saints' feasts during the year, a solemn festival in honor of all the saints, known and unknown, was instituted.<sup>14</sup> This of course would not abolish *hāligra tiid*, but only serve to correct any possible oversight.

<sup>13</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, under *Peter's Chains, The Feast of*.

<sup>14</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF THE CHURCH

## I. WORSHIP

100. The most general term for serving God<sup>1</sup> is *þēowan*, to serve, used for instance in *þa þam cyninge* (namely God) *þeowað*, Gu. 62, as also *dryhtne þeowde*, 712. In a religious sense the compound *þeowdōm* occurs El. 201, in *godes þeowdom*, referring to the zeal of the newly converted emperor Constantine. Once we have another compound, *þēowet*, mn., L. Prayer III, 98, though not denoting service of God, for the passage reads *deofles þeowet*. More often *þēowian* is employed. We note, *gode þeowian*, Gen. 264, and *þeodne þeowian*, 268. In a somewhat general sense of serving God the all-ruling power we find the verb in *þæt hi þiowien swilcum þioðfruman*, Met. XXIX, 94, and *hiora ordfruman / ne þiowoden*, *þeodne mærum*, 99, as also *and blisse gode bealde þeowie* (*servite Domino*), Ps. XCIX, 1.

101. In the services of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in common with the early Mediaeval Church, the mass had begun to occupy the most prominent place. In prose the idea is often expressed by *masse*, the etymology of which has been considered in the preceding chapter.<sup>2</sup> However, this word occurs only twice in the poetry, *Marian massan*, Men. 20, and *hlafmassan dæg*, 140, where it has the derived meaning of festival, and not that of the Eucharist, to which it was originally applied. As we have seen before,<sup>3</sup> the term *massere* is used in the poetry only in a secondary meaning. And the sacrifice of the mass is only once clearly referred to.

102. More and more the celebration of the Lord's Supper came to be looked upon as a repetition, though bloodless, of the original sacrifice of Christ on the cross. An OE. word used for heathen and Jewish sacrifice alike is *lāc*, probably connected with *\*laiko*, to play, to dance, as applied to actions which would accompany the offering of sacrifices and hence might be transferred to the sacrifice itself.<sup>4</sup> In this sense of offering, sacrifice, as applied to heathen gods, the term is used for instance in *þæt þu lac hraþe / onsecge sigortifre*, Jul. 254-5. In *Genesis* there are a number of examples, as 975-6, referring to the sacrifice brought by Cain and Abel, 1497 ff., by Noah, and 1792, applied to Abraham's offering, etc. In the

<sup>1</sup> For terms of worship in OHG. compare Raumer, p. 309 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, p. 358 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Under *Marymas*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter III, 59.

<sup>4</sup> See Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 32, also B.-T. under *lāc* and the *NED.* under *lake*. The sense of offering, sacrifice, is found only in OE.

*Psalms* it occurs a number of times, thus, *æton deadra lac* (*sacrificia mortuorum*), CV, 22, applied to the heathen worship of the Children of Israel, and *þæt ic þe laces lof lustum secge* (*tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis*), CXV, 7. There we have also the poetic *æfenlāc* (*sacrificium vespertinum*), CXL, 3, and *bernelāc*. . . / *deadra neata* (*holocaustis*), L. 123. Keeping in mind that the mass was conceived of as a sacrifice, we are not surprised to find that it is said of the saint in Gu. 1084, *lac onsægde* / . . . / *gæstgerynum in godes temple*. Otherwise the idea of the mass thus expressed would not seem to occur in the poetry.

103. *Onsecgan*, to vow or sacrifice, we have in the example just quoted. It is used both in a heathen and non-heathen sense; for the former, we note *þæt þu lac hraþe / onsecge sigortifre*, Jul. 255, for the latter *þu scealt Isaac me / onsecgan, sunu ðinne sylf to tibre*, Gen. 2852. *Tifer*, n., in the sense of sacrifice, is used a few times, so in the preceding passage, as *halig tiber* Ex. 415, etc. Compounds such as *sigetiber* also occur.

104. Next to the mass, preaching would form an important part of the services, and in the missionary period might even seem to overshadow the former. For obvious reasons we do not confine ourselves to terms that indicate a particular and definite function in a well ordered service. The most general term used would be to teach, as exemplified Jul. 638, where it is said of the saint *Ongon heo þa laran*. Similarly we find *leode lærde on lifes weg*, And. 170, *þegnas lærde*, 462, and *Lærde þa þa leode on geleafan weg*, 1680, etc. A general term is also *bodian*, to bring or announce a message, used in Christ's missionary command to his disciples, *bodiað and bremað beorhtne geleafan*, Cr. 483, as also *Bodiað æfter burgum beorhtne geleafan*, And. 335. However, more often the word occurs in the general meaning of to announce, tell, and seldom in the strict sense of *evangelizare*. Other phrases are used extensively, sometimes indicating the result of the effort. Thus we have, *þe ðu gehweorfest to heofonleohte / þurh minne naman*, And. 974-5, *stepton hie soðcwidum*, Dan. 446, *þam þe his spel berað*, 479, *hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon*, / *reccan fore rincan*, Ap. 10-11, as also *þær ic dryhtnes æ deman sceolde*, And. 1403. We have also for example such statements as *þanon Israhelum ece rædas* / . . . / *heahþungen wer halige spræce*, / *deop ærende*, Ex. 515-18, but these and similar expressions hardly need any further treatment. *Godspellian* will be discussed in connection with *godspel*.

105. For the preacher occur such terms as *boda*, the compound *spelboda* having been noted before as designation of the Twelve.<sup>5</sup> In *Guthlac* there is a reference to the saint as *eadgum æbodan*, 909, and as *epelbodan* . . . / *þone leofestan lareow gecorene*, 976. *Lārēow*, teacher, occurs also elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter II, under IV, 34.

106. Prayer, the communion of the faithful with God, forms a very important part in the service of the Lord. This act is often expressed in OE. by *biddan*, the OHG. term being *bittan*, ON. *bipja*. The OE. word has various shades of meaning, being used to render such Latin terms as *petere*, *poscere*, *precari*, *deprecari*, *rogare*, *postulare*. As *biddan* is so extremely common in the poetry, a few characteristic examples will suffice. Thus we have the construction with the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing prayed for, *Abraham ongan arra biddan / ecne drihten*, Gen. 2750, with the dative of the person for whom one prays, (*þæt ge*) *eow lif-frean lissa bidde*, Ex. 271. A preposition is used Cr. 1353, *eaðmode to eow arna bādun*, while in Ap. 89-91, in seeking help of the apostles, the author asks another *þæt he geomrum me / þone halgan heap helpe bidde, / friðes and fullomes*, several features being illustrated in one sentence. From the *Psalms* we quote, *bādan (ut peterent)*, LXXVII, 20, *Biddað eow (rogate)*, CXXI, 6, and (*ic*) *eam biddende bealde drihten (ad Dominum deprecatus sum)*, CXLI, 1.

107. *Gebiddan*, in the sense of *orare*, *adorare*, is also used a number of times, especially in the *Psalms*. We have, *gebiddað him to þissum beacne*, Rood B, 83, *Gebæd ic me to þan beame*, 122, and *gebidde me to þe, bearna selost*, Prayer III, 48. We note further, *ic to ðe, ece drihten, soðum gebidde (ad te orabo)*, Ps. V, 2, and *ne þu fremedne god fylsta gebiddest (neque adorabis deum alienum)*, LXXX, 9. Once *ābiddan* in the sense of to intercede occurs, *he abiddan mæg*, Gen. 2660.

108. From the same stem we find the noun *gebed*, n., which occurs a number of times. In Jul. 388 the spiritual warrior is called *beald in gebede*. We have, *begen þa gebroðor to gebede hylton*, And. 1027, *Hwilum to gebede feollon / . . . and sigedrihten / godne gretton*, Gen. 777, similarly 847; and *gebedu seceð / clānum gehygdum and his cneo bigeð*, Ph. 458-9. The Pater Noster is characterized in *mid ðy beorhtan gebede*, Sal. 43. Prayer acquires the quality of praise Dan. 406, *We ðec herigað, halig drihten, / and gebedum bremað*. In Exhortation 8 the noun is modified, *þæt halige gebed*, as also in *hold gebed*, Ps. CI, 15, where the Vulgate has only *precem*. We note further from the *Psalms*, *God, min gebed (orationem meam)*, LIII, 2, *min gebed (orationem meam)*, LX, 4, similarly LXVIII, 13, etc.; *gehyr min gebed (precem meam)*, LXXXVII, 2.

109. *Ingebed* is found once, *Gange min ingebed on þin gleawe gesihð*, Ps. LXXXVII, 2, the Latin *Intret in conspectu tuo oratio mea* probably explaining the form.

110. Of other compounds there occurs *gebedstōw*, the place of prayer. Only two examples are encountered, *ne mæg / . . . lenge gewunian / in gebedstowe*, Jul. 376, and *þænne ic synful slea swiðe mid fyste / breost mine, beate on gebedstowe (percutiam pugnīs rea pectora, 14)*, Doom 30.

111. Another term for prayer is *bēn*, f., ON. *bþn*, a word not found in the other Germanic languages. A few characteristic examples will suffice. Used by men to men we have, *ic bidde eow benum nu ða* (*vos precor*, 16), Doom 33. In a religious sense we note, *let his ben cuman in ða beorhtan gesceaft*, Gu. 749, similarly El. 1088; *sendon hira bene fore bearn godes*, And. 1028, and similarly 1613. Of the thief on the cross it is said, *his bena behead breostgehigdum* (*verba precantia clamat*, 30), Doom 60. From the *Psalms* we note, *he heora bene bealde gehyrde* (*orationem*), CV, 33, similarly CI, 15; *ne forseoh æfre sariges bene* (*deprecationem meam*), LIV, 1, *ingange min ben* (*intret postulatio mea*), CXVIII, 170. *Gebedes bene*, CXIV, 1, renders *vocem orationis*, in CXXIX, 1, *vocem deprecationis*.

112. Of compounds occur *eaðbede*, found once, *wes þinum scealcum wel eaðbede* (*deprecabilis esto super servos tuos*), Ps. LXXXIX, 15, and the poetic *bēntīd*, encountered only once, *þæt* (festival in honor of the relics) *is healic dæg, / bēntīd bremu*, Men. 75.

113. The noun *bēna*, petitioner, is also found. In a religious sense it occurs in *swa þu bena eart / þinum frumbearne*, Gen. 2357, as also *helpys benan*, Ps. CI, 2.

114. Among the prayers the Pater Noster naturally occupied a prominent place. Three different poetic versions are extant; it also plays an important part in *Salomon and Saturn*. There it is called *se gepalmtwigoda Pater Noster*, 12, *þæt gepalmtwigode Pater Noster*, 39, while we have *Pater Noster* and *þæt Palmtreow* 167. The term *cantic*, m., used in *Ic niwlice niwne cantic singe*, Ps. CXLIII, 10, in the general sense of Latin *canticum*, is applied to it several times. Thus we have, *ðurh þas cantices cwyde Cristes linan*, Sal. 17, *ðone cantic*, 24, and *Forðon hafað se cantic ofer ealle Cristes bec / widmærost word*, 49.

115. *Amen* is taken over directly from the Latin and used a considerable number of times, as in *L. Prayer*, *Doxology*, etc., etc. There seems to be an explanation of it in the passage *We þæt 'soðlice' secgað ealle*, Dox. 51, as also in '*Weorðe þæt*,' *L. Prayer* II, 37.

116. A number of terms related to prayer and praise are given here, some of which are also used in a more general sense. The specific religious meaning is generally suggested by the context.

117. *Cleopian*, in the sense of *clamare*, to call upon, is common. We note only a few examples. *Forðam we clypiað to þe*, *L. Prayer* III, 2, *to suna metudes / wordum cleopodon*, El. 1318, *ic me to wuldres gode þuruh ealne dæg elne clypige* (*clamavi ad te Domine tota die*), Ps. LXXXVII, 9, etc., etc. The noun *clypung* is met with once, *ongyt mine clypunga* (*intellige clamorem meum*), Ps. V, 1.

118. *Hālsian*, *healsian*, to adjure, to call upon, is also used a number of times in relation to God. Thus, *Swylce ic þe halsige, hælend user, / fore þinum cildhade*, Har. 118, and *Ac ic þe halsige nu, heofena drihten*, Prayer III, 47. The noun *hālsung* is only once found in poetry, *mid earum onfoh . . . mine halsunge (obsecrationem meam)*, Ps. CXLII, 1.

119. *Cīgan*, with its variant forms, in the religious sense to call upon, is especially prominent in the *Psalms*. We quote, *ne hio god willað georne ciegan (Deum non invocaverunt)*, LII, 5, *naman þinne neode ciegen (invocabimus nomen tuum)*, LXXIV, 1, similarly LXXIX, 17, etc. The form *gecīgan* also occurs a few times in the *Psalms* as well as in Ph. 454, *him dryhten gecyð / fæder on fultum*.

120. *Andettan* (*and* & *hātan*), with its variants, in the sense of Latin *confiteri*, is very common in the *Psalms*, though rarely found elsewhere. We note, *Ic þe andette, ælmihtig god, / þæt ic gelyfe on þe*, Prayer III, 36, *Ic þe andette awa to feore (confitebor tibi)*, Ps. LI, 8, *þe ondetten ealle þeoda (confiteantur)*, LXVI, 3. The compound *māgenandettan* occurs once, *Forþon ðe mannes gepoht māgenandetteð (confitebitur)*, Ps. LXXV, 7.

121. The noun *andettes*, L. *confessio*, is very rare, occurring only a few times in the *Psalms*. We have it in *Ys on þinre gesihðe soð andettes (confessio)*, XCV, 6, *him andettes æghwær habban (ad confitendum)*, CXXI, 4, and *is upp ahasen his andetness (confessio ejus)*, CXLVIII, 13. The compound *wlīteandet* occurs once, Ps. CIII, 2, where *þu þe weorðlice wlīteandette gode gegyreddest* renders the Latin *confessionem et decorem induisti*.

122. *Ærendian*, to intercede, plead a cause, is found Gen. 665, where Eve tells Adam concerning the devil disguised as an angel, *Unc is his hylðo þearf: / he mæg unc ærendian to þam alwaldan / heofoncyninge*.

123. *Gegyrnan*, to entreat, beg, we find Gu. 229, *Ic me frið wille / æt gode gegyrnan*, also 43, *gegyrnað*.

124. The idea of offering thanks is expressed a considerable number of times by *þancean*. Only a few examples need be given here. We have, *gode þancedon*, Beow. 227, similarly 1397, 1626, etc., *sceolde his drihtne þancian / þæs leanes*, Gen. 257, *þæt he þara gifena gode þancode*, Dan. 86, *þe þonne lustum lofe þanciað (hymnum dicent)*, Ps. LXIV, 14.

125. Very often the noun *þanc*, m., with some verb is used. A few examples may illustrate. *Sægde meotude þanc*, And. 1469, *saga ecne þonc / mærum meotodes sunu, þæt ic his modor gewearð*, Cr. 209, *sægde ealles þonc / dryhtna dryhtne*, Jul. 593. We note further, *Sie ðe ðanc and lof, þeoda waldend*, And. 1451. Compounds are common, but they need no discussion.

126. Among the terms expressing worship or praise *herian*, rendering the L. *laudare*, *celebrare*, is extremely common in the poetry. Only a few examples need be given here. *Þæt hi lof godes / hergan on heahþu*, Judg. 48, *We ðe heriað halgum stefnum*, Hymn 7, and *þe þurh æne gepanc ealdor heriað*, Creed 50. *Cædmon's Hymn* begins with *Nu sculon herigean heofonrices weard. Se halga wer hergende wæs / metodes miltse*, we have Dan. 334, while the persecutor *geat on græsgewong god hergendra (blod)*, Jul. 6. From the *Psalms* may be noted *Herige Hierusalem georne drihten! here þu Sion swylce þinne soðne god (lauda . . . lauda)!* CXLVII, 1, and *Ic on god min word georne herige (laudabo)*, LV, 9, etc., etc. The form *geherian* also occurs, as, *se þurh ðone cantic ne can Crist geherian*, Sal. 24, while *ðherian*, to praise adequately, sufficiently, is encountered only once, *Ne mæg þe aherian hælða ænig*, Prayer III, 10.

127. Of the noun *herenes* only a few examples are found, most of them in the *Psalms*. On *herenesse (laudationes)*, Ps. LV, 10, *herenes drihtnes (laudatio ejus)*, CX, 8, *herenes (laus)*, CXVII, 14, *his herenes (laus ejus)*, CXLIX, 1; *herenes min* renders *eloquium meum* CIII, 32. In the other OE. poems the term is found Cr. 415, *þe in heahpum sie / a butan ende ece herenis*, and Gu. 588, *(ge sceolon) heaf in helle nales herenisse / halge habban heofoncyniges*.

128. *Weorðian*, expressing honor or worship in the religious sense, is employed very many times, though it does not always pertain to God, but may embrace worship or praise of the Rood, etc. We note, *þæt he ne wolde wereda drihtnes / word wurðian*, Gen. 353, and *hæfdon (heathen nations) heora hlaforð for þone hehstan god / and weorðodon swa swa wuldres cyning*, Met. XXVI, 45; *ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor (adoro)*, Jul. 153, and *we naman þinne on ecnesse a weorðien (honorificabo)*, Ps. LXXXV, 11.

129. In the sense of *celebrare*, *laudare*, the term occurs a number of times, thus, *þær se eadga eft ecan drihtnes / niwan stefne noman weorðode*, Gen. 1886, *weorðian waldend wide and side*, Cr. 394, *wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor / . . . halgan stefne*, And. 55, and *þær þa æðelingas / wordum weorðodon wuldres aldor*, 806. From the *Psalms* may be quoted, *ic ealne dæg ecne drihten wordum weorðige (laudabo)*, LV, 9, and *weorðiað his naman (psallite nomini ejus)*, CXXXIV, 3.

130. *Geweorðian* in the sense of *adorare*, *celebrare*, is also found a number of times, as, *þæt ge gewurðien wuldres aldor*, Ex. 270, *þu gewurðod eart / on heofonrice, heah casere*, L. Prayer III, 59, as also *Geweorðie wuldres ealdor eall ðeos eorþe (adoret)*, Ps. LXV, 3, etc.

131. To express praise the verb *lofian* is often used, though the noun *lof* is still more common. We cite, *þec dæg and niht, . . . / lofigen and*

*lufigen*, Az. 100, *ðe þone ahangnan cyning heriaþ and lofiað*, El. 453, similarly L. Prayer III, 116. We note further, *And þec, mihtig god, gastas lofige*, Dan. 373, *lofiað liffrean*, 396; *mine weleras gefeoð, wynnnum lofiað*, Ps. LXX, 21, renders *exultabunt labia mea*.

132. The noun *lof*, n., either alone or modified, is used with verbs, and the following examples may illustrate various terms employed. *Hyre was Cristes lof*, Jul. 233, *his lof rarest*, 48, *he dryhtnes lof / reahte and rarede*, Gu. 130-31, (*þær was*) *godes lof hafan*, Jul. 693, *þæt he lof godes / hergan on heahþu*, Judg. 47-8, *lixende lof in þa longan tid*, Wonders 49, *þin lof lædað*, L. Prayer III, 25, *þin halige lof*, 32, *þin lof berað*, And. 1295, *Lof sceolde he drihtnes wyrcean*, Gen. 256, *him lof singe*, Gu. 581, *sungon sige-dryhtne soðfæstlic lof*, And. 877. From the *Psalms* we note, *laces lof lustum bringan* (*et sacrificent sacrificium laudis*), CVI, 21, *ic þe laces lof lustum secge* (*tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis*), CXV, 7, *þe þonne lustum lofe þanciað* (*hymnum dicent*), LXIV, 14, etc., etc.

133. Of compounds we find the poetic *lofmægen*, occurring only once, *spedlice eall his lofmægen leode gehyran* (*omnes laudes ejus*), Ps. CV, 2, and once also the poetic *lofsum*, praiseworthy, Gen. 468, characterizing the tree of life in Paradise.

134. *Lofsang* occurs a number of times, as, *mæg on lofsongum lifes waldend / hlude hergan* (said of singing in the church), Gifts 92; the saint is buried (with) *lofsongum*, Jul. 689. We note also, *þonne halige men / lifiendum gode lofsang doð*, Soul 69, (*ealle hofan*) . . . *lofsonga word*, Sat. 155. The other examples are found in the *Psalms*. *Lustice lofsang cweðan* (*laudem dixi*), CXVIII, 164, *mid lofsange læde* (*in laude*), LXVIII, 31, *mid lofsangum* (*in hymnis*), XCIX, 3, *him lofsangum lustum cwemdan* (*et laudaverunt laudem ejus*), CV, 11.

135. *Wuldrian*, to glorify, praise, occurs twice, *wuldriað / æpelne orðfruman ealra gesceafta*, Cr. 401, and *Wuton wuldrian weorada dryhten*, Hymn 1. *Gewuldrian* is found in *þu bist gewuldrad god* (*glorificatur*), Ps. LXXXVIII, 6, and (*Ic*) *his naman swylce gewuldrige* (*glorificabo*), XC, 16.

136. *Mærsian* is used in the *Psalms* a few times, the examples giving the connotation it has in each case, *weorc godes wide mærsian* (*annuntiauerunt*), LXIII, 8, *wuldor þin wide mærsian* (*cantem*), LXX, 7, *þine mægenstrengðu mærsien wide* (*narrabunt*). CXLIV, 6. To these may be added the only further example found in the poetry, *heofoncyninges / meakte mærsiað*, Ph. 617. *Gemærsian* also occurs a few times. Used of God's hallowing Sunday it is found Dox. 26. We note as other occurrences, *is þin nama halig*, / *wuldre gewlitigad ofer werpeoda*, / *miłtsum gemærsod*, And. 544, and *swa is þin æpele gecynd* / *miclum gemærsod*, L. Prayer III, 44.



137. *Bletsian* and *gebletsian*, in the sense of Latin *benedicere*, not confined to man, but also used of plants, etc., is quite common. We note, *bletsige þec, soðfæst cyning*. Az. 77, *bædon bletsian bearn Israela*, Dan. 359, *ic bletsige . . . / lifes leoftrum*, Gu. 580, *we blætsiað bilewitne fæder*, Hymn 8, *his soðne naman bealde bletsiað*, Ps. XCV. 2, *we lifigende leofne dryhten balde bletsigað* (*benedicimus Domino*), CXIII, 25, etc. Of *gebletsian* may be noted, *Ðe gebletsige* (animals, things, etc.) *bylywit fæder*, Dan. 363. Other examples could easily be added.

## II. THE SACRAMENTS

138. Of the traditional seven sacraments of the Mediaeval Church only Baptism and the Lord's Supper appear formally in the poetry, the references to the *poenitentia* to be treated in chapter X.<sup>6</sup>

139. The Greek βαπτίζειν, βάπτισμα, was taken over by the Latin as *baptizare, baptisma, baptismus*. In OE. this word was not borrowed from the Latin, though later it is taken over and ousts the native terms. OE. used *fullwian, fulwian, fullian*, to consecrate fully, composed of the adverb *full* and the Teut. *\*wihējan, wihjan*, to consecrate, from *\*wiho*, appearing in OS. and OHG. as *wih*, Gothic *weihs*, holy.<sup>7</sup> According to an ancient custom of the Church, those who desired to enter the lists of the catechumens and were not fully ready to receive baptism, were marked with the sign of the cross, in prose expressed by *cristnian*.<sup>8</sup> Later, when they were considered fully prepared, they received the *fullwiht*, the full consecration, or baptism.

140. The verb *fulwian* appears only once in poetry, in Christ's missionary command to his disciples, *fulwiað folc under roderum*, Cr. 484. The form *gefulwian* we also have once, *þa wæs gefulwad* (Judas), El. 1043.

141. More often the noun *fullwiht*, mfn., is used, sometimes in the phrase *fullwihthes bæð*, as, *onfon fromlice fullwihthes bæð* (Mermedonians), And. 1640, *þonne broðor þin / onfeng . . fulwihthes bæð* (Stephen, called Cyriacus' brother), El. 490, *Judas onfeng / . . fulwihthes bæð*, 1033. In Sat. 546 the phrase is used figuratively, *he (hælend) his swat forlet / feallon to foldan, fulwihthes bæð*, referring to the water that issued from the Savior's side when the soldier thrust in his spear. The simple term occurs And. 1635 and 1643. *Fulwihte onfon* we have Soul 87, and of Constantine it is said *se leodfruma / fulwihte onfeng*, El. 192. The Christians at Rome are

<sup>6</sup> But note, *anne gesette / . . . / . . . bisceop þam leodum / and gehalgode . . .* (Platan), And. 1647-50, *þæt he gesette on sacerdhad / in Jerusalem Judas þam folce / to bisceope (ordinavit Judam Episcopum in Jerosolyma)*, El. 1054-6. On the sacraments for OHG. see Raumer, p. 312 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 364 ff., II, 121 f.

<sup>7</sup> See *NED.* under *fullought*.

<sup>8</sup> MacG., p. 21, note 2.

characterized as those *þa þurh fulwihte / lærde wæron*, El. 172, while Maxims 9 it is said *an is fulwiht*. The high regard for baptism and the gifts bestowed through it are mentioned in *onsfengon* (Mermedonian youths) *fulwihte and freoðuwære, / wuldres wedde witum aspedde, / mundbyrd meotudes*, And. 1630-32. The cleansing power of baptism is sometimes referred to, as in the passage (*water*) *crisnað and clænsað cwicra manigo*, Sal. 395, also, *Judas onfeng / . . . fulwihthes bæð / and geclænsod wearð*, El. 1032-4.

142. Peculiar is John the Baptist's reference to his and Christ's activities on the Jordan, *wit unc in þære burnan bapodan ætgædere*, Har. 132, lines 133-7 telling more about it, *oferwurpe þu mid þy wætre, weoruda dryhten, / bliþe mode ealle burgwaran, / swylce git Johannis in Jordane / mid þy fullwihte fægre onbryrdon / ealne þisne middangeard*. To Christ's baptism is also referred, (John) *se þe fægere iu / mid watere oferwearp wuldres cynebearn*, Men. 159. The compound *fulwihthtiid* as referring to Christ's baptism we find in Men. 11, already discussed in chapter V.

143. The compound *fulwihthpæaw*, rite of baptism, occurs once, *cýning sylfa* (Theoderic) *onfeng / fullwihthpæawum*. Met. I, 33. There is uncertainty about the word *fullwōn*, f., the gen. pl. of which is encountered Gen. 1951, *forþon his lof secgað / . . . / fullwona bearn* (namely Christians). The word is not found elsewhere, and it is likely that the MS. reading is corrupt.<sup>9</sup>

144. The sacrament of the altar or the Lord's Supper is expressed by *hūsl*, *hūsel*, n., Goth. *hunsl* (Gr. *θυσία*), ON. *hunsl*, *hūsl*. It is a remarkable fact, as has been pointed out by Kahle,<sup>10</sup> that this spiritual sacrifice as conceived by the Church, an idea wholly foreign to the heathen mind, should be expressed by an old Germanic stem, which furthermore we find never applied to the sacrifices of the heathen. As in the other dialects, the OE. term originally meant offering or sacrifice, which meaning is still kept in a compound, as *hūslfatu halegu*, Dan. 705 and 749, reference being made to the sacrificial vessels of Solomon's temple.

145. The word *hūsl* is very rare in the poetry, only three examples being met with. We have, *husl (sceal) halgum men, hæpum synne*, Gn. Ex. 132, *Ahof þa his honda husle gereorded / eaðmod þy æpelan gyfte*, Gu. 1274, and *ac him bið lenge husel*, Cr. 1685, the last passage referring to the blessed in Heaven. However, twice we have a reference to the Lord's Supper in *Soul*, though the term *hūsl* is not used, *and ic ofþyrsted wæs / godes lichoman, gastes dryncas*, 41, and similarly, *Fæstest ðu on foldan and gefyldest me / godes lichoman, gastes dryncas*, 145-6.

<sup>9</sup> Bibl. II, p. 405.

<sup>10</sup> I, pp. 366-7. See also Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 32.

146. Three compounds are met with in the poetry, *hūslfæt*, already mentioned, *hālig hūselbearn*, applied to Guthlac 531, and *hūselweras*, / *cempan gecorene*, Gu. 768, a name for the faithful that enter the kingdom of God above. The last two words are poetical, each occurring only once in OE. literature.

147. Riddle 49 has as its subject the *hring*, 1, *readan goldes*, 6, and it would appear that the solution is nothing else than the paten or communion plate. In Riddle 60 the *hring gyldenne*, 1, which speaks of the Savior's wounds, *swa þæs beages benne cwædon*, 12, is probably the chalice or communion cup.<sup>11</sup>

### III. THE SCRIPTURES

148. In the New Testament the books of the Old Covenant are designated as ἡ γραφή or αἱ γραφαί, i.e., the writings κατ' ἐξοχήν. A similar use of the term as applied to the Holy Scriptures, the Latin *scriptura*, is found in OE. poetry,<sup>12</sup> where the sacred writings are called *gewritu* or *fyrngewritu*, n. So we read, *Us gewritu secgað* (about Adam's age), Gen. 1121, similar statements occurring 2563, 2611, etc. Furthermore, *swa gewritu secgaþ* (about Calvary), El. 674, it being said regarding Stephen, *sint in bocum his / wundor, þa he worhte, on gewritum cyðed*, 826, though here apocryphal books might be included. We note also, *on gewritum findað*, Ex. 519, while it is asserted regarding the Pater Noster, *he gewritu læreð*, Sal. 50. *Fyrngewritu* is also applied a number of times, as, *þy læs toworpen sien / frod fyrngewritu and þa faderlican / lare forleten*, El. 430, where it refers to the Old Testament, and similarly, *ymb fyrngewritu*, 373, where the author has the prophets in view. In *Is nu fela folca, þætte fyrngewritu / healdan wille ac . . .*, Instructions 67, the Holy Scriptures seem to be in the mind of the speaker, as also in line 73. It is peculiar that 'holy' never modifies the terms.

149. Sometimes *bēc*, f., the Latin *biblia*, serves to point out the Bible. Qualifying words may be added in order to make the idea intended perfectly clear, should the context fail to do so. Thus we have, *godcunde bec*, Gen. 2612, *on godes bocum*, El. 204, 290, *þurh halige bec*, 364, 670, 852, etc., though this term is not limited in its application to the Holy Scriptures. Sometimes *bēc* alone suffices, especially where the context admits of no other interpretation. Thus we have, *in bocum*, Cr. 453, *Us secgað bec* (about Christ's birth), 785, and *þæt me hælend min / on bocum bebed*, 793. Other examples could be cited. *Wisbēc* is found once, *on þinum wisbocum* Ps. CXXXVIII, 14, rendering *in libro tuo*.

<sup>11</sup> Compare Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. 179 f., 197 f.

<sup>12</sup> For OHG. see Raumer, p. 319 ff., ON. Kahle, I, p. 368 ff.

150. A term frequently used to designate God's word is *æ*, f., OS. *ēo*, OFris. *ewa* and its variant forms, OHG. *ēwa*, etc. However, the context must point to this interpretation or a modifier be employed. In a general sense we have it in *Sum mæg godcunde / reccan rihte æ*, Cr. 670-71, and similarly, *þær hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon*, Ap. 10; *þe his æ healden*, Gu. 26, *drihtnes æ*, Jul. 13. Clear references to the Old Testament occur, *þurh rihte æ reccan cuðon*, El. 281, as also, *we Hebreisce æ leornedon*, 397. In *æ cuðon*, / *witgena word*, El. 393-4, specific parts of the Old Testament are referred to, as also in *þa ðe Moyses æ / reccan cuðon*, 283. *Æ* denoting the Mosaic Law occurs frequently in the *Psalms*, as, *mine fæste æ (legem meam)*, LXXVII, 1, *ic æ þine elne heolde (custodivi legem tuam)*, CXVIII, 55, *Brohte him bleisunge se ðe him beorhte æ soðe sette (elenim benedictionem dabat legislator)*, LXXXIII, 7, *Israhelum æ gesette (legem posuit in Israel)*, LXXVII, 6. The Ten Commandments or the Ten Words of the Law are mentioned, *rihte æ / getacnode on tyn wordum*, And. 1511-12. If *æ* denotes the New Testament or Christ's teachings, the fact is shown either by the context or by a modifier, such as *æ halendes*, El. 1062, or *Cristes æ*, Jul. 411, Cr. 1688. For further examples of *æ* denoting the Scriptures compare *Sprachschatz*.

151. A few compounds of *æ* may be listed here, some of which, however, will be discussed more fully later. *Æbebod*, Ps. CIV, 40 (*legem*), also CXVIII, 102 and 126. *Æboda*, poetic and found only once, Gu. 909, referring to the saint. *Æcraft*, poetic. In the sense of religion we have it El. 435, and as denoting knowledge or skill in the Law, Dan. 19. *Æcraftig*, once in the poetry; said of Daniel, Dan. 742. *Æfast*, those keeping the Law, the pious; not infrequent. *Æfremmende*, the pious, religious; poetic and found only once, Jul. 648. *Æfyllende*, pious, religious; poetic and found only once, Cr. 704. *Æglæaw*, in the religious sense, learned in the Law. Said of Cyriacus El. 805, as applied to Jews summoned by Elene, *eorlas æcleawe*, El. 321. In a more general sense, as knowing about the Bible, the apostles, and the miracles they performed we find *æglæawe menn*, Ap. 24, and the comparative *æglæwra / mann*, And. 1483-4. *Ælærend*, poetic and found only once. After his conversion Paul is said to be the best *ælærendra*, El. 506. *Æriht*, code of Law or faith; poetic and occurring only twice. Designating the Jewish Law we have, *þa þe fyrngewritu / þurh snyttro cræft selest cunnen*, / *æriht eower*, El. 375, and (Judas or Cyriacus may reveal) *æriht from ord oð ende forð*, 590. *Æwita*, wise in the Law, counsellor; poetic and found only once, being applied to Cyriacus' grandfather, *ealdum æwitan*, El. 455.

152. No discussion of the prophets is necessary here, as that subject has been treated in chapter II, under III.

153. In the metrical version of the *Psalms*, which is generally speaking a faithful rendering of the Latin Vulgate, with the exception of occasional elaborations and personal touches, a considerable number of terms not met with in the other poetry are naturally found. Among them we have *gewitnes*, used in a general sense in rendering the Latin *testimonium*, as, *þin gewitnys (testimonia tua)*, CXVIII, 24, similarly, *þine gewitnysse (mandata tua)*, 45, etc. But sometimes we have the term in the sense of *testimonium*, the covenant entered into, the Law. Thus, *Ne heoldan hi halgan drihnes gewitnesse (testamentum Dei)*, LXXVII, 12, as also, *his gewitnesse (memor erit . . . testamenti sui)*, CX, 4.

154. The OE. rendering of the Latin *psalmus* is *sealm*, m., the learned *psealm* not being found in the poetry. We have, *þæt ic gode swylce sealmas singe (psalmum dicam)*, LVI, 9, similarly 11; *mid sealnum (psalmum dicite)*, LXV, 1, *Singað soðum gode sealmas (psalmum dicite)*, LXVII, 4, *sealmas singan (psallam)*, CVII, 3, similarly CXLV, 1; *singað him sealmas (bonus est psalmus)*, CXLVI, 1, *sealmas (in psalmis jubilemus ei)*, XCIV, 2.

155. Of compounds with *sealm* the poetic *sealmsæt* occurs once only, *þe on sealmsfatum singe be hearpan*, LXX, 20, rendering the Latin *in vasis, psalmi*. The Latin *psalterium* is directly taken over, occurring four times in the form *on psalterio*, XCI, 3, CVII, 2, CXLIII, 10, and CXLIX, 3. Once we find *wynpsalterium*, LVI, 10, where the Latin has only *psalterium*.

156. The verb *salletan*, the Latin *psallere*, occurs only once in the *Psalms*, *Singað him swylce and salletað (cantate ei, et psallite ei)*, CIV, 2.

157. Twice *ymen*, m., the Latin *hymnus*, is found. *Nu mine weleras ðe wordum belcettað ymnas elne (eructabunt labia mea hymnum)*, Ps. CXVIII, 171, and *Singað us ymnum (hymnum cantate)*, CXXXVI, 4.

158. Of the books of the New Testament the gospels demand attention. In OE. the term for the story of Christ is *godspell*, *godspel*, n. It is assumed that the original form of the word was *gōdspel*, the good or glad tidings, a rendering of the Latin *bona adnuntiatio* or *bonus nuntius*, which was in current use as an explanation of the etymological sense of *evangelium*, Gr. εὐαγγέλιον. In the compound word the regular phonetic law would shorten *gōd*, but it seems that already at an early time the first part of the compound was confused with *god*, God, and the word came to be used in the sense of divine story or message. From OE. the term passed into other Germanic languages, appearing in OS. as *godspell*, OHG. *gotspell*, ON. *guð-* or *goð-spiall*, in each case the first element being identified with God.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Article *gospel* in *NED*. The etymology given here seems to be generally accepted now. For a different view see Bright, *Mod. L. Notes*, IV, 208-10, V, 90-91, who still maintains that standpoint. Compare reply of Logeman, VIII, 89-93.

159. In OE. poetry *godspel* is encountered only five times. It is not impossible that in Sal. A, 65, *ðurh gastes gife godspel secgan*, the word has kept its original meaning of good tidings, if we assume that this interpretation suggested by the context is further strengthened by the fact that MS. B has the reading *godspellian*. In the other cases we have clearly an indication of the Gospel, as, *ðæt hie for þam casere cyðan moston / godspelles gife*, El. 176, the story of Christ following almost immediately as an explanation of the term. The same interpretation is demanded in *þurh gastes giefe godspel bodian*, Gu. 1088. Matthew seems to be especially prominent in connection with the Gospel, he being referred to as *þegn unforcuð / godspelles gleaw*, Men. 171. In And. 11-13 his work in reducing the story of Christ to writing is definitely pointed out, *Wæs hira Matheus sum, / se mid Judeum ongan godspell ærest / wordum writan wundorcræfte*.

160. The verb *godspellian*, *godspellan* occurs a few times. As already pointed out, we have *godspellian* Sal. B, 65. In *swa he* (Daniel) *ofstlice godspellode / metodes mihtum for mancynne*, Dan. 658, the word seems to be used in the sense of preaching. In the meaning of making known the glad tidings, though not in the New Testament sense, it is employed Ps. LXVII, 12, *God gifeð gleaw word godspellendum* (*Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus*).

161. Of other terms denoting God's Word or pointing out specific commandments may be mentioned *bod*, *bebod*, and *gebod*, n., which are used in different senses, in each case the context or modifiers supplying the specific meaning. *Bod* appears for instance L. Prayer III, 109. *Ac min bibod bræce*, Cr. 1393, refers to Adam and Eve in Paradise, *ðæs hehstan gebod*, Dox. 29, mentions the supposed commandment regarding the observance of Sunday. *Hælendes bebod* is mentioned And. 735, while in other passages we have the commandment of the king or the heavenly king, God. The compound *bodscipe* occurs Gen. 783, and *gebodscipe* 430. A few examples from the *Psalms* may follow, *godes bebodu georne heoldan* (*testamentum Dei*), LXXVII, 9, *bebodu (legem)*, LXXXVIII, 27, *bebodu (mandata)*, 28, and *halige bebodu (mandata tua)*, CXVIII, 63, etc., *gebod (mandata)*, 87.

162. *Wær*, f., covenant, is used a number of times, as, *þenden / þæt folc mid him hiera fæder wære / healdan woldon*, Dan. 10, *wille* (God) *him soðe to / modes wære mine gelatan*, Gen. 2366, *wære gemyndig*, / . . . *ða him god sealde*, 2372.

163. Such terms as *lār*, *godes word*, *dōm*, etc., etc., used either singly or with modifiers, may also denote the whole or parts of the Scriptures, but they do not call for any detailed treatment here.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE DEITY

164. The Germanic tribes believed in polytheism, in a plurality of gods, whose identity and number seem to be shifting, and who were governed by the inexorable Wyrd.<sup>1</sup> The idea of one supreme and all-powerful God in the Christian sense of the term was entirely foreign to them, and naturally some time elapsed before they were able to bring their former views into harmony with the Christian doctrine. For a long time their notions regarding certain phases were bound to be vague, and we find for instance in OE. poems assertions regarding the persons of the Trinity not consonant with the official theological views accepted and decreed by the councils, but not at all surprising when viewed in the light of prevailing circumstances.

## I. WYRD

165. Since the term *wyrd* is sometimes closely connected with God, a brief discussion of it as far as it pertains to our subject would seem to be in order at this point.<sup>2</sup> OE. *wyrd* by regular changes from Germanic *\*wurðiz* goes back to the common Germ. stem *\*werthan*, the noun occurring as *wurð* in OS., *wurt* in OHG., and *urðr* in ON.<sup>3</sup> The original meaning of OE. *wyrd* (fact, happening; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 111, "that which is accomplished") is common in poetry as well as in prose, occurring for instance in such passages as *þa seo wyrd gewearð, þæt þæt wiſ geseah / for Abrahame Ismael plegan*, Gen. 2777, *wæs þæt mære wyrd / (Christ's birth) folcum gefræge*, Men. 53, *he ne leag fela / wyrdas ne wordas*, Beow. 3030.

166. However, more often *wyrd* has a meaning analogous to the Latin *fatum*, fate or destiny, at times practically personified. At least one passage,<sup>4</sup> *Me þæt wyrd gewæf*, Rim. 70, seems to indicate the mythological conception of *wyrd* as weaving man's destiny, while in ON. the idea of

<sup>1</sup> See Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 81 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, p. 192 ff., 502 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 335 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, 104 f., Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 236, 371 f., Klæber, *Anglia*, XXXVI, p. 171 f., 174 f.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, under *weird*.

<sup>4</sup> In Rid. 36, 9-10, we read, *Wyrmas mec ne awæfan wyrdas crafsum, / þa þe geolo godwebb geatwum frætwæð*, which is claimed to 'take us into the heart of ancient heathendom' (Brooke, p. 126). But with Tupper, *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. 152, note, we agree that *wyrdas crafsum* has lost its old force and means nothing more than 'durch Schicksalsschläge,' as Grein's *Dichtungen* renders it, the lines being a fairly accurate translation of Aldhelm's Latin. *Seo þrag cymeð / wefen wyrdstafum*, Gu. 1325, also seems to have a weakened force.

Norns, corresponding to the Greek *μοῖραι* and the Latin *parcae*, distinctly appears in *Völuspá*,<sup>5</sup>

18 (B. 19) Ask ueit ek standa, / heitir Yggdrasill / . . .

19 (B. 20) Þaðan koma meyar / margs uitandi /  
þriár ór þeim sal, / er und þolli stendr. /  
Urf héto eina, / aðra Uerþandi,—/  
skáro á skípi,—/ Skuld ena þripio. /

20 Þær log logþo, / þær líf kuro /  
alda þornom, / ørlog seggia.

Even though *Urðr* in ON. literature is the predominating figure, from the passage quoted it is readily seen that *Urðr*, *Uerþandi*, and *Skuld* as Past, Present, and Future have a function analogous to that of the *μοῖραι* and *parcae* in Homer and Isidor,<sup>6</sup> even if the question of classical influence is waived.

167. Often, though not always, *wyrd* is the blindly hostile and inexorable power sweeping away man's joys and pleasures, intolerant even of his dreary existence. The poet of the *Ruined Burg* contemplates in a melancholy mood the hall joys *of þat þat onwende wyrd seo swiþe*, line 25. Other pictures are no less gloomy, *Earm biþ se sceal ana lifgan, / wineleas wunian hafap him wyrd geteod*, Gn. Ex. 174, and *hið Wyrd forsweop / on Grendles gryre*, Beow. 477. In this poem *wyrd* is generally looked upon as the goddess of death, an idea which also appears in the OS. *Heliand*, *Thiu wurd is at hendum*, 4621, when compared with line 2990, *nu is iru doð at hendi*,<sup>7</sup> etc. The same notion is not foreign to other OE. poems, a lingering trace of such function being found for instance Gu. 1030, where at the death of the saint it is remarked, *Wyrd ne meahle / in fægum leng feorg gehealdan, / deore frætwæ, þonne him gedemed wæs*, while *wyrd seo mære*, Wand. 100, has taken away the earls.

168. With the advent of Christianity the notion of *wyrd* as the hostile force receives a further development. So in *heo wop weceð, heo wean hladeð, / heo gast scyð, heo ger byreð*, Sal. 436 ff., and especially, *Ac hwæt witeð us wyrd seo swiðe, / eallra fyrena fruma, fæhðo modor, / weana wirtwela, wopes heafod, / frumscylda gehwæs fæder and modor, / deaðes dohter?* 442 ff. Met. IV, 34-40 the hostile force even helps in persecuting the saints.

<sup>5</sup> *Samundar Edda*, Detter & Heinzel, Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>6</sup> Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 335 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Heliand*, M. Heyne, 4th edition, Paderborn, 1905. See Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 336, regarding the discussion of *wyrd*. Vilmar, *Deutsche Allertümer*, 2nd edition, p. 13, may also be compared.



In the passage *hie seo Wyrð beswac, / forleolc and forlærde*, And. 613-14, especially when compared with *hie for æfstum inwit syredon / þurh deopne gedwolan deofles larum*, 610-11, *wyrð* assumes functions of the devil in instigating the condemnation of Christ. And in the passages quoted from *Salomon and Saturn* there is hardly any doubt that *wyrð* is identified with the fallen angel, who is the bringer of evil and misery.<sup>8</sup> This idea was not foreign to the Anglo-Saxon mind, and the homilists exerted all their influence to combat such a belief.<sup>9</sup>

169. Excepting such negative statements as *ne mæg werig mod wyrðe wiðstondan*, Wand. 15, and the variously interpreted passage Beow. 1056-7, man seems to be helpless against the decrees of blind fate. *Gæð a wyrð swa hio-scell!* Beow. 455, *wyrð bið ful aræd!* Wand. 5, *mon him sylf ne mæg / wyrð onwenden*, Prayer IV, 117, *þat ic gewægan ne mæg wyrð under heofonum*, Judg. 115, testify to the prevalent belief of *wyrð* as the inexorable.

170. Entirely different is God's position in regard to the once all-ruling power, though even here occur peculiar statements. The belief in fatalism had a strong hold on the Germanic character and even after the conversion to Christianity exerted an influence by no means negligible. During heathen times *Wyrð* had occupied a unique position inasmuch as it operated outside the sphere of the gods, and, in ultimately controlling all destiny, even stood above them. With the conversion to Christianity the good God of Christianity might easily supplant the *regnator omnium deus* (Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 49) who had until then been the provider and distributor of bountiful gifts.<sup>10</sup> Not so easy was the subordination of a hostile and uncontrollable force under the omnipotence of the Christian God, and this transitional stage may perhaps account for an occasional compromising statement. We read, *þrymmas syndan Cristes mycclæ, / wyrð bið swiðost*, Gn. Cot. 4-5, and *Wyrð bið swiðre, / meotud meahtriga þonne ænges monnes gehygd*, Seaf. 115-16. It is not at all improbable that in the last example, as also in *ac unc sceal weorðan æt wealle, swa unc wyrð geleoð, / metod manna gehwæs*, Beow. 2526-7,<sup>11</sup> the term *metod* must be taken as synonymous with *wyrð*, an interpretation which seems to be suggested by connotations which this word in its simple form as well as in

<sup>8</sup> Abbtmeyer, *Poetical Motives*, p. 6, puts it, "Sal. 442 ff. is clearly a Christian passage, in which Wyrð is discredited by being identified with Satan."

<sup>9</sup> Bouterweck, *Cædmon's des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen*, p. LXIV; also LXIX f., "Darum eifern die angelsächsischen Kirchenväter gegen den Aberglauben einer Wyrð, eines Geschickes, dass etwas Anderes sei als der allmächtige Gott."

<sup>10</sup> Ehrismann, *Zum Germanischen Frühchristentum*, p. 237-8.

<sup>11</sup> In the *Beowulf* of Heyne-Schuecking, Paderborn, 1913, *metod* in this line is glossed as *fatum* in the vocabulary.

combinations may originally have had.<sup>13</sup> Without ascribing any undue importance to the at least notable statement *God us ece biþ: / ne wendað hine wyrda*, Gn. Ex. 9, God controls *wyrd*, he is *wyrda wealdend*, Ex. 432, El. 80, And. 1056, Prayer IV, 43, though one might argue that *wyrda* has here the weakened force of events.<sup>14</sup> But such statements as the following leave little doubt as to God's superior power, *nefne him witig god wyrð forstode*,<sup>14</sup> Beow. 1056, especially *Hwi ðu ece god æfre wolde, / þæt sio Wyrð on gewill wendan sceolde*, Met. IV, 35, and *Gif ðu nu, waldend, ne wilt Wyrðe steoran, / ac on selfwille sigan latest*, 49.

171. A further development may perhaps be assumed in passages where *wyrd* takes on a meaning almost identical with God, such as, *oðþæt Wyrð gescraf, / þæt þe ðeodrice þegnas and eorlas / heran sceoldon*, Met. I, 29, when held together with *ðenden god wolde, þæt he Gotena geweald / agan moste*, 38-9, while regarding the conversion of Judas, the discoverer of the cross, we hear, *huru Wyrð gescraef, / þæt he swa geleafful and swa leof gode / in worldrice weorðan sceolde, / Criste gecweme*, El. 1046. One is tempted to identify the word with foreordination or predestination.<sup>15</sup> Such an interpretation is placed upon *wyrd* by OE. homilists.<sup>16</sup> In glosses *forewyrd* has the sense of predestination.

## II. THE TERM GOD

172. The OE. term for God is *god*, masculine in the singular, but with masculine and neuter forms in the plural. Other Germanic dialects use a word from the same stem, OFris. and OS. *god*, m., OHG. *got*, m., ON. *goð*, *guð*, the singular in ON. being both masculine and neuter, while the plural is neuter. The Gothic singular *gub*, a neuter form, is used as a masculine, while in the plural the neuter *guda* appears. The Goth. and ON. words are declined as neuters, but the masculine concord is established, probably due to Christian influence. The OTeut. type would be therefore *\*guðo*, n., which seems to go back, though the ulterior etymology is disputed, to

<sup>13</sup> Compare the discussion of *metod*, 184, note 1.

<sup>14</sup> See Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 3, also Rankin,  *kennings*, VIII, p. 414, note 37.

<sup>15</sup> Sedgfield (*Beowulf*, Manchester, 1910, p. 163), agreeing with Ettmueller, would take *wyrd* as nom. sing. in opposition with *god*. He objects to the usual construction of *wyrd* as object of *forstode* on the ground that man's destiny could not be hindered. But his rendering of *forstode* as help, defend, is not happy from the grammatical standpoint, since then we should expect *hie*, not *him*, as object, while his objection to the common interpretation on theological grounds loses its force because it is not based on all the evidence available, as will be seen from the examples we have quoted. Compare note to line 1056, p. 54 of *Beowulf*, Wyatt and Chambers, Cambridge, 1914.

<sup>16</sup> See also Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Compare Bouterweck, *Cædmon's des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen*, p. LXX ff.

Indo-European \**ghutóm*, the neuter of a past participle, meaning either what is invoked or what is worshipped by sacrifice.<sup>17</sup>

173. The original meaning of *god* in Teutonic was therefore probably rather *numen* than *deus*. In OE. it is used practically exclusively in the latter sense, with the modification, of course, that *god* may render also *dominus*, etc. As in OE. poetry *god* as a designation of the Christian Deity is very frequent and as numerous examples will appear in the subsequent discussion, illustrations of this use are superfluous here. The singular is also applied to heathen gods, e.g., *gif þu to sámrán gode / þurh deofolgield dæde biþencest*, Jul. 52. *Wōðgod*, false god, we have in *him wohgodu worhtan* (*sculptilibus*), Ps. LXXVII, 58. The masculine plural, confined to the Christian God, is naturally seldom used; a good illustration is found in *Creed*, where, having enumerated the persons of the Godhead, the poet continues, 44, *ne synd þæt þreo godas þriwa genemned, / ac is an god, se ðe ealle hafað / þa þry naman þinga gerynum*. The neuter plural *godu* is much more common. The Christian Deity as conceived by heathen is referred to, *and þu fremdu godu forð bigongest*, Jul. 121. As applied to heathen gods we note, *Ic* (Juliana's father) *þæt geswerge þurh soð godu*, Jul. 80, *þa ðu goda ussa gylp geknægdest*, And. 1319, *him wæs wuldres dream, / lifwela leofra þonne þæs leasan godu*, Ap. 49. A few examples from the *Psalms* may follow, *Sindon ealle hæpenu godu hildedeoful* (*omnes dii gentium daemonia*), XCV, 5, *Nis þe goda ænig on gumrice ahwær efre gelic* (*non est similis tui in diis Domine*), LXXXV, 7. Said of men we have, *Ge synd uppe godu ealle uphea and æðele bearn* (*Dii estis, et filii excelsi omnes*), LXXXI, 6. In the last example we notice that the neuter plural is also applied to men, even though they are looked upon as the representatives of God.

174. A feminine *gyden*, goddess, also appears, but in the poetry it is met with only once, Met. XXVI, 53, where it serves as a designation of Circe.

175. *Ōs*, m., the ON. *oss*, is found once in the poetry, *gif hit wære esa gescot*, Charm II, 23.

### III. THE TRINITY

176. Though there is confusion regarding the persons of the Trinity, and the line is not always as sharply drawn as the trinitarian dogma of the Church would demand, the Anglo-Saxon poets hold the orthodox Athanasian view of the mystery. The Latin *trinitas* (Gr. *τριάς*) is

<sup>17</sup> See *NED*. For literature on the subject consult Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, under *Gud*.

expressed in OE. by *þrīnes*, *þrȳnes*, OHG. having *thrinissi*, ON. *þrenneng*.<sup>18</sup> The term is comparatively rare in the poetry, occurring only eight times, though we have not seldom a juxtaposition of the three persons of the Godhead, even when the formal expression of the Trinity is lacking. So for instance Charm VIII, 10-12, *ac gehæle me ælmihtig and sunu and frofre-gæst, / ealles wuldres wyrðig dryhten, / swa swa ic gehyrde heofna scyppende*.

177. As examples of *þrīnes* we note, *Ealal seo whitige weorðmynda full / heah and halig heofoncund þrȳnes, / brade geblissad geond bryten-wongas*, Cr. 379, which all should praise, *nu us hælend god / wærfæst onwrah, þæt we hine witan motan!* 383-4, as also, *Wuldor þæs age / þrȳnysse þrym, þonc butan endel* 599. The belief in the Trinity is voiced by Guthlac, *forðon ic getrywe in þone torhtestan / þrȳnesse þrym, se geþeahtingum / hafað in hondum heafon and eorðan*, 617-19. Several times Christ is mentioned in connection with the Trinity in such a manner as almost to incline the reader to the belief that Christ embraces the three persons of the Godhead. A slight tendency toward it may perhaps be detected El. 177, *hu se gasta helm / in þrȳnesse þrymme geweorðad / acenned wearð*. More pronounced is the passage in *Hymn*, for having spoken of Christ in lines 37-9 as *ðu eart ana æce dryhten / and ðu ana bist eallra dema, / . . Crist nergend*, the author continues, 40, *forðan ðu on ðrymme ricast and on ðrinesse / and on annesse ealles waldend, / hiofena heahcyninc, haliges gastes / segere gefelled in fæder wuldre*. This would not be so very surprising in view of the fact, as will appear later, that Christ is sometimes identified with both the Father and the Holy Spirit, and that it is said of him *ðu eart sunu and fæder / ana ægþer*, L. Prayer III, 42-3. On the other hand, there is a change in the traditional order of the Trinity Jud. 83-4,  *Ic ðe, frymða god and frofre gæst, / bearn alwaldan, biddan wille (ðrȳnesse ðrym, 86)*. The same order is followed in Jul. 724-7, *fæder frofre gæst, / . . . / and se deora sunu, / þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende / in annesse (scrifeð)*. The traditional order is, however, observed in And. 1684-5, *þær(in Heaven) fæder and sunu and frofre gæst / in þrinnesse þrymme wealdeð*.

178. The unity in the Trinity was not lost sight of, as a number of passages tend to show. In the last quotation of 176, Charm VIII, 10-12, the unity may be indicated by the singular number of the appellations evidently bestowed upon all the three persons. In And. 1685 we have the singular *wealdeð*, although the subject is composed of three persons. Formally the unity is expressed by *annes* (L. *unilas*, Gr. *μὴν*), OHG. *einnissi*, ON. *eineng*. The OE. term is only twice found in the poetry, (Christ reigns not only on *ðrinesse*, 40, but also) on *annesse*, *Hymn* 41, and *þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende / in annesse (scrifeð)*, Jul. 727. The

<sup>18</sup> For OHG. compare Raumer, p. 347 ff., ON. Kahle, I, pp. 380-81.

three persons are contained in the *meotud* (721), the *heofona helm* (722), and the *meahta waldend* (723) implored by Cynewulf. The resolute maiden Judith *ongan ða swegles weard / be naman nemnan, nergend ealra / woruld-buendra*, Jud. 80-82, followed by the invocation to Father, Spirit, and Son. The author of the *Creed* enters into a discussion of the problem of unity and trinity in the passage quoted before in another connection. Having referred to the Spirit, the Father, and the Son, he continues, in order to prevent an interpretation that might be made, *ne synd þæt þreo godas þriwa genemned, / ac is an god, se ðe ealle hafað / þa þry naman þinga gerynum*, 44-6. All of which goes to show that the poet tried to keep within the dogma as drawn up by the councils of the Church, though attempting a rational explanation of the mystery.

#### IV. THE GODHEAD AND GOD THE FATHER

179. Under this caption we shall treat certain names which are applied to the Godhead, and the Father, or the first person of the Trinity, though one cannot always be sure as to who is meant, in a considerable number of cases it being impossible to distinguish clearly the three persons of the Godhead. No attempt has been made to make the list of the extremely large number<sup>19</sup> of names and kennings complete, as the works of Bode and Rankin,<sup>20</sup> to which we refer the reader, are sufficiently comprehensive, though they hardly make any distinction between the three persons. We merely give from our full collections the more important of the designations. But enough material will appear to illustrate by specific cases the wealth and variety of names at the disposal of the OE. poets. Though having originally a specific and definite connotation, there can be little doubt that very often the names were not pregnant with meaning to the author, who not seldom was guided in his choice of an appellation by the exigencies of alliteration, and similar considerations.<sup>21</sup>

180. The term *god* appears extremely often as a designation of the Godhead, and of the first person. The wealth and variety will sufficiently appear from the examples given. *An god is ealra gesceafta, / frea moncynnes, fæder and scippend*, Met. XVII, 8-9, *frymða god*, El. 502, Jud. 83, similarly El. 345, Gu. 792; *weoruda god*, Gu. 366, similarly El. 1149, Cr. 347, etc.; *weorodanes god*, Fates 93, *mægena god*, El. 809, *mæga gode*, Jul.

<sup>19</sup> Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 72, remarks: "Sie (namely the Anglo-Saxons) umschreiben den himmlischen Vater mit mehr denn 300 Ausdrücken; namentlich wenn sie sich in Gebet zum Himmel wandten, redeten sie den Geber aller Gaben mit immer neuen Wendungen an, wie ein Bettler, der einen Reichen schmeichelt."

<sup>20</sup> Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 79 ff. No attempt has been made to distinguish between the three persons. Rankin, *A Study of the Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, p. 374 ff. He also gives Latin equivalents.

<sup>21</sup> For further remarks see Introduction, p. 13 ff.

659, *mihta god*, El. 785, *sigora god*, 1307, *heofonrices god*, 1124, *wuldres god*, Gu. 1054, *engla god*, Ex. 380, etc., *waldend god*, Gen. 520, *ic wealdend god wordum herige* (*Deo laudabo*), Ps. LV, 4, *alwaldend god*, Message 31, *drihten god*, Beow. 181, *dryhten god*, Jud. 300, etc., etc., *on god drihten gearewe gewene* (*in Deo speravi*), LV, 4, *nergende god*, Met. XXIX, 74, Gen. 1924, *hælend god*, Sat. 281, *min hælend god*, (*Deus meus*), Ps. CXVII, 26, *hælend god* (*Deus salvos faciendi*), LXVII, 20, *hælend god* (*Deus salutaris noster*), LXIV, 6. *Heonan ic cleopige to heahgode and to waldendgode* (*clamabo ad Deum altissimum! Deum*), Ps. LVI, 2, *se is waldendgode wel liciendlic* (*beneplacitum est Deo*), LXVII, 16. It may be noted here that *godes agen bearn*, e. g., El. 179, is very frequently found, where of course the reference in *godes* is clearly to the first person.

181. *Fæder* is often used where God conceived as one or the first person is meant, though the term is also applied to Christ. The reference is clear in the formula mentioning the three persons of the Trinity, as, *fæder and sunu and frofre gast*, And. 1684, etc. In most of the other cases the context indicates to whom the term is applied. We note, *halig fæder*, Met. XX, 46, etc., *bilewit fæder*, XX, 69, 255, similarly And. 997, Dan. 363, Az. 139 Gen. 856, etc.; *beorht fæder*, And. 937, etc., *þæs breman fæder*, Doom 296, *fæder frefergendum*, Sat. 318, *an fæder ece*, Maxims 9, *fæder ælmihtig*, Prayer III, 51, a term very frequent; *nergende fæder*, Gn. Cot. 63, *waldend fæder*, Cr. 163, *fæder alwalda*, Beow. 316, *fæder engla*, Met. XX, 153, 263, 275, And. 1412, El. 783, Men. 226, etc., *fæder frumsceafta*, Moods 66, *fæder frymða gekwæs*, Ph. 197. *þinne wuldorfæder*, Cr. 217, *soðfæder*, 103, *lifiaþ nu on heofenum mid heahfædere* (otherwise term for patriarch, see 25), Rood B, 134, *on ða swiðran hand / ðinum godsfæder*, Hymn 31.

182. God is *scippend*, the creator. Though the term is not seldom also applied to Christ, it would seem that the Godhead or the first person is more often regarded as the creator. References to the work of creation are very frequent, the creation being *godes handgesceaft*, Gen. 455. Man was created according to the *ānlicnes*, the image of God, *Monn wæs to godes / anlicnesse ærest gesceapen*, Gen. 1528-9, *þær he hæfð mon geworhtne / æfter his onlicnesse*, 395-6. *Scippend* is very frequent, as, *An sceppend is butan ælcum tweon, / se is eac waldend woruldgesceafta*, Met. XI, 1-2, *ðu eca and ðu ælmihtiga / ealra gesceafta sceppend and reccend!* IV, 29-30, *scippend scirra tungla, / hefones and eorðan!* IV, 1-2, *heofona scyppend*, And. 192, *frymþa scyppend*, Ph. 630, *mihta scyppend*, Gu. 1131, *engla scyppend*, And. 119, *gasta scyppend*, Dan. 292, 315, El. 790, similarly Jul. 181; *ælda scyppend*, Wand. 85, *weoruda scyppend*, Instructions 62. Here may also be added *eall geworhtest / ðing þearle good*, Met. XX, 44-5, *se wyrhta*, Gen. 125, *æpele se wyrhta*, Ph. 9, *wuldres wyrhta*, 130.

183. *Fruma*, creator, founder, is found a number of times. We note, *moncynnes fruma*, Met. XXIX, 42, Ph. 377, *upengla fruma*, And. 226, *sigores fruma*, Cr. 294, *mæðā fruma*, Chr. III, B, 21, *lifes fruma*, El. 792, etc. Of compounds may be quoted *lifes leohtfruma*, And. 1413, Gen. 175, 926, 1410, etc., Met. XI, 72, *lifes ordfruma*, Cr. 227, *engla ordfruma*, And. 146, Sat. 239, etc. We find *Ðu eart eallra ðinga, þeoda waldend, / fruma and endel* Met. XX, 274-5.

184. *Metod*,<sup>22</sup> a poetic term,<sup>23</sup> is extremely common in the poetry. We note only *meotud moncynnes*, And. 172, Ph. 176, etc., *metod engla*, Gen. 121, similarly Gu. 1105, etc. To these might be added a host of expressions showing *metod* governing different kinds of objects. We note also *eald metod*, Beow. 945, *milde metod*, Maldon 175, similarly Met. XXIX, 69.

185. God is *cyning*, a term extremely frequent. *Engla cyning*, Met. XIII, 12, *gæsta god cyning*, Prayer IV, 39, *nergende cyning*, 49, etc. etc. But similar terms and phrases we pass over in order to give a few of the more important compounds. *Wuldorcyning* is frequent, occurring Ph. 196, Whale 67, 85, similarly Beow. 2795; *weroda wuldorcyning*, Met. XX, 162, similarly Gen. 2; *heahcyning*, Ph. 129, etc., *heofona heahcyning*, Ph. 446, And. 6, etc., *heahcyning heofones*, Dan. 408, *sweglcyning*, Gen. 2658, similarly Gu. 1055; *þrymcyning*, Moods 62, *þeoda þrymcyning*, Met. XX, 205, *ðeoda þrymcyningc*, Invocation 2, *þeodcyning*, Soul 12, gen. sing. Rid. 68, 1 (only two occurrences in the religious sense),<sup>24</sup> *mægencyning*, El. 1247, *mægencyninges þrea*, Judg. 57, *mægencyninga hyhst*, 6, *sigora soðcyning*, Beow. 3055, Ph. 329, etc. Of characteristic modifiers we add, *on riht cyning*, Ph. 664, *bliðheort cyning*, Gen. 192, *stiðfrihþ cining*, 107, *stiðferð cyning*, 241, *stiðmod cyning*, 2423.

<sup>22</sup> The term has been treated by Grimm, *D.M.*, I, 18 f., III, 15. Vilmar, *Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand*, p. 11, remarks: "*Metod*, der messende, ordnende, welcher auch im angelsächsischen üblich geblieben ist, da er am wenigsten speciell heidnischen Inhalt zu haben scheint, vielmehr im ganzen nur für eine formelle bezeichnung des höchsten wesens gelten kann, sich also sehr wohl in die lehren der christlichen kirche fügte." Grein, *Sprachschatz*, claims that in heathen times the word had probably the meaning of fate. In support of this view he points to Wald. A. 19, *ðy ic ðe metod ondred*, and to *on meotudwange* (battle field), And. 11, as also to compounds in related languages. Rankin, VIII, 420, thinks, though the etymological significance may be creator, in the majority of cases 'it means deus.' Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXXV, 124, remarks: "Heidnischer character ist dem worte nicht anzumerken; doch ist an die interessante nebeneinanderstellung von *wyrd* und *Metod* zu erinnern, Beow. 2526 f., Seef. 115 f. (Beow. 979 *Meotod*: 2574 *wyrd*)."

<sup>23</sup> Excepting *se metoda drihten* twice in Ælfric's *Homilies*, and there in alliterative passages. B.-T.

<sup>24</sup> According to Rankin, VIII, 404, *þeod* may have become an intensifier, *þeodcyning* signifying "the mighty king."

186. *Dryhten*, originally leader of the host,<sup>25</sup> OS. *drohtin*, OHG. *truhtin*, ON. *dróttin*, generally rendering L. *dominus*,<sup>26</sup> is extremely common. As lord, ruler, chief, it is also frequently used in the secular sense. Thus Sarah calls Abraham *Drihten min* Gen. 2225. We note as occurrences in the religious sense, *hælend drihten* (*Dominus salvabit me*), Ps. LIV, 16, *hælend drihten* (*Deus salutaris noster*), LXXXIV, 4, *hælend drihten* (*Dominum*), CXLV, 1, CXLVIII, 1, *hælynd drihten*(-), CVII, 6, *god dryhten*, El. 759, *dryhtna dryhtne*, And. 1151, Whale 84, similarly Gen. 638; *sigidrihten*, Gen. 523, similarly Gu. 1212, Judg. 92; *sigidrihten god*, Met. XX, 260, *sigora dryhten*, El. 346, similarly 1139; *duguða dryhten*, El. 81, Ph. 494, *gumena drihten*, Gen. 515, *weoruda dryhten*,<sup>27</sup> Sermon Ps. 28, 8, 10, Soul 14, etc., etc., *gæsta dryhten*, Judg. 81, *weorulddrihtnes*, Met. XXIX, 1.

187. *Wealdend*, the wielder, the ruling one, is extremely frequent. We give a number of kennings in order to show the great variety. *Done selestan sigora waldend!* Moods 84, *sigora w.*,<sup>28</sup> Met. XI, 71, Beow. 2875, *rodera w.*, Met. X, 30, *heofona w.*, XIII, 6, XXIX, 72, *frymða w.*, Jud. 5, *wuldres w.*, And. 193, Dan. 13, etc., *lifes w.*, Met. XX, 268, XXI, 36, Judg. 85, *gasta w.*, Gen. 2174, *w. engla*, El. 772, *w. manna*, Az. 96, *folca w.*, L. Prayer I, 10, *w. fira*, Beow. 2741, *ylda w.*, 1661, *duguða w.*, Jud. 61, *ðeoda w.*, Maldon 173, similarly Met. XX, 256; *mægena w.*, El. 347, *weoroda w.*, 751, etc. As compound we note *se ricesða / ealles oferwealdend*, 1235. Similarly we have *alwalda* Beow. 1314, etc., *se allwalda*, Gen. 292, etc., *ealwalda engelcynna*, 246, *to anwaldan*, Beow. 1272, *ecne onwealdan ealra gesceafta*, Gu. 610.<sup>29</sup>

188. *Fræa*, Goth. *frauja*, OS. *frā(h)o*, OHG. *frō*, is not infrequently used.<sup>30</sup> *Frea folces gehwæs, fæder ælmihtig*, Dan. 401, *frumsceafta frea*, Ex. 274, *frea engla*, Gen. 157, 2836, etc., *sigora frean*, Ph. 675; *liffrea*, Beow. 16, similarly Gen. 16; *agendfrea*, 2141, the same term being applied to Sarah 2237.

189. *þeoden*, really the chief of the people, is not very frequent. *Se ðioden*, Met. XI, 80, *þeoden engla*, Maldon 178, El. 776, *engla þeoden*, Ex. 431, *ðearlmod þeoden gumena*, Jud. 91, etc.

<sup>25</sup> Koehler, *Germania*, XIII, p. 131, says: "*dryhten*, dass ganz entschieden germanische Anschauung verräth, indem Gott als oberster Kriegsherr bezeichnet wird, wenn auch nicht gerade hierin eine Anspielung auf den Sieg spendenden Wodan, den *Valfeðr*, zu suchen sein wird."

<sup>26</sup> Rankin, VIII, p. 413.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405: "Undoubtedly equivalent to *dominus exercituum*."

<sup>28</sup> Read *waldend* or *wealdend*.

<sup>29</sup> Under *wealdend* we note *wyrda wealdend*, El. 80, etc., of which Rankin, VIII, 414, says: "An interesting analogical formation. Is there any allusion to the Norns, or does the term mean simply 'ruler of destinies'? The latter is more probable."

<sup>30</sup> In OE. and OS. this term is being superseded by *dryhten*, *drohtin*.



190. *Brego*,<sup>31</sup> ruler, chief, is used a few times. *Brego moncynnes*, Judg. 7, Met. XX, 43, *brego engla*, Ph. 497, Chr. III, B, 36, Gen. 181, 976, 1008, etc.

191. *Hearra*,<sup>32</sup> lord, chief, master, applied also to men, is frequent in the *Genesis*. Referring to Adam, *herra se goda*, 678, *hire hearran*, 654, to the chief devil, *hearran sinum*, 726. *Ahof hine wið his hearran*, 263, *uncres hearran*, / *heofoncyninges*, 658, *herran þines*, 567, etc., are applied to God.

192. *Ealdor*, lord, chief, is not so very frequent. *Swegles aldor*, Gen. 2807, similarly Jud. 88, 124; *wuldres aldor*, Gen. 639, *wuldris aldor*, 1511, *wuldres ealdor*, Jul. 153, Partridge 4, Judg. 82, Seaf. 123, etc., *lifes aldor*, Gen. 2762, *weoroda ealdor*, Cr. 229, *gæsta ealdor*, Judg. 91.

193. *Weard* is extremely common. We note a few of the more characteristic examples. *Heah hordes ward*, Wonders 39, *hluttur heofones w.*,<sup>33</sup> 52, *heofonrices w.*, Dan. 12, *ðone haligan heofonrices w.*, Charm I, 27, etc., etc., *þu on ecnesse awa, drihten hea, hehsta bist heofonrices w.* (*tu autem Altissimus in aeternum Domine*), Ps. XCI, 7, similarly XC, 1; *rodera w.*, Cr. 222, etc., Met. XI, 20, *rice rædwitan, rodera weardas* (*Father and Son*), Doom 299, *middangeardes w.*, And. 227, *gasta w.*, El. 1021, similarly Gu. 1177; *engla w.*, El. 1100, etc., *moncynnes w.*, Gen. 2757, *folca w.*, Gifts 20, *leohtes w.*, Judg. 53, *sigora w.*, Met. XI, 27, *lifes w.*, Gen. 144, 163, Gu. 901. Of compounds we note from the *Psalms*, *heora heafodweard holdne* (*Excelsus*), LXXVII, 19, *erfeweard ealra ðeoda* (*tu hereditabis in omnibus gentibus*), LXXXI, 8.

194. *Hlāford* is employed only occasionally in the religious sense. Applied to God we find it Gen. 2313, etc., while the examples for Christ are a little more numerous. At a later time the word becomes more frequent, while *metod*, etc., are discarded.

195.\* *Agend*, really possessor, is found only a few times. Thus, *se agend*, Ex. 295, *lifes agend*, Wonders 55, *lifes agend*, Hymn 3, etc.

196. *Helm*, protector, is not very frequent. *Helm eallwihhta*, Gen. 113, *se halga helm ælwihta*, And. 118, *engla helm*, Gen. 2751, *gasta helm*, 2420, similarly 1793.

197. *Hyrde* is used a number of times. *Heofona hyrde*, Judg. 86, *tungla hyrde*, Prayer IV, 9, *þrymmes hyrde*, El. 348, Jud. 60, Jul. 280, *wuldres hyrde*, Beow. 931, *gasta hyrde*, Dan. 199, *duguða hyrde*, Gen. 164,

<sup>31</sup> Grimm, *Andreas & Elene*, Cassel, 1840, p. 97, remarks: "Kemble hat richtig bemerkt, dass das wort weder im gen. und dat., noch in pl. vorkomme, es gilt, gleich dem ahd. frö, nur als titel und anrede. Lauter zeichen hohes altertums."

<sup>32</sup> Old Low German loan; comparative of OTeut. \**hairo*, old, venerable. Compare *NED.* under *her*.

<sup>33</sup> Read *weard*.

*leohtes hyrde*, Prayer IV, 7, Az. 121, 129, *ðeoda hyrde*, Az. 150; *feorhhyrde*, Dox. 8.

198. *Gēocend*, preserver, is not frequent. *Gasta geocend*, El. 682, *gæsta geocend*, Gu. 1106, etc.

199. *Brytta*, dispenser or distributor, is also not very frequent. *Torht-mod tires brytta*, Jud. 93, *boldes brytta*, El. 162, *lifes brytta*, Gen. 122, 129.

200. *Nergend*, although generally applied to Christ, may also designate the Godhead, or the first person of the Trinity.<sup>24</sup> *Nergend* or *nergend usser* is frequent in *Genesis*, as 855, 903, 1367, etc., Met. XX, 249, *sawla nergend*, Ph. 498, Gn. Ex. 135, *niða nergend*, Dan. 313, El. 503, 1085, similarly Gu. 612; *nerigend fira*, El. 1172, *nergend wera*, L. Prayer I, 3.

201. *Hælend* is rare, being found twice, *towerpan wuldres leoman*, / *bearn helendes*, Sat. 86, and *ymb þreo niht com þegen hælendes / ham to helle*, 426.

202. We note here also *rodera rædend*, Beow. 1555, Chr. III, B, 23, *staðolfæst styrend*, And. 121, *ðeoda ræswan*, 1622, *scyldend usser* (*Protector noster*), Ps. LXXXIII, 9, *weoruda wilgiefa*, Ph. 465, etc.

203. *Dēma* and *dēmend*, used a few times. *Forðon him is dema drihten sylfa* (*quoniam Deus iudex est*), Ps. LXXIV, 6, *æla dema god*, Prayer I, 1, *hehstan deman*, Jud. 4, *se hehsta dema*, 94, *wuldres dema*, 59. *Duguða demend*, And. 1189, *Dada demend*, Beow. 181, *God sceal on heofenum / dæda demend*, Gn. Cot. 36.

204. To show the fondness of OE. poets for kennings and the extreme tendency to heap them, we note that in the 9 lines of *Cædmon's Hymn* no fewer than 8 occur, which with a single exception differ from one another, *heofonrices weard*, *meotodes meahle*, *wuldorfæder*, *ece drihten*, *halig scyppend*, *monncynnes weard*, *ece drihten*, *frea ælmihtig*. We select two other passages, Dan. 331-3, *þæt þu ana eart ece drihten*, / *weroda waldend*, *woruldgesceafta*, / *sigora settend*, *soðfæst metodl* and Met. XXIX, 79-83, *he is weroda god*, / *cynig and drihten swucera gehwelces*, / *æwelw and fruma eallra gesceafta*, / *wyrhta and sceppend weorulde þisse*, / *wisdom and æ woruldbuendra*.

## V. QUALITIES

205. In giving here a number of the more important qualities of the Deity,<sup>25</sup> we are fully aware that some of them are so closely associated with

<sup>24</sup> Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 73, remarks: "Für die drei Personen werden demnach dieselben Kenningar gebraucht, mit Ausnahme einer weniger wie nergend. . . ." His assertion, here as also in other cases, is not borne out by the facts. Very few kennings are applied to the third person of the Trinity.

<sup>25</sup> For OHG. see Raumer, p. 342 ff., where a few of the qualities and gifts of the Deity are discussed. For ON. compare Kahle, I, 378-80, II, 128-9, 137-9.

particular names as almost to become phrases. Many of them will be found among the kennings in our list, but it seemed best to assemble the terms for a few of the more important, though no attempt at completeness has been made. Qualities ascribed to the Godhead, the Father, and the Son will appear, but the distinction has generally been indicated.

206. God is a spirit, as, *ana ece gast*, Dan. 627, *godspēdig gast*, Gen. 1009. The fact that God is one is not seldom referred to.

207. God is *ēce* and *almihtig*, which qualities are often ascribed to him. Sometimes both occur together, thus, *ðu eca and ðu almihtiga*, Met. IV, 29, *se eca and se almihtiga*, XI, 74, XX, 132. *Ælmihtig*, / *micel, modilic, mærbum gefræge* / and *wunderlic witenā gehwylcum!* XX, 1-3, *ðone miclan drihten*, Charm I, 26, *felameahtigne fæder in heofonum*, Az. 156, similarly 140; *Nis nan mihtigra ne nan mæra* / *ne geond ealle þa gesceaft efnlica ðin!* Met. XX, 18-19. Practically the same attributes are ascribed to Christ. He is *cyning on riht* / *wealdend and wyrhta wuldorþrymmes*, / *an ece god eallra gesceafta*, And. 324-6, *ece Crist*, Prayer IV, 55. *Meotod almihtig*, And. 902, *anwealda almihtig*, Rood B, 153, *almihtig god*, 156; *ece almihtig ærist gefremede*, Gu. 1073, *ece almihtig*, And. 249, 365, El. 799, etc.

208. We have the statement *God us ece biþ*: / *ne wendað hine wyrda ne hine wiht dreceþ* Gn. Ex. 8-9, the Latin *deus immutabilis*. *Geunwendnes*, L. *immutabilitas*, is found Ps. LXXVI, 9. The noun *ecnes* is used not infrequently, especially in the *Psalms*. *ðu in ecnesse awa . . hehsta bist* (*in aeternum*). XCI, 7, *ðu in ecnyse wunast awa* (*in aeternum*), CI, 10, *on ecnesse*, Cr. 313, *þæt we wuldres eard* / *in ecnesse agan mosten*, 1204. Here may also be noticed, *and ðe self wunast swiðe stille* / *unawendendlic a forð simle!* Met. XX, 16-17, *se ana dema is gestæððig* / *unawendendlic, wlitig and mære*, XXIV, 42-3.

209. *Hālig*, applied to both God and Christ, is extremely common. Referring to God, *halig god*, And. 14, 91, *þær halig god* / *wið færbryne folc gescylde*, Ex. 71, *se halga dryhten*, Prayer IV, 1, *halig is se halga heahengla god*, El. 750, etc. Said of Christ, *ðu eart soðlice simle halig*, Hymn 36, (*clypiað to Criste*, line 12) *Halig eart þu, halig, heofonengla cyningc*, L. Prayer III, 13, *halig eart þu halig heahengla brego*, / *soð sigores freal simle þu bist halig*, Cr. 403-4. *Hālignes* is extremely rare. We find it in the sense of *sanctitas* Ps. LXXXVIII, 32, while XCV, 6, it renders *sanctimonia*.

210. *Sōð* is frequently applied to both God and Christ. *ðu soða god*, Met. XX, 51, *soðne god*, Rim. 87, *soð cyning*, Met. XX, 246. Referring to Christ, we note only *Eala þu soða and þu sibsuma*, / *ealra cyninga cyning*,

*Crist ælmihtig!* Cr. 214-15, etc. *Sōðfæst* is often found, used of both God and Christ. *Sōðfæst sylfa dryhten* (*rectus Dominus Deus noster*), Ps. XCI, 14, *drihten is sōðfæst* (*justus*), CXXVIII, 3; applied to Christ, *sōðfæst meotud*, And. 386, *sōðfæstne god*, L. Prayer III, 54, *sōðfæst sigorbeorht*, Cr. 10, etc. The noun *sōðfæstnes*, frequent in the *Psalms*, renders *veritas*, *iustitia*, *justificationes*. Thus, *veritas* Ps. LVI, 12, *þine sōðfæstnesse* (*iustitiae*), LXX, 16, *on þinre sōðfæstnysse* (*justificationibus*), CXVIII, 16. Outside of the *Psalms* we have it El. 1148, *secean sōðfæstnesse*, / *weg to wuldre*.

211. A term closely related is *rihtnes*, very rare in the *Psalms*. *His syndrig folc on rihtnesse ræde gebringeð* (*in aequitate*), XCVII, 9, (*bebodu*) *wurðan sōðfæste and on rihtnysse ræða getrymede* (*facta in veritate et aequitate*), CX, 5. Here may also be noted *rihtwisnes*, *rectitudo*, *iustitia*, e.g., Ps. LXXXVII, 12.

212. The benignity and liberality of God are frequently emphasized. We note *milde*, as, *milde meotod*, Az. 90, *se milda metod*, Met. XXIX, 69; of Christ, *moncynnes milde scyppend*, Cr. 417, *swa we mildum wið ðe*, / *ælmihtigum gode oft abyrged*, L. Prayer II, 21. *Mildheort* is seldom found outside of the *Psalms*. In the examples we give other terms of a similar character also occur. *He þonne is mildheort and manðwære* (*misericors—propitius*), LXXVII, 37, *Mildheort þu eart and mihtig, mode gebyldig*, . . . *is þin milde mod mannum cyðed* (*Miserator et misericors Dominus: longanimus, et multum misericors*), CII, 8, *Mildheort is drihten and mannwære and gebyldig eac*, *pearle mildheort* (*miserator—et misericors Dominus, patiens, et multum misericors*), CXLIV, 8. *Mildheortnes* is confined to the *Psalms*, rendering the Latin *miserecordia*. The term is not infrequent, occurring for instance LXXXV, 12, CII, 11.

213. *Fremsum*, L. *benignus*, is used a few times. *þin milde mod mannum fremsum* (*benigna est misericordia tua*), Ps. LXVIII, 16, *Syleð us fremsum god fagere drihten* (*Dominus dabit benignitatem*), LXXXIV, 11, *fæstræd and fremsum* (*bonus*), CXXXIV, 3. *Fremsumnes* renders *benignitas* Ps. LXIV, 12.

214. *Fæle* is not very frequent. *þin eart fæle god* (*Deus*), Ps. LXVI, 3, *Folc þe andettan fæle drihten* (*Deus*), 5, *fælum fæder* (-), LXXXVIII, 23, *fæle dryhten* (*Dominus*), CXVII, 6, 7.

215. Living is not infrequent as an attribute. *Lifiende god* (-), Ps. LXX, 8, *lifigende god*, (*Deus*), 16, *Gefultuma us, frea ælmihtig, and alys us, lifigende god* (*Adjuua nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui Domine libera nos*), LXXVIII, 9, *lifigende god*, Prayer IV, 18, Az. 78, *þu ligneð nu, þæt sie lifigende*, / *se ofer deoflum dugubum wealdeð*, Dan.

764-5, *lifendum gode*, Soul 69, etc. Said of Christ, *se lifgenda*, Gu. 1072, *lifende Crist*, Ps. L. 126, *Crist lifiend*, Prayer III, 22, *god lifigende*, And. 1409, Sat. 574.

216. Famous is used sometimes. *Mære god*, Prayer IV, 4, *þu eart mære god and Jacobes god se mæra* (*Deus Jacob*), Ps. LXXXIII, 8; applied to Christ, *hu þu mære eart, mihtig drihten*, Prayer III, 17, *hu þu mære eart, mihtig and mægenstrang*, 21, *ðin sunu mære*, Dox. 10, etc. We note further *bremen dryhten*, Az. 116, 142, *þæs breman fæder*, Doom 296, applied to God; referring to Christ, *fram gebyrðtīde breman cinges*, Chr. III, A, 13.

217. Wise is used a few times. *Ðæt is wīs cyning*, Met. XXIV, 34, *wītīg drihten*, Beow. 1554, *wītīg dryhten*, Deor 32, *wīgīg drihten*, Beow. 1841, *wītīg god*, Cr. 226; of Christ, *sigeƿæst and snottor*, Har. 23, *reðe and rihtwīs*, L. Prayer III, 63.

218. Humility is a number of times ascribed to Christ. *Ēaðmōð*, Gu. 496, Cr. 255, *þurh eaðmedu ealle biddað*, 359; apparently corresponding to L. *benignus*, *þu eart se miccla and se mægenstranga / and se eadmoða ealra goda*, Prayer III, 39, *swa þu eadmod eart ealre worlde*, L. Prayer III, 57. Applied to God, *þara eaðmetta eardƿæst*, Met. VII, 38.

219. Purity is asserted of Christ, for instance, *þæt is se clæna Crist, drihten god*, L. Prayer II, 17, *þu eart cyning on riht / clæne and cræftīg*, Dox. 53, and it is also said of him, *of grundum godbearn astag, / cyning clænra gehwæs*, Cr. 702-3.

220. A number of terms may here conveniently be gathered together, such as *tīrfæst metod*, Gen. 1044, *dōmfæst cyning*, 2376, Az. 99, *wuldorfæst cyning*, 133, *wārfæst metod*, Gen. 1320, 1549, *ārfæst*, 2405, *hu arfæst is ealles waldend*, El. 512, the noun in the sense of mercy, pity, occurring Hymn 23, *ðe ðy manscilde middangeardes / for þinre ārfestnesse ealle towurpe* (Christ).

221. Love, anger, etc., etc., are also ascribed to God, but these and similar terms need no discussion here.

222. A few striking expressions referring to the Godhead or the Father may follow here. *Friðstōl* (*refugium*), a few times in the *Psalms*, as LXXXIX, 1, similarly XCIII, 21. *Ðu eart sio birhtu . . . / soðes leohtes and ðu selfa eart / sio fæste ræst, . . . / eallra soðfæstra*, Met. XX, 269-72, *hiofones leohtes hlutre beorhto*, XXI, 39, *þæt micle leoht / godes ælmihtiges*, 42-3, *ðæt is sio soðe sunne mid rihte*, XXX, 17. *Ðu eart selfa weg / and latteow eac lifgendra gehwæs / and sio wlitige stow, þe se weg to ligð*, Met. XX, 277-9. *þu earce eart eallhaligra* (*tu et arca sanctificationis tue*), Ps. CXXXI, 8. *Forþan ðu eðest miht ealra læca*, Prayer I, 6.

## VI. GIFTS

223. Many are the gifts bestowed upon man by the Deity, and references to them are frequent.<sup>28</sup> Since the gifts of God and Christ are practically the same, and as no clear distinction is made in many cases, we shall treat the whole subject here, pointing out, however, distinctive references.

224. We may open the discussion by quoting from *Meters*, where the goodness of God is emphasized as also the fact that he is the author of all good things. *For gode godes*, Met. III, 10, *ðin goodness is, / ælmihtig god, eall mid ðe selfum*, XX, 31-2, *eart ðe selfa / þæt hehste good*, 45-6, *æwelm . . . eallra gooda*, 259, *þone hlutrestan heofontorhtan stream, / æðelne æwelm ælces goodes*, XXIII, 3-4, *þæt hehste good on heahseile / siteð sylf cyning*, XXIX, 75-6. From the *Psalms* we note, *se goda god(-)*, CV, 36, *ecne drihten þæne goodan god (Domino quoniam bonus)*, CVI, 1, similarly CXVII, 1, 2, etc.

225. *Bletsian* and *gebletsian* are comparatively frequent, especially in the *Psalms*. We note only, *gebletsige (benedicant) us, bliðe drihten, and usic god eac bletsige (benedicant)*, Ps. LXVI, 6, *þa he Noe / gebletsade*, Gen. 1505. The noun is *bletsung*, as, *brohte him bletsunge (benedictionem)*, Ps. LXXXIII, 7, *bletsung (benedictio)*, CXXVIII, 6, *He onfon sceal / blisse minre and bletsunge*, Gen. 2331, *þæt nu bletsung mot bæm gemæne / werum and wifum (in Heaven)*, Cr. 100.

226. A word closely related is *segnian* and *gesegnian*. *His wuduan ic wordum bletsige and gesegnade (benedicens benedicam)*, Ps. CXXXI, 16, applied to the ark, *segnade earce innan agenum spedum*, Gen. 1365, referring to Christ's blessing at the Judgment Day, *gesenade / on eðel faran engla dreames*, Cr. 1342. *Segnung* occurs Ps. CXXXI, 19, where (*cymeð*) *minra segnunga soðfæst blostma translates effloreat sanctificatio mea*.

227. *Hælu*, f., in the sense of *salutare, salus*, is very common. *Ece halu (salutare)*, Ps. LII, 7, *þær ic on þinre halo hyldo sohte (salutare)*, CXVIII, 123, *halo and frofre*, And. 95, *mid heortan halo secen*, Cr. 752, *halo strynan*, 1575, *þære halo, þe he us to hyhte forgeaf*, 613. *Hæl*, fn., is also frequently used. We note only, *sawlum to hæle*, L. Prayer II, 16, *Ðis is an hæl earmre sawle (sola salus animae, 22)*, Doom 43, *his (thief) hæle begeat and help recene (salutem 31)*, 62. The verbs *hælan* and *gehælan* are also used, the participle being often applied to Christ, as, *hælendne cyning*, Creed 10.

228. *Ālȳsnes* will be discussed under redemption of Christ. *Ālȳsing* in the sense of redemption we have, *He alysinge leofum folce soðe onsende (redemptionem)*, Ps. CX, 6. *Ālȳsend* is applied to God, *eart alysend min*

<sup>28</sup> For ON, see Kahle, II, p. 129, 139-40.

(*liberator*), Ps. LXIX, 7, *alysend* (*redemptor*), LXXVII, 34. *Lȳsan*, *ālȳsan*, *tolȳsan* are not infrequently employed. Probably referring to the Father, we have, *sawle alysan*, L. Prayer III, 4, *eft hig alyse*, / *sawle of synnum þurh þine soðan miht*, 7. For examples referring to Christ see 260.

229. *Gifnes*, favor, mercy, occurs only rarely. The examples are, *biddað soðfæstne god / are and gifnesse ealre þeode*, L. Prayer III, 55, similarly *are and gifnes*, 110; *Ac alys us of yfele ealle we beþurfon / godes gifnesse*, 114, all the examples probably referring to Christ. In much the same sense *forgifnes* is used, as, (Christ gives) *his forgifnesse guman to helpe*, Cr. 427, but in *þu forgifnesse hæfst gearugne timan* (*veniae tempus*, 34), Doom 68, similarly 91, the meaning is rather forgiveness. The verbs *gifan*, *āgifan*, and *forgifan* are common. Of *forgifan* in the sense of to remit we note, *Forgyf us*, . . . *gyllas and synna / and ure Leahtras alet*, L. Prayer II, 19, *forgef me, sceppen min* (Christ), Ps. L. 45, *adilga min unriht / to forgefenesse gast minum*, 36-7. As shown in the example above, *dlātan* in the sense of to forgive occurs, also *forlātan*, e.g., *unriht þu forlete* (*remisisti iniquitatem*), Ps. LXXXIV, 2; expressing an act on the part of man, we note, *swa swa we forlātað Leahtras on eorþan*, / *þam þe wið us oft agylltað*, L. Prayer II, 23.

230. *Ār*, f., in the sense of favor, mercy, is frequently found. *Cymeð him seo ar of heofonum*, Seaf. 107, *are and gifnes*, L. Prayer II, 110, *Forgif me to are*, *almihtig god*, / *leoht on þissum life*, And. 76, *þonne ic minre sawle swegles bidde*, / *ece are*, Prayer III, 4, *arum bewunden*, Soul 141, etc. Closely related to *ār* is *āre*, f., used for instance, *Us is þinra arna þearf*, Cr. 255, *þonne arna biþearf*, Jul. 715, *arena ic me bidde*, Charm I, 25, etc.

231. *Hylðo*, f., favor, is found frequently. We note only, *metodes hylðo*, Beow. 670, *þa heo ahte mæste þearfe / hylðo þæs hehstan deman*, Jud. 4, *hylðo ðine* (*misericordiae*), Ps. LXXVIII, 8. *Hylð*, m., in the sense of protection, favor, we have, *halige heapas on hild godes*, Ex. 568, *halgum gastum*, *þe his hylð curon*, Dan. 481, etc.

232. *Mundbyrd*, f., protection, occurs several times, as, *heo ðar ða gearwe funde / mundbyrd æt ðam mæran þeodne*, Jud. 3, *ic þe friðe healde*, / *minre mundbyrde mægene besette*, And. 1433, etc.

233. *Frōfor*, consolation, is extremely common. *Him frofre gehet*, Jul. 639, *frofre findan* (at Judgment), Cr. 801, *hæbbe ic þonne / æt frean frofre*, Prayer IV, 47. The Holy Spirit is *frofre gast*, which is also applied to God and Christ. Referring to the latter, we have, *þæt is frofre gast hæleða cynne*, And. 906, *Ðu eart on heofonum hiht and frofor*, / *blissa beorhtost*, L. Prayer III, 9. *Heah higefrofre*, Dox. 13, may not refer to the Son, but to *halig gast* immediately following, while in line 8 it is said of the first person,

*þu eart frofra fæder*. We note further *Beow.* 698, where God gives *frofor and fultum*, and *Men.* 226-8, *fæder engla / his sunu sende on þas sidan gesceaft / folcum to frofre*, similar statements occurring often. We have also, *þa me þine frofre fægere, drihten, gesibbedan sawle mine* (*consolationes tuae laetificaverunt animam meam*), *Ps.* XCIII, 18.

234. *Milds, milts*, f., mercy, compassion, is very common, used of both God and Christ. *þe sie ealles þonc / meorda and miltsa, þara þu me sealdest*, *Prayer IV*, 67, *nergeþde cyning, / meotud, for þinre miltse*, 50, *Oft him anhaga are gebideð, / metudes miltse*, *Wand.* 2. Of Christ, *þær is help gearu, / milts*, *And.* 908, *þu miltse on us / gecyð*, *Cr.* 156, *þine miltse her / arfæst ywe*, 244, *ealra þinra mildsa / . . . fremde weorðan*, *L. Prayer II*, 29, *biddan wylle / miltse þinre*, *Jud.* 85. Referring to God, *for mænigeo miltsa þinra* (*multitudinem miserationum tuarum*), *Ps.* LXVIII, 16, *æfter his miltsa menigu godes* (*secundum multitudinem misericordiae suae*), *CV*, 34, *þæt eow mihtig god miltse gecyðde*, *Ex.* 292, *þæt we gesine ne syn godes þeodscipes, / metodes miltsa*, 529, etc. *Mildsian* and *gemildsian* are rather common. We note only, (Christ) *mildsa nu, meahlig, manna cynne*, *Hymn 33*, *He þinum mandædum miltsade eallum* (*cui propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus tuis*), *Ps.* CII, 3.

235. *Lis, lifðs*, f., grace, favor, is often used. *Eow liffrean lissa bidde*, *Ex.* 271, *Us is lissa þearf / þæt þu us ahredde*, *Cr.* 373, *þancode swiðe / lifes leohtruman lisse and ara*, *Gen.* 1889, etc., etc.

236. *Frið*, mn., peace, protection, fairly frequent. *On friðe drihtnes*, *Dan.* 438, *ac him frið drihtnes / . . . gescylde*, 466, *on frið dryhtnes*, *And.* 1034, *þone halgan heap helpe bidde, / friðes and fultomes*, *Ap.* 91, etc. *Fræod*, f., favor, peace, not very frequent. *þær bið symle gearu / freod unhwilen*, *And.* 1154, etc. *Freoðo*, f., peace, favor, security, not very frequent. *Utan us to fæder freopa wilnian*, *Cr.* 773, *Ic* (Christ) *eow freoðo healde*, *And.* 336, etc.

237. As in the case of the attributes of the Deity, this list is not intended to be exhaustive. It could be extended considerably by the enumeration of all the blessings and favors bestowed upon man. Little would be gained by such a procedure, while in many cases it would involve unnecessary repetition. Therefore only the more important and characteristic terms have been included in our list.

## VII. CHRIST

238. In order to render the Hebrew *ישוע* the Greeks either adopted *Ἰησοῦς* or translated it by *σωτήρ*, while Latin similarly has *Jesus* and *salva-*



*tor.* OHG. and ON.<sup>37</sup> follow these languages in using both the proper name and a translation, but OE. employs only a translation, namely *hælend*, substantive form of the past participle of *hælan*, OS. having *heland*, OHG. *heilant*, all of which go back to the OTeut. \**heiljan*, to heal, save.<sup>38</sup> Regarding the giving of the name it is said Men. 4, (*Crist was acennyd*, 1) *on þy eahteodan dæg / hælend gehaten heofonrices weard*. The name is rather frequent in the poetry. We note only, *þæt ðu hælend eart / middangeardes*, El. 808-9, *ðu eart sigefest sunu and soð hælend*, Hymn 16, *hælend*, Ph. 650, Judg. 64, *se gehalgoda hælend*, Cr. 435, *drihten hælend*, Sat. 219, Prayer III, 24, similarly And. 541; *hælend god*, Cr. 383, Sat. 493, Prayer III, 9. We also find the juxtaposition *hælend Crist*, Cr. 358, as also the combination *halende Crist*, 250, Ph. 590.

239. However, much more common is *Crist*,<sup>39</sup> used in the poetry as a proper name, though *crist* in its etymological sense occurs a few times in the *Psalms*, the passages to be discussed in 243. The Old Testament employs מָשִׁיחַ, the anointed one, in order to designate the promised Messiah, while the New Testament either adopts the term as *Messias* or translates it by *ὁ Χριστός*. Then it passes into Latin as *Christus*. The other Germanic dialects also have taken over the word, each of course subjecting it to its sound laws.<sup>40</sup>

240. We note a few examples of the exceedingly frequent term, the quotations given emphasizing by a modifier the peculiar function attributed. *Nergendne Crist*, Sat. 346, *nergende Crist*, Gu. 570, Sat. 570, *neriende Crist*, L. Prayer II, 4, with a change in the word order, *Crist / nergend*, Hymn 39, *Crist nergende*, Cr. 157, *Crist nerigende*, L. Prayer II, 28. Here may also be noted such occurrences as *waldend Crist*, Doom 52, *þone ahangnan Crist*, El. 797, etc.

241. In OE. poetry Christ occupies a very prominent place, appearing also in poems dealing with the Old Testament history, as, *soð sunu metodes*, *sawla nergend*, Dan. 402, *Crist cyning*, Az. 103, *þone soðan sunu*, 157, *ac hy Crist scilde*, 165.

<sup>37</sup> Regarding terms etc. referring to Christ in OHG. compare Raumer, p. 354 ff., for ON. see Kahle, I, 382 ff., II, 129 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Raumer, p. 355 ff., *NED.* under *healend*.

<sup>39</sup> Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, 2. Auflage, I, p. 929, remarks: "Auch das *t* von ae. *Crist* deutet im Zusammenhange mit der eben vorgeführten kirchlichen Terminologie auf air. *Crist*," but p. 359, Anm.: "Das Wort *Christus* haben die Germanen in der lateinisch-romanischen Form *Cristus* als angels. *Crist* übernommen." See also MacG., p. 19, and p. 20, note 1, Morsbach's remark on MacG.'s note that he has never found in the MSS. any marks of length in the case of derivatives, "If this is really the case, we may assume shortness of vowel in O.E. *Crist*, *cristen*, &c. and explain the M.E. and N.E. lengthenings through French influence."

<sup>40</sup> Raumer, pp. 359-60.

242. A peculiar phenomenon is to be noticed in the *Psalms*. In *Ps. L. (Cottoniana)* Christ seems to have occupied the place of God. His name is inserted, though there is not the slightest warrant for it in the Vulgate. David is called *Criste lifost*, line 3, to whom he also prays, (*ic*) *helende Crist helpe bidde*, 50. In 126 we have *lifende Crist*, which is entirely on a par with *god lifende*, 134, etc., and similar terms. The Savior is addressed *dryhten Crist*, line 88. The other occurrences are, *þæt hio cerrende Criste herdon*, 56, *þonne ic geclænsod Criste hero*, 74, and *mēhtig god mannum to frofre / ðæs cynedomes Crist neriende / waldende god weorðne munde*, 149.

243. In the other *Psalms* a similar fact may be observed, though perhaps it is less striking on account of the isolated cases. A few times the word is used in the sense of anointed, rendering the Latin *christus*. Thus, *oncnaw onsyne cristes þines (respice in faciem christi tui)*, LXXXIII, 9; applied to David, *þu þonne wiðsoce soþum criste and hine forhogodest (distulisti christum tuum)*, LXXXVIII, 32, similarly *fæste æwitað and þæt þinum criste becwepað swiðe (christi tui)*, 44, as also *bere for minum criste gecorenum (christo meo)*, CXXXI, 18. While there is thus a warrant in the Vulgate for the OE. rendering, the same cannot be said of the other occurrences. The author of the poetic version of the *Psalms* has in a characteristic manner transferred Christ to the Old Testament. We read, *on circean Crist drihten god bealde bletsige (In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino)*, LXVII, 24, and *gecyr us georne to ðe, Crist ælmihtig*, LXXXIV, 5, renders *Converte nos Deus salutaris noster*. *Hælynde Crist* has been inserted CVIII, 25, being on a par with *drihten god* just preceding. We note, *do me cuðlice halne, heahcýning, heofona wealdend, hælende Crist*, CXVIII, 146, the passage showing the synonyms. In CXXXIII, 2, and CXXXIV, 2, *Dei* is rendered by *Cristes*, for we read *on cafertunum Cristes huses (in atriis domus Dei nostri)*. Finally, *on cyrcean cristenes folces*, CVI, 31, renders *in ecclesia plebis*.

244. In addition to *hælend* and *Crist*, the term *Emmānūhæl* is once applied to Christ, Cr. 132.

245. At this point we shall take up the life of Christ during his sojourn on the earth, the work of redemption and reconciliation, followed by a discussion of the names and figures which are applied to him.

246. All the important phases of Christ's life upon the earth are treated in the poetry to a greater or less extent. Only the main points will be considered by us. His coming to the earth is sometimes spoken of as the sending of God, Men. 226-7, at other times as Christ's decision and will to become man, *þu fore monna lufan þinre modor bosm / sylfa gesohtes, sigedrihten god*, Har. 110-11, similarly Ap. 27-8, Cr. 445-6, etc. He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, *þær halig gast handgift sealde / þære fæmnan*,

Creed 18, and Invocation 13 tells that Christ was born (*purh Marian*, 12) *purh þane halgan gast*. No specific word for the L. *incarnatio* appears, which is paraphrased, as for instance, *nu eft gewearð / flæsc firena leas*, Cr. 122-3, etc. *Eacnung*, properly increase, is once used for conception, Cr. 75. Christ's sinlessness is often referred to, so especially regarding his conception and birth, *mennisc hiw / onfeng butan firenum*, Cr. 721-2, *onfeng æt samnan flæsc unwemme*, 418, *he of æðelre wæs uirginis partu / clæne acenned Christus in orbem*, Invocation 10-11, etc., *God wæs mid us / gesewen butan synnum*, Cr. 124-5, *sunu synna leas*, El. 777, etc. The birth-place is mentioned several times, so Charm V, A, 3, *Bæðleem hatte seo buruh, þe Crist acenned wæs*, similarly Creed 23-4; Charm V, B, 3, *Bethlem hattæ seo burh, ðe Crist on geboren wæs*. Mary, his mother, is often mentioned, as for instance, *his modor eac Marian sylfe / ælmihtig god*, Rood B, 92-3, etc. To Christ's life in Nazareth refers El. 912-13, *se ðe in Nazareð afeded wæs*.<sup>41</sup>

247. Of other events in the life of Christ may be mentioned the betrayal of Judas, to which a reference is found Sat. 575-6, (*Judas*) *se ðe ær on lifre torhtne gesalde / drihten hælend*.

248. Very many references are made to the suffering, the passion of Christ. The term used is *þrōwung*, which occurs a few times, *freaþ þrōwunga*, Cr. 1130, *dryhtnes þrōwunga*, 1180, *þurh his þrōwunga*, 470, and *ðinra ðrōwunga*, Hymn 28. The verb is *þrōwian*, e.g., *Ða se Pontisca Pīlatus weold / . . . / þa se deora frea deað þrowade*, Creed 27, etc. *þolian* is also used, as, (on the cross) *wite þolade*, Cr. 1452. Among other things we note the crown of thorns, mentioned twice in Christ, *ymb his heafod heardne gebigdon / beag þyrnenne*, 1126-7, and *þa hi hwæsne beag / ymb min heafod heardne gebygdon, / þream biþrycton, se wæs of þornum geworht*, 1444-6. The crucifixion itself, for which no noun is encountered, takes place *on Calurie*, El. 672, *æfter stedewange, hwær seo stow sie / Calurie*, 675-6, *on þa dune*, 717, *of ðam wangstede*, 793. *Hōn* and *āhōn*, to suspend, are used in the sense of to crucify, thus, (*godes agen bearn*) *þurh hete hengen on heanne beam*, El. 424, *āhōn* being more common, *hwær ahangen wæs . . . / on rode treo rodera waldend*, El. 205-6, *þæt hie god sylfne / ahengen*, 209-10, *Pīlatus ær on rode aheng rodera waldend*, Jul. 305, etc. It is said that the crucifixion took place with the consent of the Father, (*þrowode*) *meotud on galgan / be fæder leafe*, Men. 86-7.

249. The word for cross is *rōd*, also *trēo* etc. It should be noticed that *galga* is often used interchangeably with *rōd*, *trēo*, etc. The Anglo-Saxons, being unacquainted with crucifixion, substituted the term for hanging.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Curiously enough, Grein, *Dichtungen*, p. 128, translates, "der geboren war in Nazareth."

<sup>42</sup> For OHG. see Raumer, p. 362, and note 15, p. 363, where he remarks: "Im Gothischen ist *galga* der gewöhnliche Ausdruck für *crucifixio*." For ON. compare Kahle, II, p. 145 f.

So we have for instance, *þa ic mid Judeum gealgan þehte, / rod wæs aræred*, And. 966-7, *hine rode befealg, / þæt he on gealgan his gast onsende*, 1326-7. In *Elene* especially *galga* occurs frequently, e.g., *hu on galgan wearð godes agen bearn / ahangen*, 179. At other times we have *rōd*, not infrequently both terms occurring in the same sentence. The same fact may be observed where the crucifixion of others than Christ is related, as, *Sume ic rode befealh, / þæt hi hyra dreorge on hean galgan / lif aletan*, Jul. 481-3. Here a few further occurrences of the frequent term *galga* may be given. *On galgum*, Sat. 511, *on galgan*, 550, *he wolde on galgu gestiga*, Rood A, 2, *on gealgan heanne*, Rood B, 40, *fracodes galga*, 10. We also have *on þam gealgtreowe*, 146.

250. The cross is mentioned very often in OE. poetry, a whole poem, *Elene*, being devoted to the finding of the cross of Christ, while the *Dream of the Rood* shows how important a part the cross played in the life of the people.<sup>43</sup> Besides, there are numerous references to it in other poems. We are told that St. Guthlac *him to ætstalle ærest arærde, / Cristes rode*, 150-1, at the Judgment there is *seo hea rod*, Cr. 1065, mentioned also 1085 ff., 1102, *rincas at þære rode*, Judg. 105. In the *Dream of the Rood* the invocation of the cross is plainly shown, *gebiddaþ him to þyssum beacne*, B, 83, *Gebæd ic me þa to þan beame*, 122, *ac ðurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan / of earðwege æghwylc sawl*, 119-20. We have a compound in *hiera winrod lixan, / soðfæstra segn*, Sal. 235.

251. In order to show the wealth of expressions for the cross, we note the more important kennings.<sup>44</sup>

252. *Rōd*, f., originally having the sense of L. *virga*, *pertica*, is used in OE. poetry for cross. *Sio halige rod*, El. 720, 1011, 1223, *sio reade rod*, Cr. 1102, *þære deorestan dægweorðunga / rode under roderum*, El. 1233-4, *dryhtnes rod*, Rood B, 136, *æðelcyninges rod*, El. 219, *Cristes rode*, 103, And. 1337.

253. *Trēo*, n. *þæt halige treo*, El. 107, 442, 701, 840, etc., *þæt halige triow / ðinre ðrowunga*, Hymn 27-8, *þæt whitige treo*, El. 165, *syllicre treow*, Rood B, 4, *þæt mære treo*, El. 214; *halendes treow*, Rood B, 25, *wuldres treo*, El. 827, 866, similarly 1251, Rood B, 14; *lifes treow*, El. 664, similarly 706, 1026; *wealdes treow*, Rood B, 17, *on rode treowe*, Ph. 643, *on rode treo*, El. 206, 855, Jul. 447, *his rode treo*, El. 147.

254. *Bēam* is also fairly common. *On heanne beam*, El. 424, *ic wæs ahangen on heanne beam / rode gefæstnad*, Cr. 1447, *þone æðelan beam*, El. 1073, *æpelust beama*, Men. 84, *þone halgan beam*, Cr. 1094, *on ful blacne*

<sup>43</sup> Regarding the place of the cross among the Anglo-Saxons and its veneration, see Stevens, W. O., *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, New York, 1904.

<sup>44</sup> A few are given by Bode, *Kenningar*, pp. 86-7. Rankin names some IX, p. 62.

*beam bundan fæste*, Judg. 66, *se leohta beam*, Cr. 1090, *þone beorhtan beam*, El. 1254, *beama beorhtost*, Rood B, 6, *mærost beama*, El. 1012, 1224, also *se wuldres beam*, El. 217. Of compounds we note *sigebeam*, Rood B, 13, in the dat. sing., El. 420, 444, 860, *sigebeamas .III.*, El. 846, *selest sigebeama*, 1027. Regarding the cross Constantine saw in the dream it is said, *Geseah he frætwum beorht / wiliti wuldres treo ofer wolcna hrof, / golde geglenged: gimmas listan; / was se blaca beam bocstafum awriten / beorhte ond leohte*, El. 88-92. This serves as the pattern of the cross he causes to be made.

255. Of other kennings we add *bēacen*, sign. *þæt fuse beacen*, Rood B, 21, *beacna beorhtast*, Cr. 1086, *beacna selest*, Rood B, 118, *beacen godes*, El. 109. Of compounds *sigebeacen soð*, El. 887, in the dat. sing. 168, 665, 1256, *selest sigebeacna*, 974, *sigorbeacen*, 984. *Tācen*, sign. *Mære tacen*, And. 1338, *tacna torhtost*, El. 164, *sigores tacen*, 85. In El. 790 the cross is called *þæt goldhord*.

256. The nails of the cross are mentioned several times in *Elene*, 1064 ff. and 1112-14, where they are characterized, *swylce heofonsteorran / oððe godgimmas*.

257. Christ's descent into hell receives a large share of attention in OE. poetry, one whole piece, the *Harrowing of Hell*, being entirely devoted to that subject. In other poems it is also mentioned. No specific term to denote the descent has been encountered, and the subject need not detain us here. We note only, *ymb þreo niht com þegen hælendes / ham to helle*, Sat. 426-7.

258. Resurrection is expressed by *ærist*, mfn., a word comparatively rare. We find, *drihtnes ærist*, Men. 58, *ece ælmihtig ærist gefremede*, Gu. 1073, *þinum æriste*, Har. 121. The verb is *ārisan*. The resurrection of Christ is variously expressed, thus, *þæs þe drihten god of deaðe aras*, Sat. 516, *he þy þriddan dæge / . . . lif eft onfeng / þurh fæder fullum*, Ph. 644-6, *ðu of deaðe hine / swa þrymlice, þeoda waldend, / aweahte for weorodum*, El. 779-81, *open wæs þæt eorðærn, æbelinges lic / onfeng feores gæst*, Har. 19-20, *hagosteald onwoc / modig from moldan*, 21-2.

259. In order to express ascension we have once only *stīge*, m., *drihtnes stīge / on heofonas up*, Men. 64. *Upstīge* is also rare, *æt his upstīge*, Cr. 615, *æfter upstīge ecan dryhtnes*, 711. A number of times the verb is employed, *Gesegon hi on heahþu hlaford stigan, / godbearn of grundum*, Cr. 498, etc., *ærþon upstīge ancenned sunu*, 464.

260. Christ says, *ða mec ongon hreowan* (that man should be lost), Cr. 1415, and *þa me gereaw, þæt min handgeweorc / carcernes clom ðrowade*, Sat. 489-90. Redemption was the purpose of his work upon earth. To that end he performed miracles, *wundor, þa þe worhte weoroda dryhten / to*

*feorhnere fra cynne*, El. 896-7. The subject of *wundor* is treated at some length And. 569 ff. This work of redemption, mainly accomplished through vicarious suffering, is expressed in different ways. It is suffering for the sins of mankind, *þæs he on þone halgan beam ahongen wæs / fore mancynnes manforwyrhtu*, Cr. 1094-5, *þæt he for ælda lufan / firenfremmendra fela browade*, 1117-18, *se ðe ælmihtig god on browode / for mancynnes manegum synnum / and Adomes ealdgewyrhtum*, Rood B, 98-100, *ær browode / on þam gealgtreowe for guman synnum*, 145-6, and somewhat varying, *þær he earfeþu / gepolade fore þearfe þeodbuendra*, Cr. 1172-3. It is a saving, a rescuing from sin, devil, and hell, *nerian*, *generian*, *lȳsan* and *ālȳsan* being used. *þæt hi frea nerede / fram hellcwale halgum meahnum / alwalda god*, Cr. 1189-91, *þæt þu of deofles þurh þæt / nydgewalde genered wurde*, 1450-51; *þa he wolde mancyn lȳsan*, Rood B, 41, *fram ligcwale lȳsan þohte*, El. 296, also *hu se sylfa cyning / mid sine lichoman lȳsde of firenum* (that sinners might live), Cr. 1209-10, *alȳsde leoda bearn of locan deofla / geomre gastas*, El. 181-2, *þe ic alȳsde me / feondum of fæðme*, Cr. 1485-6, and *þæs ðe þu us milde mihtum alȳsdest / fram hæftnyde hellewites*, L. Prayer II, 35-6. *Onlȳsan* and *tolȳsan* are also found.

261. Occasionally redemption is represented as buying, as the payment of a ransom. Thus, *folc generedes / blode geboktest bearn Israela*, Hymn 25-6, (*hafað wulf*) *þin eowde / wide towrecene, þæt ðu waldend ær / blode geboktes*, Cr. 257-9, and *þe mine deaðe deore gebokte / þæt longe lif*, 1463-4. Besides *bycgan* and *gebycgan*, *cēapian* is also found, *þær he leoflice lifes ceapode / . . . / mid þy weorðe, þe no wom dyde / his lichoma leahtra firena / mid þy usic alȳsde*, Cr. 1096, and once also we meet with *gecȳpan*, *lif þæt scȳne / þæt ic þe for lufan mid mine lichoman / heanum to helpe hold gecȳpte*, 1472.

262. Redemption is also conceived of as the routing of the devil, as for instance, *ðe ðy manscilde middangeardes / for þinre arfæstnesse calle towurpe / fiond geflæmdest*, Hym 23-5.

263. It was the object of Christ to effect a reconciliation between God and man, and to end the existing enmity. The word employed is *geþingian*, *geþingode þeodbuendum / wið fæder swæsne fahþa mæste / cyning anboren*, Cr. 616. In the sense of to reconcile it is also used of St. Juliana, *þæt me seo halge wið þone hyhstan cyning / geþingige*, Jul. 717. It may also denote intercession, as Cr. 342, where the Virgin Mary is implored, *Gepinga us nu þristum wordum. . . . Þingian* is also employed in the sense of intercession. Thus it is said of Stephen, *ac his ealdfeondum / þingode prohiherd*, El. 494, and Christ himself remarks, *Ic eow þingade*, Sat. 509. Applied to David we have, *to ðingienne þiodun sinum*, Ps. L. 7, similarly 26 and 146.

264. Christ is *god*. So it is said of him, *þis is se ilca ealwalda god /*

*ðone on fyrndagum fæderas cuðon*, And. 751-2, being directly identified with the God of the Old Testament, further, *þæt þu eart sylfa god, / ece orðfruma ealra gesceafta*, Sat. 441, *þæt hie god sylfne / ahengon*, El. 209-10, *God wæs mid us / gesewen butan synnum*, Cr. 124-5, *Nu is rodera weard / god sylfa mid us*, 134-5, etc. We add a few terms which recall passages from the Creeds or seem to be approximations. *Swa þu god of gode gearo acenned*, Cr. 109, *butan anginne*, 111, *efenece mid god*, 122, *efeneardige mid þinne engan frean*, 237, *efenwesende in þam æþelan ham*, 350, *efenece bearn agnum fæder*, 465. In some of these cases the attributes are applied to him though at the same time he is called the Son.

265. A number of kennings<sup>45</sup> appear, of which we cite the more characteristic. *Nergende god*, Cr. 361, *waldende god*, 1011, *lifigende god*, 273, similarly L. Prayer III, 25; *god lifigende*, And. 1409, *lifigende god*, L. Prayer III, 101, *mihtig god*, Cr. 1008, 1171, *ælmihigne god*, Rood B. 60, *ælmihiti god*, And. 260, similarly Rood B. 92; *soðfæstne god*, L. Prayer III, 54, similarly 115; *þone ahangnan god*, El. 687. *Drihten god*, And. 1281, Sat. 516, L. Prayer II, 18, *god drihten*, And. 897, *gæsta god*, Cr. 130, *engla god*, L. Prayer III, 122, *weoroda god*, Cr. 407, *ealwalda god*, And. 751, 925, *wealdend god*, El. 4.

266. Christ is the *sunu*. *Sunu meotodes*, Sat. 143, 173, *soð sunu meotodes*, El. 461, *haligne godes sunu*, Sat. 528, *beorhine sunu*, Cr. 205, *acenned sunu*, 464, *waldendes sunu*, Sat. 119, *sunu soþan fæder*, Cr. 110. *Godes gastsunu*, El. 673, similarly Cr. 660, 861.

267. Another term used is *bearn*,<sup>46</sup> very frequent with *godes*, *metodes*, *waldendes*, etc. *Godes agen bearn*, Sat. 10, *godes ece bearn*, And. 747, *efenece bearn*, Cr. 465, *efeneadig bearn*, Hymn 21, *æðelust bearna*, El. 476, *ða beorhtan bearn*, 782. *Godbearn*, And. 640, Cr. 499, 682, 702, etc., similarly Ph. 647; *frumbearn*, Cr. 507, *frumbearn godes*, Sat. 470, *freobearn*, Creed 43, *freobearn godes*, Sat. 289, Cr. 643, 788, *cyninges freobearn*, El. 672, *rodera weard / at frymðe genom him to freobearne*, Cr. 223, *cynebearn*, And. 566, *cynebearn gecyðd cwycum and deadum, / æpele and ece ofer ealle þingc*, L. Prayer III, 117, *wuldres cynebearn*, Men. 159, *halubearn*, Cr. 586, *halobearn*, 754, *sigebearn godes*, El. 481, 862, Har. 32, etc., *ælmihiti / sigebearn godes*, El. 1146.

268. In order to emphasize both the human and the divine nature in

<sup>45</sup> Bode in his *Kenningar*, p. 79 ff., has included those belonging to the Son in the kennings for "Gott," so that only in a few cases one is able to make any distinction. Rankin, *Kennings*, may be compared under headings such as "God as Son," "God as Savior," etc. He also does not clearly distinguish between the persons.

<sup>46</sup> Rankin, *Kennings*, VIII, p. 419, remarks: "It is noteworthy that *bearn* occurs far more frequently than *sunu*, which apparently was a word of more commonplace and prosaic connotation."

Christ, the author of the *Christ* states that fact in (*somod eardedon*) *mihtig meotudes bearn and se monnes sunu*, 126.

269. Although Christ is the Son, he is also a few times identified with the Father. Thus, *fæder frumsceafta*, Cr. 472, *þa he on rode astag, / fæder, frofre gæst*, 728, (*þonne Crist siteð*, etc.) *on heahsetle heofonmægna god, / fæder ælmihtig*, 1219. He is also called *fæder mancynnes*, And. 1465, Ap. 29, *fæder folca gehwæs*, And. 330, *frumweorca fæder*, And. 804. Curiously enough, we find in L. Prayer III, 42-3, the bold statement, *þu eart sunu and fæder / ana ægþer*.

270. Christ dwelt before his incarnation with the Father in glory. *Ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman, / bearn helendes*, Sat. 85-6, and *ðæs ic wolde of selde sunu meotodes, / drihten adrifan*, 173-4, the chief of the fallen angels confesses, but *Crist heo afirde*, 67. He took part in the creation, as it is said of him, *þu eart seo snyltro, þe þas sidan gesceaft / mid þi waldende worhtes ealle*, Cr. 239-40, and he himself says, *Snotre gastas! / ic eow þurh mine mihte geworhte*, Sat. 471-2. Such statements as the following also occur, *waldend and wyrhta wuldorbrymmes, / an ece god eallra gesceafta*, And. 702-3, *ah him alles gewald, / wuldres and wita waldendes sunu*, Sat. 118-9, *þæt he ana is ealra gesceafta / wyrhta and waldend þurh his wuldres craeft*, 584-5. Thus Christ is *scyppend*, a term frequently applied to him. We note such phrases as *scippend ealra*, El. 370, *ealra worulda scippend*, Prayer III, 23, *gasta scyppend*, Sat. 244, *engla scyppend*, And. 278, similarly Sat. 535, 563; *hæleþa scyppend*, Cr. 266, *moncynnes milde scyppend*, 417, *manna scyppend*, And. 486, similarly Har. 109; *scyppend wera*, And. 787, etc.

271. *Fruma* is not infrequently found. *Fyrnweorca fruma*, Cr. 579, *ealles folces fruma*, Har. 29, 41, *ealra folca fruma*, Cr. 516; *ece eadfruma*, 532, *lifes leohtfruma*, Gu. 565, And. 387, *liffruma*, El. 335, And. 1284, etc., *torhtes tirfruman*, Cr. 206, *engla ordfruma*, Sat. 659, Ap. 28, *æþelne ordfruman ealra gesceafta*, Cr. 402, *eades ordfruma*, 1199, *duguða dædfruma*, And. 75.

272. *Metod*, as in the case of the Father, is extremely frequent, practically the same kennings being employed for each. *Middangeardes meotud*, Judg. 65, *mægencyninga meotud*, Cr. 943, *meotud mancynnes*, And. 69, 446, Sat. 515, etc., etc.

273. *Cyning* is very common. We note only, *þone ahangnan cyning*, El. 453, 933, *ahof ic ricne cyning, / heofona hlaford*, Rood B, 44, *cyning anboren*, El. 392, Cr. 618, *Israhela cining*, El. 799, *cining cwicera gehwæs*, And. 912, *hæleþa cyning*, Cr. 372, *ealra kyninga kyning*, *Crist lifend*, Prayer III, 22, similarly Sat. 205, And. 978, Jul. 289, Cr. 136, 215, etc.; *repust ealra cyninga*, Har. 36, *selast ealra cyninga*, 117, *cyninga wuldor*, El. 5.



*Wuldorcyning*, Sat. 115, *weoroda wuldorcyning*, Cr. 161, *heofena heahcyning*, L. Prayer II, 15, similarly Cr. 1340; *heofena heahkyning*, Prayer III, 50, *heofenes heahcyning*, Cr. 150, *rodorcyninges*, El. 886, Cr. 727, *æðelcyninges*, El. 219, *þryðcining*, And. 436, *sigora soðcyning*, Cr. 1229.

274. Twice we have encountered *cāsere* and once *rex*. *þu gewurðod eart / on heofonrice*, *heah casere*, L. Prayer III, 60, *caseres lof*, Ph. 634. *Him wearð ece rex*, / *meotud milde*, *god mihta waldend*, El. 1042.

275. *Dryhten* is very frequent as an appellation of the Son. A few of the large number of examples may find a place here. *Dryhten ealra*, El. 187, *dryhten hælend*, And. 1407, *dryhtna drihten*, 874, *dryhtna dryhten*, Cr. 405. Of compounds we note only *freodrihten*, Sat. 547, *soð sigedrihten*, L. Prayer II, 34.

276. *Frēa* is very frequent. *Frea moncynnes*, Har. 33, etc., *waldend frea*, Cr. 328, *soð sigora frea*, El. 488, *fyrnweorca frea*, And. 1410, *frea folca gehwas*, Hymn 20; *liffrea*, Cr. 15, 27, etc., *heofona heahfrea*, 253, 424.

277. *þeoden* is not very frequent. *þeoden*, And. 696, *rice þeoden*, And. 364, 415, *þeoden þrymfæst*, 323, *þrymfæst þeoden*, Cr. 944, And. 323, *engla þeoden*, Cr. 791, 290, 900.

278. *Wealdend* and *weard* are frequently found, while *hlāford* seems more often applied to Christ than to the Father. *Hlaford*, Cr. 498, *reðe and rihtwis*, *rumheort hlaford*, L. Prayer III, 63, *hlaford eallra*, / *engla and elda*, El. 475-6, *heofona hlaford*, Rood B, 45.

279. *Æðeling* is sometimes applied to Christ. *Æþeling*, Cr. 448, *wuldres æþeling*, Cr. 158, *æðelinges lic*, Har. 3, 19, *æþelinga ord*, Cr. 515, *æðelinga ord*, El. 393, etc.

280. *Āgend*, not very frequent. *Sigores agend*, Cr. 420, 513, *lifes agend*, 471, *swegles agend*, 543, *wuldres agend*, 1198.

281. *Helm*. *Helm wera*, El. 475, *helm alwihta*, Cr. 274, 410, *æðelinga helm*, And. 277, 623, 655, *haligra helm*, Cr. 529, *heofona helm*, Har. 34, *heofonrices helm*, Cr. 566, etc.

282. *Hyrde*. *Halig hyrde*, Gu. 761, *fram gebyrðtide bremes cinges*, / *leokta hyrdes*, Chr. III, A, 12, *þrymmes hyrde*, El. 858, *rices hyrde*, And. 807.

283. *Lārēow*, a number of times. *Lareow*, And. 1321, *lifes lareow*, 1466, *boca lareow*, Dox. 12.

284. *Lättēow*, a few times. *Lifes lattiow*, El. 520, 898, *þæs latteowes ðarum hyre*, Gu. 335, etc.

285. Compounds of *giefa*. *Sawla symbolgifa*, And. 1417, *weoruda wuldorgiefa*, Har. 42, *engla eadgifa*, And. 74, 451, *eorla eadgiefan*, Cr. 546, *weoruda willgeofa*, And. 1282, *weoroda willgifa*, El. 814, *hyra wilgifu*, Cr. 537, *hyra sincgiefan*, 460, *folca feorhgiefan*, 556, *beorht blædgifa*, And. 656, *hæleða hyhtgifu*, El. 851.

286. *Gēocend*, not very frequent. *Gasta geocend*, And. 548, 901, El. 682, 1076, Cr. 198.

287. *Nergend*, very frequent. *Nerigend fira*, El. 1077, *neregend fira*, And. 291, *sawla nergend*, And. 549, 921, Cr. 571, El. 461, 798, *folca nergend*, Cr. 426, *niða nergend*, Hymn 35.

288. *Dēma*, a number of times. *Ðu ana bist eallra dema*, / *cwucra ge deadra*, *Crist nergend*, Hymn 38-9, *rihtwis dema*, L. Prayer III, 28, *soðfæst dema*, 37, 121; *se sigedema*, And. 661, etc.

289. Of metaphors and figures applied to Christ the most important have been listed.

290. Peculiar are two passages, in which Christ is placed among the heavenly spirits, *engla beorhtast* / *ofer middangeard monnum sende*, Cr. 104, *Siteð him on heofnum halig encgl[a]* / *waldend mid witegum*, Sat. 586.

291. *þæt ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman*, / *bearn helendes*, Sat. 85, *se was orðfruma ealles leohtes*, Maxims 20, *se soðfæsta sunnan leoma*, Cr. 696, similarly 106; *soðfæstra leoht*, El. 7, *leohtes leoht*, Prayer III, 1, *ealles leohtes leoht*, El. 486, *Ðu eart heofonlic lioht*, Hymn 22, *englum and eorð-warum æpele scima*, Cr. 697. *Wlitig wuldres gim*, Ph. 516. *Eala Earendell engla beorhtast* / . . . / *and soðfæsta sunnan leoma* / *torht ofer tunglas*, Cr. 104-7.

292. *þæt þu ðe læce ne cystþ*, Doom 66, *ealra cyninga* / *help and heafod*, *halig læce*, L. Prayer III, 61-2, *uplicum læce*, *se ana mæg* / *aglidene modgod gode gehælan*, Doom 46-7. We quote in passing, *lifes læcedomes æt lifes frean*, Doom 81, *laðað us þider to leohte purh his læcedom*, Sat. 589.

293. We note further, *fugel*, Cr. 636, 645, etc., *mæga goldhord*, Cr. 787, *ðæt halige lamb*, Hymn 22, *godes lombær*<sup>47</sup>, Gu. 1045, referring to building, *se cræftga*, Cr. 12, *se weallstan*, 2, *se earcnanstan*, 1196.

#### VIII. THE HOLY GHOST

294. In the New Testament, e.g., John 1, 33, πνεῦμα ἁγίου appears as the third person of the Godhead, which phrase Christian Latin translates

<sup>47</sup> Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 74, remarks: "Unter uns sind einige Kenningar üblich, die das Leiden Christi hervorheben: der Gekreuzigte, das Lamm Gottes, es ist charakteristisch, dass diese bei unseren Altvordern keine Aufnahme gefunden haben." His assertion is not borne out by the facts. We might also point to such close parallels as *þone ahangnan god*, *Crist*, *cyning*.

by *spiritus sanctus*. The OE. term is *gāst*, *gæst*, m., OFris. *gāst*, OS. *gēst*, OHG. *geist*, from the common Westgerm. type \**gaistoz*.<sup>48</sup> It is sometimes used alone, but more generally modified. *Gāst*, like the Greek and Latin terms, has a general meaning, it being used for instance interchangeably with *sāwel*, man's soul or spirit, as Jul. 413-15, El. 888-9, etc., etc. It is also applied to the evil spirits, *fram unclænum oft generede / deofla gastum*, El. 301-2, to the angels, e.g., (God sent) *gast þone halgan; / engel . . .*, Dan. 237-8, etc.

295. When used as a designation for the third member of the Godhead *hālig* is generally added, as Dox. 13, Ex. 96, Jul. 241, Creed 41, Dan. 403, etc. But often the term has a weakened meaning, and may simply stand for the power, the help of God, or the divine spirit. Furthermore it is applied to the first person of the Godhead, as also to the second, of which latter case we cite, *bringan wolde / haligne gast to heofonrice*, Sat. 561-2, and *gast haligne*, Ps. L. 96, which very probably refers to Christ, since in this poem he seems to have assumed the place of the first person for whom we should naturally look. A reference to Christ is also found in *heofonhālig gast*, And. 728. Aside from the clear cases of the juxtaposition of the three persons, the context must decide as to who is meant by *hālig gāst*. *Haliges gastes*, And. 1000 and 1621, evidently refers to man.

296. The Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, *bæm inc is gemæne / heahgæst hleoƿæst*, Cr. 357-8, showing the view held by the Western Church.<sup>49</sup> Regarding the work of creation it is said, *þa wæs wuldortorht / heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren*, Gen. 119-20, which may refer to the third person of the Trinity. The Holy Spirit is not seldom mentioned in the poems dealing with Old Testament history, so Ex. 96, leading the Children of Israel through the desert, Ph. 549, where Job speaks through *gastes blæd*, even as it is said of the disciples of Christ, *hæfdon gastes blæd*, Sat. 527. We have, *nu we geonge þry god bletsiað, / felameahigne fæder in heofonum, / þone soðan sunu and þone sigefæstan gæst*, Az. 155-7, while in *Daniel* he is mentioned several times. In most of these cases the Old Testament יהוה is interpreted according to New Testament and Christian ideas.

297. Christ is born through Mary and *þurh þæne halgan gast*, Invocation 13, and it is stated, *Næs ðær gefremmed firen æt giftum, / ac þær hālig*

<sup>48</sup> For a discussion of the third person of the Trinity in OHG. see Raumer, p. 370 ff., in ON. Kahle, I, p. 386, II, 147-9.

<sup>49</sup> The *qui ex Patre Filioque procedit* of the Nicene Creed. The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son has never been admitted into the Creed by the Eastern Church. The *Filioque* was probably first introduced by the Spanish Church as an additional protest against the Arian denial of the full Godhead of the Son, probably at the Council of Toledo 589. Compare Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, p. 108.

*gast handgyft sealde / þære fæmnan*, Creed 17-19. The Holy Spirit is especially active in regard to the faithful, guarding and shielding them against enemies, and assisting them in the work of sanctification. Thus it is said after the conversion of Judas, *him wæs halig gast / befofen fæste*, El. 935-6, and concerning Elene herself, *þa wic beheold / halig heofonlic gast, hreðer weardode, / æðelne innoð*, 1143-5. Sins may compel him to leave, *þæt him halig gast / losige þurh leahtras on þas lænan tid*, Cr. 1558-9. We also have the petition, *Bewyrc us on heortan haligne gast / fæste on innan*, L. Prayer III, 79-80. In each case the indwelling of the Spirit is emphasized. He is the helper in trouble, *hyre (Juliana) wæs halig gæst / singal gesið*, Jul. 241-2, *þæt þec halig gæst gescilde*, Gu. 427-8. When Daniel is called upon to explain the dream of the Babylonian king, *him wæs gæst geseald, / halig of heofonum, se his hyge trymede*, 533-4. Very often the Holy Spirit is the helper, shown by such phrases as *þurh gastes gife*, El. 199, 1057, 1156, similarly Jul. 316, Cr. 710, etc., and similar terms, though they may sometimes refer merely to the manifestation of the divine power and not to a personal agent. At the Last Judgment the Holy Spirit with the other members of the Trinity judges men, Jul. 726 ff., etc. Finally at the request of the Father *Ðonne halig gæst helle beluceð*, Cr. 1624, and the persons of the Godhead dwell forever in Heaven, And. 1684-6.

298. In the New Testament the Holy Spirit is called a number of times *παράκλητος*, the comforter, which is taken over by the Vulgate as *paracletus*. In OE. poetry a translation, *frōfre gæst*, is used, as Jud. 83, And. 1684, *frorefegast*, Charm VIII, 10, similarly Jul. 724; *siððan frofre gast / wic gewunode in þæs weres breostum / hylde to bote*, El. 1036-8. However, the term may also be applied to the Father, e.g., *fæder, frofre gast*, El. 1105, as also to the Son, in *mec* (Mary) *frofre gæst / geardode*, Cr. 207-8, also And. 906. Guthlac's guardian angel is called *frofre gæst* Gu. 107.

299. In general, it may be said that the qualities of the Father and the Son, in as far as they are not peculiarly specific characteristics, may also be applied to the Spirit, but are very sparingly used, as the third person of the Trinity occupies a far less prominent place in OE. poetry than either the Father or the Son. Here and there an adjective, as in *þone bliðan gæst*, Cr. 774, *þone sigefæstan gæst*, Az. 157, is found, but, comparatively speaking, the available material is meager.

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# **The Influence Of Christianity On The Vocabulary Of Old English Poetry**

**BY  
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**PART II**

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## CHAPTER VIII

### THE WORLD, ANGELS, AND DEVILS

#### I. THE WORLD

300. The facts of Germanic mythology regarding the subject may be found in Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, I, p. 463 ff., III, 160 ff., and Golther, *Handbuch der Germanischen Mythologie*, p. 509 ff. The Scandinavians especially had developed detailed and fairly well-ordered views about the universe. The distinction between heaven and earth in a physical and to a limited extent also in the religious sense is easily made, appears in different religions, and needs no discussion here.

301. However, the contrast between Heaven and earth in the religious sense became more definite with the teachings of Christianity, and the lines between the temporal, sinful, and the heavenly were more sharply drawn. In Greek two words came to be used, *κόσμος* and *αἰών*, which the Vulgate renders by *mundus* and *saeculum*, the world as opposed to Heaven, and the *vita* or *aetas*. OHG. also uses two words, *mittilgart* rendering *mundus*, and *weralt* both *mundus* and *saeculum*. In ON. *heimr* came to be employed for both *mundus* and *saeculum*, while *veröld* was used only in the sense of *saeculum*.<sup>1</sup>

302. In OE. two terms are also employed, *middangeard* and *woruld*. *Middangeard*, m., Goth. *midjungards*, OHG. *mittangart*, indicates the middle earth, the place situated between heaven and hell, and is practically always used in the physical sense. At times it also stands for mankind, as for instance in *þu þisne middangæard milde geblissa / þurh ðinne hercyme, halende Crist*, Cr. 249, and *middangeardes weard*, Dan. 597.

303. More important for our purposes is *woruld*, f., from the Teut. type *\*wer-aldi*, the term also occurring in other Germanic dialects. So literally *woruld* means *hominum aetas*, the age of man. Used in a physical sense it stands for *mundus*, as, *nemdest eall swa þeah / mid ane noman ealle togæðre / woruld under wolcnum*, Met. XX, 57, and *þenden standeð / woruld under wolcnum*, Gen. 916. As an interesting occurrence of the term we also note, *sette and sende on VII worulde / earmum and eadigum eallum to bote*, Charm IV. 40, which Cockayne<sup>2</sup> explains as "the seven spheres in which the seven planets revolve, the earth being the center of observation." A number of times *woruld* is contrasted with Heaven,

<sup>1</sup> For OHG. compare Raumer, p. 373 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 386 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, (3 vols.) III, p. 37. Rolls Series, London, 1864-6.

standing in a religious and Biblical sense. Thus, *gewiton of worulde drea-man, sohton him wuldres cyning*, Rood B, 133, *þam þe his giese willað / þicgan to þonce and him þas woruld / uttor lætan þonne þæt ece lif*, Gu. 96, *sippan he þas woruld forhogde*, 713, (who would possess true happiness) *sceal swiðe flion / ðisse worulde wite*, Met. VII, 31, *þysse worulde (deriende) geþean (noxia gaudia saeculi)*, Doom 232.

304. Not infrequently *woruld* is used in the sense of *saeculum*. Thus denoting worldly life we have, *gif hine gegripan mot / se eca deað æfter ðissum worulde*, Met. X, 70. In the meaning of *in saeculum*, *in saecula*, etc., may be noted, *a to worulde forð*, Cr. 101, similarly Met. XI. 17; *swa þu eart gewurðod a on worlða forð!* L. Prayer III, 123. We note further, *Si him lof symle, / þurh woruld worulda wuldor on heofnum*, Cr. 778, *wealdeð* (the Trinity) *in woruld worulda wuldorgestealda*, And. 1686, *on worulða woruld wunað and rixað (in secula seculorum)*, Dox. 41, *on worulða woruld (in saecula saeculorum)*, Ps. LXXXIII, 5, etc.

305. A large number of compounds occur, most of which, however, have no religious significance, and in other cases it is not readily apparent. We note only *woruldblis*, as in *þæt he his lichoman / wynna forwyrnde and woruldbliða*, Gu. 135, and *woruldsælð*, Met. II, 10, etc.

## II. ANGELS

306. The Jewish-Christian doctrine of angels was foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, though there is reason to believe that the conception and the name were adopted at an early period by practically all the tribes. In the Old Testament an angel was called מלאך יהוה or מלאך, messenger of Jehovah, his function determining the designation. The LXX translates the Hebrew word by ἀγγελος, messenger, which is also employed by the New Testament. The term is taken over by Christian Latin as *angelus*, which is thus divorced from its general meaning of *nuntius*, and used in a restricted sense. At an early time the word was adopted by various Teutonic tribes either from Latin *angelus* or more likely from Gothic *aggilus*.<sup>3</sup> In OE. it appears as *engel*, *ængel*, *angel*, m., OS. having *engil*, OFris. *angel*, *engel*, OHG. *angil*, *engil*, ON. *engill*.

307. In the poetry the term is of frequent occurrence, a translation such as *ār* or *boda* being seldom used.<sup>4</sup> As in our discussion of the classes, attributes and kennings, as well as of the work of the angels, the word will occur a number of times, no examples need be cited here.

<sup>3</sup> See Raumer, p. 378, Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, article *Teufel*; *Gotische Lehnworte*, p. 135, Pogatscher, pp. 203-5, also *NED*.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of angels in OHG. see Raumer, pp. 378-9, in ON. Kahle, I, pp. 390-1, II, 149-51.

308. We are informed that there was a time when angels had not yet been created, *Næs ænig þa giet engel geworden / ne þæs miclan mægen-brymnes nan*, Cr. 351-2. The creation and the classes are referred to in *Hæfde se ealwalda engelcynna / . . . / tyne getrymede*, Gen. 246-8, though in the poetry not all of these classes appear. The race of angels is mentioned a number of times, as, *eal engla cynn*, Jul. 644, *anlicnes engelcynna*, And. 717, etc., *engla hades*, Prayer III, 34, *engla gebyrdo*, Gen. 583. A fondness to have angels appear in troops and hosts may also be noted.

309. As possibly distinct classes the Seraphim and Cherubim appear, though the usual order is inverted And. 719-20, *Cheruphim and Seraphim / þa on swegeldreamum syndon nemned*, referred to as *þæs bremestan* of the angels 718. More specific details about the Cherubim are furnished El. 739-46, *þara on hade sint / in sindreame syx genemned; / þa ymbsealde synt mid syxum eac / fīðrum, gefrætwað, fægere scinap; / þara sint. IIII., þe on flihte a / þa þegnunge brymme beweotigaþ / fore ansyne eces deman, / singallice singaþ . . . þam is Ceruphin nama*, 749. In the *Psalms* the name is simply taken over, *Ðu ðe sylfa nu sittest ofer cherubin (qui sedes super cherubin)*, LXXIX, 2, and *sitteð ofer cherubin (qui sedet super cherubin)*, XCVIII, 1. Aside from And. 719, the Seraphim are mentioned thrice, as, *Syndon tu on þam, / sigorcynn on swegle, þe man Seraphin / be naman hateð. He sceal neorxnawang and lifes treo legene sweorde / halig healdan*,<sup>5</sup> El. 753-7, and *wuldre gewlitedod Seraphin*, Charm VII, 30. In Cr. 386-8 the Seraphim are performing the services assigned to the Cherubim in *Elene*, for we are told, *soðfæste Seraphinnes cynn / uppe mid englum a bremende / unapreotendum brymmum singað*.

310. The archangels, especially Gabriel, are mentioned a few times. He is called *godes ærendraca*, Cr. 12, a term also applied to the apostles, *godes spelboda*, *Gabriel*, Cr. 366, and his *hæahbodan*, 295. His qualities are mentioned, *Eala Gabrihell hu þu eart gleaw and scearp, / milde and gemyndig and monþwære, / wis on þinum gewitte and on þinum worde snottor*, Har. 76-8. *Heofones heangel*, Cr. 202, and *heahengel*, Men. 50, are also applied to Gabriel. The same designation is used for Michael, *heahengles tiid on hærfeste, / Michahelis*, Men. 177. *Halig is se halga heahengla god*, the Cherubim sing El. 750, the song of the Seraphim being *Halig eart þu halig heahengla brego*, Cr. 403. We note further, *heahengla cyning*, Cr. 528, and *heahengla mægen*, 1019, *heahenglas*, Sat. 601. Though the term *hæahengel* is the designation for the archangels, it need not be assumed, however, that it is not used in a wider sense, though And. 883-5 may not be conclusive, *twelfe getealde, tireadige hæleð; / . . . / halige heahenglas*. It

<sup>5</sup> The Vulgate has *et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis Cherubim*. In our passage a Seraph performs the duty. The plural form in the Vulgate might easily be mistaken by an Anglo-Saxon poet. *Genesis* especially is rich in amusing blunders. Compare *Bibl.* II, p. 169.

might even be used, in accordance with the spirit of OE. poetry, as a general indication of their place of abode. *Upengel* seems to have this meaning, as in *upengla fruma eðel secan*, And. 226, and *upengla weard*, 210. Very similar are *ufancundes engles*, Gu. 1097, *engel ufancundne*, 1216, also *aras ufancunde*, Cr. 503. Probably not very different is *heofonengel*, which we have in *heofonengla preat*, Cr. 492, 928, *heofonengla cyning*, 1010, L. Prayer III, 13, while we read *heofonengla god* Jul. 642 and *heofonengla here* Cr. 1278.

311. Among the qualities of angels a few ascribed to Gabriel have already been mentioned. However, the wisdom of the angelic host is not unlimited, as it is remarked, *ne þæt ænig ne wāt engla hædes / þa heahnisse heofena kyninges*, Prayer III, 34-5. Their brightness is often referred to, as, *engel albeorht . . . / wlitescyne wer on his wuldorhaman*, Dan. 337-8, *albeorhte englas*, Cr. 506, 548, with the word order changed 881, *albeorhttra scolu*, Cr. 929, *weorud wlitescyne*, 493, *beorhte gewerede*, 552, *hwit and heofonbeorht heagengla mægen*, 1019, *albeorhte . . . / heofonengla here*, 1277-8, *wlitescyne on weres hæde*, / *hwit and hiwbeorht*, El. 72-3, *æðelestan engalcynne*, / *þe geond lyft farað leohte bewundene / mycle mægenþrymme*, 732-4, *mid þa leohtan gedryht*, 736, *cwom engel godes / frætwum blican*, Jul. 563-4, etc.

312. Other characteristics occur, of which we mention the most important, though they are often applied indirectly. *Halig engel*, Gen. 946, *halige heahenglas*, And. 885, *sio halge gecynd*, Cr. 1018, etc., *eadiges engles*, Sal. 450, *eadig engla gedryht*, Cr. 1014, *mihtig engel*, Ex. 205, *sigorfast (þegn)*, Gu. 1218, *þegnas þrymfæste*, Gen. 15, *englas arfæste*, 2525, *þæt soðfæste Seraphinnes cynn*, Cr. 386, *wlitig wuldres boda*, El. 77, *fæle* (used with *freoðuweard* and similar terms), El. 88, Gen. 2301, 2497, Gu. 144, *mærne mæguþegn*, And. 366, *dædhwate*, Cr. 385, *stiðferðe*, And. 722.

313. The only adjective formed with *engel* is *engalcund*, angelic, found once, *him giefse sealde / engalcunde*, Gu. 72.

314. Not infrequently the term *gāst*, generally modified, is applied to the angels, undoubtedly influenced by Ps. CIII, 5, where the Vulgate reading *qui facis angelos tuos spiritus et ministros tuos ignem urentem* is rendered by *He his englas deð æðele gastas and his frome ðegnas fyr byrnende*. Thus we have, *gast þone halgan*, Dan. 237, *hwæt seo hand write haliges gastas*, 733, *gæst haligne*, Gu. 1215, *halige gastas*, Rood B, 11, Gen. 2399; *wuldorgast godes*, Gen. 2912, *godes ærendgast*, 2296.

315. Of other kennings for angels the most important may find a place here.<sup>6</sup> *Godes ærendraca* as applied to Gabriel in Creed 12 has already been

<sup>6</sup> Bode, *Kenningar*, gives a few. See also Rankin, IX, pp. 60-61.

mentioned. Used of the angels visiting Lot we have *nergendes / æðele ærendracan*, Gen. 2433-4. *Ār*, messenger, occurs a number of times, so El. 76, 87, *aras*, Cr. 759, Gen. 2424, *halige aras*, 2456, *wuldres aras*, Cr. 493, El. 737, *aras ufancunde*, Cr. 503. *Boda*, messenger, is also used. Thus, *bodan*, Cr. 449, *wlitig wuldres boda*, El. 77. Of compounds we have for instance *godes spelboda Gabriel*, Cr. 336, *frome wæron / godes spelbodan*, Gen. 2494, *wuldres wilboda*, Gu. 1220. A peaceful mission is indicated by *fæle friðowebba*, El. 88, *fæle freoðuweard*, Gu. 144, *fæle freoðoscealc*, Gen. 2301, the plural being found 2497. Among terms showing peculiar relationships to God we note, *þegnas þrymfæste*, Gen. 15, *wuldres þegn*, Gen. 2266, similarly 2568, And. 726; *metodes þegn*, Gen. 2907, similarly Gu. 1217; *hehþegn*, Dan. 443, *mærne maguþegn*, And. 366; *ymb þæt hehsell hwite standað / engla feðan*, Sat. 221, *halge herefeðan*, Cr. 1013.

316. From the previous discussion it will be gathered that the important function of the heavenly spirits is the worship of the Deity and the carrying out of his commandments. The protection of the faithful against enemies, especially evil spirits, is often mentioned. Instead of the rather frequent examples we cite Charm VIII, 19-25, where, after the invocation of the saints, the poet continues, *eac ðusend þira engla / clipige ic me to are wið eallum feondum. / Hi me ferion and friþion and mine fore nerion, / eal me gehealdon, me gewealdon / worces stirende, si me wuldres hyht / hand ofer heafod, haligra rof, / sigeroþra sceote, soðfæstra engla*. The idea of the guardian angel is especially noteworthy in *Guthlac*. We are told that the heavenly spirits protect the saints, *fore him englas standað / gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum . . . / healdað haligra feorh*, 59-61. It is said, 81-4, that God sent a particular angel in order to dampen the lusts of the saint-to-be. The good and the evil angel engage in warfare for his soul, *hine twegen ymb / weardas wacedon, þa gewinn drugon, / engel dryhtnes and se atela gæst*, 85-7. The good angel wins, and henceforth *Guthlac* is protected, *Hine weard biheold / halig of heofonum, se þæt hluttre mod / in þæs gæstes god georne trymede*, 76-8, and *sip þam frofre gæst / in Guðlaces geoce gewunade*, 107-8. Several times the guardian angel is mentioned, of whom the saint says, *þæt me engel to ealle gelædeð / spowende sped spreca and dæda*, 224-5, and *nu mec sawelcund / hyrde bihealdeð*, 288-9. This protection extends until the time of death, when *wæs Guðlaces gæst gelæded / engla fæðmum in uprodor / fore onsyne eces deman*, 753-5, and *wæs Guðlaces gæst gelæded / eadig on upweg, englas feredun / to þam longan gefean*, 1279-81, which is in line with the general belief as expressed in *englas feredon / soðfæste sawle innan swegles leoht*, Chr. V, 27-8. In *Salomon and Saturn* the good angel loses in the contest, and *Gewiteð ðonne wepende on weg faran / engel to his earde and ðæt eall sagað: / "Ne meahte ic of ðære heortan heardne aðringan / stylenne stan, sticað him to middes \*\*\*\*."*

## III. DEVILS

317. As the foe of God and the heavenly kingdom the devil with his adherents plays a very prominent part in OE. poetry. In the Old Testament the chief of the evil spirits is called שָׂטָן, adversary. The LXX as a rule renders this by διάβολος, slanderer, a term also employed by the New Testament, though ὁ σατανᾶς is sometimes used. The Greek διάβολος as a translation of Hebrew שָׂטָן was regularly retained by the Old Latin version of the Scriptures as *diabolus*, but Jerome in his version, the Vulgate, substituted *Satan*. In his New Testament *diabolus* also occurs. Gothic adopts the Greek διάβολος as *diabaūlus* or *diabulus*, and it is not improbable that other Germanic tribes received the word from this source.<sup>7</sup> The OE. form is *dēofol*, *dēoful*, mn., OFris. *diovel*, OS. *diubul* with variants, OHG. *tiuval*, etc., ON. *djofull*.

318. As has been indicated, *dēoful* is extremely common in OE. poetry, examples of which will occur in the subsequent discussion. For the chief of the fallen angels the Latin *Sātān*, *Sātānus*, and *Lucifer* are found a few times. Regarding the fallen angels God decided among other things, *se hehsta hatan sceolde / Satan siððan*, Gen. 344-5. The term is also met with Gen. 347, And. 1689, Sat. 712, etc. *Sātānus* occurs for instance Sat. 371, 447, 692, etc. *Lucifer* (*leohtberende*) is found once, Sat. 367. We are told that before the fall the chief devil was *engla weard*, Gen. 22, *þe ær wæs engla scynost*, / *hwittost on heofnon*, 338-9, *gelic wæs he þam leohtum steorrum*, 256, and he himself says, *Ic wæs iu in heofnum halig ængel . . .* Sat. 81. But he has become *se ofermōda cyning*, Gen. 338, who rebelled against God *for oferhygde*, 22, and with his adherents was cast down into hell, *þær he to deofle wearð*, 305, while *heo* (namely the rebellious angels) *ealle forsceop / drihten to deoflum*, 308-9. In different poems, such as *Genesis*, *Elene*, *Christ and Satan*, etc., the circumstances of the fall are recounted with more or less detail.

319. The devil with the evil spirits becomes the enemy of God and man. The term *fēond*, the hating and hostile one, sometimes modified, but often alone, is frequently used synonymously with *dēofol*. We note, *feond*, Sal. 69, 91, 100, Gu. 107, etc., *feond moncynnes*, Jul. 317, 523, 630, *sawla feond*, 348, *ece feond*, Gen. 1261, *flah feond gemah*, Whale 39, *se ealda feond*, Panther 58, El. 207, *eald feondes æfest*, Ph. 401, *ealdfeondes / scyldigra scolū*, Gu. 174-5, *ealdfind* (pl.), Har. 89, *ealdfeondas*, Gu. 189, *ealdfeonda nan*, Ph. 449, *ealdfeonda nið*, Gu. 112, etc., etc. We note also *fēondātes*, Ps. CV, 24, referring to the eating of sacrificial offerings, and *fēondgyld*

<sup>7</sup> Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, article *Teufel*; *Lehnworte*, pp. 134-5. The *NED.*, after having mentioned that the Gothic word is directly from Greek, continues, "the forms in the other Teutonic langs. were partly at least from Latin, and prob. adopted more or less independently of each other."

*gebræc*, in the same verse. The terms apply to the subordinates, characterized Sat. 104-5, *feond seondon reðe*, / *dimme and deorce*, as well as to the chief, who is *feonda ahdor*, Sat. 76. He is also *godes andsaca*, Sat. 191, etc., a phrase also used for the other devils, so for instance in *godes andsacan*, Sat. 719, Gu. 204, *earme andsacan*, 181, etc., etc.

320. The activities of the devils in seducing man are described in a number of places, a subject to be discussed in the next chapter. The chief with the evil spirits is the cause of sin, the following terms for instance being applied to Satan, *yfles ordfruma*, Sat. 374, *facnes frumbearn*, Gu. 1044, And. 1294, *morpres brytta*, And. 1170, *morðres manfrea*, And. 1313, similarly Jul. 546; *ealre synne fruma*, El. 771, *synna fruman*, Jul. 362, *leahtra fruman*, El. 838. To these we add others, which are only partly ascribed to the chief, in some cases there being doubt as to whether Satan or a subordinate spirit is meant. *Fyrnsynna fruman*, Jul. 347, *morðres manfrea*, El. 941, And. 1313, *synna bryttan*, El. 957, *synna hyrdas*, Gu. 522, *synna weardas*, Judg. 16. It should be noted that for instance Abimelech is called *synna brytta* Gen. 2641. Though it is said of *Wyrð*, Sal. 443, *eallra fyrena fruma*, *fæhðo modor*, and 445, *frumscylda gehwæs fæder and modor*, we must identify *Wyrð* in these passages with the fallen angel, a case not isolated in OE. poetry.

321. The relation between devils and hell is naturally very close. The chief is *hellwarena cyning*, Jul. 322, 437, etc., *his gingran*, Sat. 191, being *helle scealcas*, 133. The seducer of Eve is called *handþegen helle*, Sat. 485. Among other terms encountered we note, *helledeofol*, El. 900, *helle dioful*, And. 1298, *helle deofol*, Jul. 629, etc., *helle hæftling*, Jul. 246, And. 1342, a term comparatively frequent; *þystra stihrend*, Jul. 419, *þeostra þegnas*, Gu. 668, *helleþegna*, 1042, *hellsceaða*, Gen. 694, etc., *hellehinca*, And. 1171.

322. The devils were looked upon as spirits, capable, however, of assuming the form of angel, man, or animal, as exemplified in such poems as *Salomon and Saturn*, *Juliana*, *Guthlac*, etc. In giving a few examples of designations, we have selected such as illustrate to some extent at least qualities ascribed to the evil spirits. *Hean hellegæst*, Jul. 457, 615, *se atola gæst*, And. 1296, *se atela gæst*, Gu. 87, *se werega gæst*, Sat. 126, *se werga gæst*, Gu. 422, *þa werigan gæstas*, Sat. 731, *earme gæstas*, Gu. 490, etc., *atole gæstas*, / *swarte and synfulle*, Sat. 51-2, *se swearta gæst*, Cr. 269, *blac bealwes gæst*, Sat. 721, *unclæne gæst*, Jul. 418, *geomre gæstas*, Gen. 69, *ðone laðan gæst*, Sal. 86.

323. Of the many other kennings for devils encountered in the poetry, we note the more important.<sup>8</sup> *Wrað wærloga*, And. 1297, *wærlogan*, Gu.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 76 ff., Rankin, IX, p. 56 ff.

269, 595, etc., etc., *awyrge wærlagan on wyrmes bleo*, 883, *wæleas werod*, Gen. 67, *wiðerbreca*, 64, *wuldres wiðerbreca*, Jul. 269, *wrohtes wyrhtan*, 346, *wrohtbora*, Cr. 763, *wrohtsmiðas*, Gu. 877, *teonsmiðas*, 176, *wræcca wæleas*, Jul. 351, *se wræcmæcga*, 260, *wræcmæcgas*, Gu. 234, *wraðe wræcmæcgas*, 530, etc., *sawla gewinnan*, Jul. 555, *Hæleða gewinna*, 243, similarly 345; *gleaw gyrnstafa gæstgeniðla*, 245, *brægdwis bona*, Gu. 58, *banan mancynnes*, And. 1293, *feorgbona*, Whale 41, *swarte suslbonan*, Sat. 640, *se aglæca*, Jul. 268, 319, *earm aglæca*, 430, *eatol æclæca yfela gemyndig*, El. 901, *se awyrgeða*, Sat. 316, Whale 67, *awyrgeða*, Sat. 676, 691, 699, *deoflum* . . ., / *awyrgedum gastum* (*daemonibus dudum fuerantque parata malignis*, 91), Doom 182-3.

324. To these may be added *fah wurm*, the seducer of Eve, Gen. 899, who eats of the fruit *wyrmes larum*, Gu. 818. In the same connection occur also *me nādre beswac*, Gen. 897, and *þurh nādran niþ*, Ph. 413. Probably applied in a wider sense, the devil is called *draca egeslice*, Sal. 26, while *butan dracan anum / attres ordfruman*, Panther 57-8, seems to point to the chief. He is also called *se awyrgeða wulf*, Cr. 256, *deor dædscua*, 257. The Anglo-Saxon poet did not hesitate to apply to the evil one the strongest epithets of which the language was capable.

325. The OE. *dēofol* is wider in its application than the Greek *διάβολος*. It may thus be applied to the *δαίμονια* or *δαίμονες* of the LXX and the New Testament, which identify them with Satan and his emissaries. We have seen in 323 that *deoflum* . . ., / *awyrgedum gastum*, Doom 182-3, renders *daemonibus malignis*. Among Christ's activities are mentioned *fram unclænum oft generede / deofla gastum*, El. 301-2. The term is also applied to heathen idols, who are looked upon as devils. Thus *Quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia*, Ps. XCV, 4, is rendered by *Syndon calle hæpenu godu hildedeoful*, the worship of heathen divinities being equivalent to devil worship. The idols of Egypt are called *dēofolgyld*, Ex. 47. The interchanging of the terms may be seen very clearly in *Juliana*. *Hofon hæpengield*, occurs line 15, it being remarked of Helisius, *Oft he hæpengield / ofer word godes weoh gesohte*, 22-3, while he is informed by Juliana of her refusal to marry him, *gif þu to sāmran gode / þurh deofolgyld dæde beþen-cest*, / *hætst hæpenweoh*, 51-3. Her father is concerned about her attitude and her "foolish talk," *þa þu goda ussa gield forhogdest*, 146, but to his threats she replies, *Næfre þu gelærest, þæt ic leasingum / dumbum and deafum deofolgyeldum / gæsta geniðlum gaful anhate*, 149-51. *Diofolgyld*, / *ealde colhstedas anforlætan*, is said of the Mermedonians And. 1641-2, while *se halga* (Andrew) *herigeas þreade*, / *deofulgild todraf*, 1687-8. A turning towards strange gods is evidently referred to Dan. 32, where it is said of the Israelites, *curon deofles cræft*. The magicians of the Babylonians are styled *deofolwitgan*, line 128. In *Elene* the Jewish religion is practically



identified with devil worship. Cyriacus has chosen the better thing, *wuldres wynne and þam wyrstan wiðsoc*, / *deofulgildum and gedwolan fylde*, / *unrihte æ*, 1039-41.

326. As indicated before, *wih*, m., is used in the sense of idol, *þæt hie þæs wiges wihle ne rohton*, Dan. 201, *ne þysne wig wurðigean*, 208, (*ne wolde*) *wig weorðian*, Ap. 48, *Woden worhte weos*, Gn. Ex. 133. *Gyld*, n., idol, *gyld of golde guman arærde*, Dan. 175, *to þam gyldnan gylde*, 204, *gif þu onseccan nelt soþum gieldum*, Jul. 174; in the sense of heathen worship, *þa þu goda ussa gield forhogdest*, 146. It is also used in a non-heathen sense, (Abraham) *his waldende / on þam glædstede gild onsægde / lac geneahe*, Gen. 2842. The interesting compound *wihgyld*, idol, may be mentioned here, *wurðedon* (Babylonians) *wihgyld*, Dan. 182. We note further, *Hwílum hie geheton æt hærgratsum / wigweorþunga*, Beow. 176, and *buton þu forlæte þa leasinga / weohweorðinga*, Jul. 180. The verb *gyldan*, to sacrifice, in the heathen sense, we have Dan. 212, similarly Ps. CV, 26.

327. As pointed out in 7, the connection between heathen and devil is very close, the devil himself for instance being called a heathen Jul. 536. It should also be noticed that the characteristics of the devil may be ascribed to other beings, or they themselves may be called by this very name. So Grendel is referred to as *feond in helle*, Beow. 101, *mancynnes feond*, 1276, *hellegast*, 1274, *godes andsaca*, 1682, while *æfter deofla hryre*, 1680, refers to Grendel and his mother. Similar designations might be added. Epithets generally applied to the devil may also be given to men. So the Babylonians are called *ge deoflu*, Dan. 750, the Jews *wege wræc-mæccgas*, El. 387, while the Mermedonians are styled *wærlogan*, And. 71, 108, etc., *werigum wrohtsmiðum*, 86, *mangeniðlan*, / *grame grynsmiðas*, 916-17. The relation is very close in *deofles þegnas* And. 43 (compare *Satanes þegn*, Sal. 117, and similar terms). Cr. 896 and 899 the damned are called devils, the blessed being referred to as angels. An evil man is characterized as *feondes bearn* / *flæsce bifongen*, Moods 47-8.

328. The compounds of *dēofol* are few. Aside from *helledēofol* and *hildedēofol*, we have once the poetic *dēofolcund*, diabolical, applied to Holofernes, Jud. 61, and once also the poetic *dēofoldæd*, Dan. 18, where it is said of the Israelites, *hie wlenco anwod æt winþege / deofoldædum*, *druncne geðohtas*. *Dēofolgild*, in the sense of *idolum*, *simulacrum*, and *idolatria* has already been mentioned, as also the poetical *dēofolwīgan*, Dan. 128. *Scucca*, seducer, as also similar designations, will be found in the treatment of temptation, chapter IX, 370.

## CHAPTER IX

## SIN

329. The New Testament furnishes in 1 John 3, 4, ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία, a definition of sin, where its essence is conceived of as the deviation from the law of God or the transgression of such divine law. In spite of assertions to the contrary,<sup>1</sup> there can be no doubt that many heathen peoples have a fairly clear conception of good and evil in their general aspects. However, it should be pointed out that according to the Christian belief every transgression constitutes an offense against the holy God, and in this consists the gravity of the act. It is a fundamental principle foreign to heathenism.

## I. GENERAL TERMS

330. The Greek ἀμαρτία is rendered in Latin by *peccatum*, the verb ἀμαρτάνειν by *peccare*. In OE. *syn(n)*, f., from original \**sunjo*, is used to express the idea, related to OFris. *sende*, OS. *sundea*, OHG. *suntā*, ON. *synð*, the stem being perhaps identical with L. *sons*, guilty.<sup>2</sup> The OE. word, which renders not only L. *peccatum*, but also *culpa*,<sup>3</sup> is of frequent occurrence in OE. poetry, so that a few examples will suffice here, *besmiten mid synne sawldreore*, Gen. 1520, *þære sawle, þe biþ synna ful*, Seaf. 100, *synna wunde*, Cr. 1314, *synna lease*, Jul. 188, *mine saule synnum forwundod*, Prayer I, 3, etc., etc.

331. A number of compounds occur, of which may be noted *synbyrðen*, once, Cr. 1300, *syndæd*, dat. pl. Ps. CVI, 33 (*a malitia*), *synfāh*, as, *synfa men*, Cr. 1083, *synfull*, guilty, fairly frequent, so in the pl. And. 764 applied to the elders of Israel, and Gu. 646 to the devils, etc., *synlēasig*, Beow. 2227, *synlice*, Cr. 1480, Ps. LXII, 8, *synlust*, Cr. 269, *synnig*, used frequently, of the devil, El. 955, the plural being applied to the Jews, And. 565, etc. We have further *synrūst*<sup>4</sup> in *synrust þwean*, Cr. 1321, *synsceaða*, a few

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, in Vol. I, p. 42, of his *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, in speaking of the "pagan Saxons," says: "In their theology they acknowledged no sin but cowardice, and revered no virtue but courage." He seems to be very anxious to make the contrast between the heathen and the christianized Anglo-Saxons as great as possible, in order that the "mild influence of the gospel" may make a deep impression upon the mind of the reader.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *NED.*, also Kahle, I, p. 396. For the chapter on Sin compare Raumer, p. 384 ff., Kahle, I, 395 ff., II, 151-2.

<sup>3</sup> Once the poetic *culpa* or *culpe* occurs, *ne ic culpan in þe (onsunde)*, Cr. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Cook's note on *synrust* in *Mod. L. Notes*, IV, p. 129. Though it would seem that Cynewulf coined certain compounds with *syn*, *synbyrðen* and *synlust* must be stricken from Cook's list, as they occur also elsewhere.

times, as, Jul. 671, Cr. 706, etc., the term being used of devils and sinful men alike, *synscyldig* in the gen. pl., Doom 168 (*scelerum*, 83), where it is applied to the damned in hell, *synwraacu*, vengeance for sin, rare, occurring Cr. 794, 1540, and Gu. 832, *synwund*, once, Cr. 757, *synwyrccend*, being applied to the devil El. 943, to the Jews 395, and used in a more general way in *æghwylcum* / *synwyrccendra*, Cr. 842. The gen. pl. we find Ps. LXXXI, 2 (*peccatorum*), and *synwyrccende* CXL, 11 (*operantium iniquitatem*). The verb is *syngian*, *gesyngian*, which occurs a number of times, as, *syngige*, Prayer III, 42, *syngode* (*peccavi*), Ps. L. 47, further, *we gesyngodon* (the devils), Sat. 230, *fyrenum gesyngad*, Beow. 2441, *swiðe gesingod*, L. Prayer III, 115.

332. A term much employed is *mān*, ON. *mein*, crime, wickedness, etc. Of the occurrences we cite, *man eft gehwearf*, / *yfel endealas*, And. 694, *man and morðor, misdæda worn* (referring to Nero), Met. IX, 7, *mana fela*, Prayer IV, 50, *of mane (ex iniquitate)*, Ps. LXXI, 14, etc., etc. The adjective is used a few times, *mane aðas*, perjury, Met. IV, 48, and *man inwitstæf (nequitiae)*, Ps. LIV, 15. A number of compounds are also encountered, but most of them need no discussion here. The poetic terms will be found in the table at the end, while a few, such as *mānsceat*, usury, and *mānswara*, perjury, will appear in the subsequent discussion.

333. *Firen*, glossed by Grein as *scelus, crimen, peccatum*, is very common. We note, *wraþe firene*, Cr. 1313, *deopra firena*, Gu. 830, 835, *ne wom dyde / his lichoma leahtra firena*, Cr. 1099. The last example, referring to Christ, shows a massing of similar words in order to emphasize the idea, a procedure often employed in OE. poetry. As in the case of *syn* and *mān*, a number of compounds occur, of which may be noted as significant *dæaðfiren*, mortal sin, in *dæaðfirenum forðen*, Cr. 1207, *helfiren*, mortal sin, *ge hellfirena / sweartra geswicað*, Partridge 6, each of the terms occurring once. Of other compounds we have *firencraft*, wickedness, Jul. 14, *firengeorn*, prone to sin, as in *firengeorne men* (damned), Cr. 1606, *firenlust*, occurring a number of times, e.g. *firenlustas*, Gu. 775, *purh firenlustas fule synne*, Cr. 1483, *fyrenlustum*, Doom 160. etc., *firensynnig*, in *firensynnig folc*, Cr. 1379. The verb *firmian* is found once, *þa forworhtan* (damned), *þa ðe fyrnedon*, Sat. 620, while *fyrngende flæsc* occurs Doom 214. *Gefyrnian* is met with in *We gefyrnedan (peccavimus)*, Ps. CV, 6.

334. *Leahtor*, m., vice, crime, etc., used in about the same sense as *mān*, *firen*, is found frequently. *Lices leahtor*, Gu. 1045, *leahtrum fa* (devils), Cr. 1539, *leahtrum scyldige*, And. 1216, *leahtra gehygdu*, Cr. 1315. Of the three compounds *leahtorlēas* belongs here. Thus, *leahtorlease*, Gu. 1060, El. 1208. Often the fusion has not taken place, as for instance in *ealra leahtra leas* (Adam in Paradise), Gu. 804, similarly 920, 1162, etc. *Leahtorcwide* is also encountered, *æfter leahtorcwidum*, Jul. 199, signifying

blasphemy of heathen gods, being on a plane with *torne teoncwīde*, *þe þu tælnissum*, 205, of which Helisius speaks as *þære grimmetan godscyld*, 204.

335. *Wom*, mn., stain, spot, defilement, disgrace, as also in a more general sense, is common. We note, *wommas worda and dæda*, Instructions 79, *þeah hi wom don / ofer meotudes bibod*, 70, *wommes tacen*, Cr. 54, (*ne mæg hate dæl forbærnan*) *wom of þære sawle*, 1544, *forwunded mid wommum*, Rood B, 14, *Aðhwæak me of sennum saule fram wammum* (ab iniquitate), Ps. L. 38. The adjective is also used, (*be*) *wommum wyrhtum* (*secundum peccata*), Ps. CII 10. The interesting compound *mānwom* is found, *manwomma gehwone* (may be seen on the souls of the damned), Cr. 1280. Of others occur *wamcwīde*, *wamdæd*, *wamful*, *wamsceaða*, *wamscyldig*, and *wamwyrcente*, either once or only a few times, but no comment would seem necessary.

336. Another term of general import used in the poetry is *gyllt*, m., guilt, sin, offense, from Teut. \**gultiz*. We note, *Forgyf us, gumena weard*, *gylltas and synna / and ure leahtras alet* (*debita*), L. Prayer II, 19, *ma fremede / grimra gyllta*, Prayer IV, 27, (*owiht*) *heanra gyllta* (*quidquam culpae*, 19), Doom 39, *aglidene gylltas modgod gode gehælan* (*qui solet allisos sanare*, 24),<sup>5</sup> 47, *hu mære is / seo soðe hreow synna and gyllta* (*peccati quantum valeat confessio vera*, 28), 56, *henða and gylltas* (*crimina*, 45), 88, *þurh forman gyllt*, Gen. 998, *sie minra gyllta / . . . / gemyndig*, El. 816. Further examples are, *gylltum forgiefene*, Gu. 432, *fram synnum . . . / and fram misdædum minra gyllta* (*a peccatis*), Ps. L. 84, *geltas gecleansa* (*a peccato*), 39, *gyllta gecleansa(-)*, 112, *na ðu ure gylltas egsan gewræce* (*peccata*), Ps. LXXXIV, 3, *gylltas georne gode andhette*, Ps. L. 29. The verb *āgylltan* is comparatively rare. We note, *þam þe wið us oft āgyllað*, L. Prayer II, 24, *we āgyllt habbað*, III, 114, *ic āgyllte* (*deliqui*), Ps. CXVIII, 67.

337. *Scyld*, f., fault, offense, crime, is used a number of times. We note, *þæt is Euan scyld eal forþyndeð*, Cr. 97, *on eow scyld sitteð* (Guthlac to devils), Gu. 449, *þe ða scylde worhton*, Dan. 266, *þe wæron butan scylde swa earmlice acwealde*, Chr. IV, 15, *me modor gebær / in scame and in sceldum* (*in peccatis concepit me mater mea*), Ps. L. 63, etc. Of compounds may be mentioned *frumscyld*, Sal. 445, *wyrd* (devil) being spoken of as *frumscylda gehwæs fæder and modor*, also *godscyld*, crime against heathen gods, Jul. 204, *mānscyld*, under *mān*, *scyldfrecu*, wicked craving, Gen. 898, *scyldful*, occurring a few times, so El. 310, etc., *scyldwrecende*, as, *Hell eac ongeat / scyldwrecende* (sin-avenging hell), Cr. 1161, *scyldwyrcente*, Cr. 1487, Ph. 0 2, Jul. 445, El. 761.

338. To these terms others of a general nature might be added. So *unþeaw*, m., used especially in *Meters*, as, *þa unþeawas*, XXII, 26, *þa*

<sup>5</sup> Is *gylltas* a gloss for *aglidene*, or should one translate, past sins? Compare note in *Bibl.* II. p. 252.

*unþeawas ælces modes*, XXVI, 117, *his unþeawas ealle hatian*, XXII, 32. The specific meaning of *unþeaw* depends upon its modifiers or the context, for while in *modes unþeaw*, Met. XXVI, 112, and similarly 117, the mind is referred to, the passage *þa unþeawas ealle*, Exhortation 41, has a decidedly carnal flavor. *Fæcen*, n., with its various compounds, is used frequently, as also *unriht* in the sense of *iniquitas* and *injustitia*, furthermore *uncyst*, vice, and similar terms, which we pass over.

339. In entering now upon a discussion of specific sins, the material at hand makes it advisable to follow St. Augustine's division of *Peccata Operis*, *Oris*, and *Cordis*. This plan has been followed by Kahle, I, and what he says there<sup>6</sup> in regard to the difficulties in carrying it out strictly applies with equal force to OE. poetry, and the solution adopted by him has been found advantageous also in our case.

## II. PECCATA OPERIS

340. Under this heading carnal sins, or sins of the flesh, may conveniently be treated first, certain others following. The Latin *caro* as the seat of sinful lusts and desires is rendered in OE. by *flæsc*, n., as *Doom* 175(87); *fyrngende flæsc*, 214, translates *caro luxurians*, 107. Its use may be further illustrated, *þurh flæsc and fyrenlustas* / *strange gestryned*, *Soul* 44. Often *lust*, m., either alone or modified, expresses carnal sin. In the example just quoted from *Soul* we have *fyrenlustas*, 44, in the same sense, *me fyrenlustas* / *þine geþrungon*, 34, possibly also in *þu þæt selegescot*, *þæt ic me swæs on þe* / *gehalgode hus to wynne*, / *þurh firenlustas fule synne* / *unsyfre besmite*, Cr. 1483, and *synlustas*, Exhortation 53. But frequently the meaning is more general, though sometimes there may be doubt as to the exact rendering, as, *lices lustas*, Jul. 409, *leaslice lices wynne*, / *earges flæschoman idelne lust*, Cr. 1298, compared with *lices leahtor*, Gu. 1045. In this general sense the term is used, *þurh synlust*, Cr. 269, *þurh firena lust*, 369, *idle lustas* / *synwunde*, 756, probably also in *synna lustas*, Gu. 84, *ic him geswete synna lustas*, Jul. 369, *hi firenlusta frece ne wæron*, Met. VIII, 15.

341. *Gælsa* generally translates Latin *luxus*, *luxuria*. Thus we note, *his gemyndum modes gælsan*, *Moods* 11, *manigfealde modes gælsan*, Jul. 366, *þæs gælsan (luxuriae)*, 89, *Doom* 179, also line 237, where *ælc gælsa* / . . . *scyldig* renders *scelerata libido*, 119. A word closely related is *gālnes*, wantonness, lust, occurring once, *her glæd leofast on galnysse (servire libidine gaudes)*, 88, *Doom* 178. Two adjectives formed with *gāl-* may also be noted here, *gālferhð*, Jud. 62, and *gālmōd*, 256, both referring to the lustful Holofernes.

342. *Wrænnes*, wantonness, renders *jocus*, 118, *Doom* 235, while we find *weaxeð* / *þære wrænnesse wodðrag micel* Met. XXV, 41.

<sup>6</sup>P. 398.

343. *Hefignes* is encountered a few times in *Meters*, *þæs lichoman leahtras and hefignes*, XXII, 25, 29, *mid hefignesse his lichoman*, 63.

344. The unclean lusts and desires lead to various sins, some of which have physical causes. Gluttony must be mentioned here. *þa oferfylle* we find Exhortation 75, the subject having been discussed before, *Warna þe georne wið þære wambe fylle*, 40, with its dire effects, *forþan heo þa unþeowas ealle gesomnað*, / *þe þære saule swiðost deriað*, / *þæt is druncennes and dyrne geligere*, 41-3, to which is added *ungemet wilnung ætes and slæpes*, 44. Curiously enough, the author mentions not only that one may drive them away *mid fæstenum* / *and forhæfðnessum*, 45-6, but also *mid cyricsoctnum cealdum wederum*, 47. *Druncennes* we find Exhortation 43, *druncen*, f., occurs in *Druncen beorg þe*, Instructions 34, *þu scealt druncen fleon*, Exhortation 74.

345. *Dyrne geligere*, n., was pointed out Exhortation 43 as one of the results of gluttony. Illicit intercourse, fornication, or adultery, are mentioned several times in the poetry, the particular term used in each case being very expressive. From *forlicgan* we have *lease and forlegene*, Cr. 1611, the verb also being employed, *gif se lichoma forlegen weorðeð* / *unriht-hæmede*, Met. XVIII, 9. Besides *unriht-hæmed*, n., occurring in the passage just quoted, the word in the sense of adultery or fornication is found Met. IX, 6, referring to Nero. A related term, *wōhhæmed*, n., we have in *se yfla unrihta . . . / wraða willa wohhæmedes*, Met. XVIII, 2. The sin of sodomy is referred to, *þæt mid þam hæleðum hæman wolden / unscomlice*, Gen. 2458-9. *Wiðflu* in the sense of adultery is used Jul. 296, *ða se halga wer / þære wiðflusan wordum styrde*, Herod's illicit relation being further characterized as *unrihtre æ*, 297. In *Instructions* the son is warned against *idese lufan*, 36, *forðon sceal æwiscmod oft sibian*, / *se þe gewiteð in wifes lufan*, / *fremdre meowlan: þær bið a firena wen*, / *laðlicre scome*, 37-40.

346. Among the *Peccata Operis* worship of heathen gods and devils may be pointed out here. *Hæðengield*, *dēofolgield*, etc., have already been discussed. Witchcraft and magic also belong here. *Gealdor*, n., *incantatio*, we have in (Circe) *cuðe galdra fela*, Met. XXVI, 53, and the compound in *Sygegealdor ic begale*, Charm VIII, 6. *Galdorcraft* is ascribed to the Jews, *Judea galdorcraftum*, And. 166. We note *wiccraft* in *wiccrafta wis*, Gifts 70, and *wiccungdōm*, Dan. 121, both referring to witchcraft. *Drýcraft* is mentioned several times, for instance in *Andreas*, the Jews claiming concerning a miracle of Christ, *þæt hit drycraftum gedon wære*, / *scingelacum*, 765, *cuðe* (Circe) *galdra fela / drifan drycraftas*, Met. XXVI, 54, *drycraftum*, 98, and *mid drycraftum*, 102. *Scingelac* and *scīnlac*, n., magical practices, sorcery, we have Jul. 214, as also Met. XXVI, 74, And. 766.

347. Other sins properly coming under this heading, such as murder, theft, etc., are also encountered, but since they offer nothing characteristically Christian, no treatment of them seems to be called for.

### III. PECCATA ORIS

348. Here belongs *bismer*, mnf., in a general sense insult, and when applied to God, blasphemy. Thus, *hi gefremedan oðer bysmer (irritaverunt)*, Ps. CV, 25, *him hæfdan on bysmer (irritaverunt)*, CVI, 10, *brigdeð on bysmer*, Judg. 71. As occurrences of the verb we note, *me bysmeredon . . . / weras wanselige* (Jews Christ), And. 962, *naman þinne nu bysmriað (irritat)*, Ps. LXXIII, 10, *gebysmerian*, as, *hi heanne god gebysmredan (exacerbaverunt Deum excelsum)*, LXXVII, 56. In the sense of to blaspheme *hyrwan* occurs, *ac hi hyrwdon me* (Jews Christ), El. 355. *Hyspan*, to mock, is found Cr. 1121, *hysptun* (Christ) *hearmcwidum*, the noun being *hosp*, m., blasphemy, when applied to the Deity, as, *(Ic gepolade) hosp and heardcwide*, Cr. 1444. In a somewhat general sense *hospword* is found And. 1315. In a more specific meaning we note, *þæt þu hospcwide, / æfst ne eofolsac æfre ne fremme, / grimne geagncwide wið godes bearne*, El. 523, though *hospcwide* as also the other terms used derive the specific meaning of blasphemy from the context. *Onhyscan*, to mock, is rare, occurring in the *Psalms*. Of other terms may be noted *teoncwide*, *on þære grimmesian godscyld wrecan, / torne teoncwide*, Jul. 205, applied to heathen gods, the word also being encountered And. 771. *Tëona*, in the sense of slander, we have in *seo tunge to teonan geclypede*, Doom 137. *Edwit*, n., scorn, abuse, is used a number of times. The damned have to endure *deofles spellunge, / hu hie him on edwit oft asettað / swarte suslbonan*, Sat. 638-40, *spracon him* (Christ) *edwit*, Cr. 1122, *Cwepað him þæt edwit (exprobraverunt)*, Ps. LXXXVIII, 44. *Edwitspræce (opprobrii)* we have in verse 43, as also CI, 6 (*exprobrant*), while Gu. 418 the devils are called *edwitsprecan*.

349. A somewhat different sin is expressed by terms such as *idele spræc*, L. Prayer III, 108, and *mānidel word (vanitatem)*, Ps. CXLIII, 9, 13, but they hardly need any discussion. *Gielp*, mn., in the sense of boasting, though also in that of pride, arrogance, is rather frequent. Of the fallen angels it is said, *Hæfdon gielp micel*, Gen. 25, *wæs him gylp farod*, 69. We note also, *ongan ða gyddigan þurh gylp micel*, Dan. 599, *idel gylp*, Sat. 254, Gu. 634. A number of compounds, such as *gilpspræc*, are also found. The verb *gielpen* is very frequent, *gealp gramlice gode on andan*, Dan. 714, *firenum gulpon*, Gu. 236, *gylpað gramhydige (gloriati sunt)*, Ps. LXXIII, 4, *manwyrhtan morðre gylpað (peccatores gloriabuntur)*, XCIII, 3, etc., etc.

350. The most common term for lie is *lyge*, m., exemplified by *mengan ongunnon / lige wið soðe*, El. 307, *lige ne wyrðeð*, 575, *þu* (devil) *us gelær-*

*dæst ðurh lyge ðinne*, Sat. 53. Of compounds may be noted *lygesynnig*, used once, El. 898, as an epithet of the devil, *lygeword*, occurring a few times, as Dan. 720, Ps. LVII, 3 (*falsa*), etc. The verb is *lēogan*, to lie, *wyrs deð se ðe liehð / oððe ðæs soðes ansæceð*, Sal. 181, *Him fynd godes fæcne leogað (mentiti sunt ei)*, Ps. LXXX, 14. *Ālēogan* and *gelēogan*, though rare, also occur. Another term for lie is *lygen*, f., met with a number of times in *Genesis*, thus, *mid ligenum*, 496, 531, 588, etc. *Lygenword* in the dat. pl. is found Gen. 699, the term occurring only once. A liar is called *lyge-wyrhta* Sermon Ps. 28, 11, the dat. pl. being used. *Lēas*, n., is very rare, *þæt leas*, El. 580, and *lease leng gefylgað*, 576. The adjective is more frequent, occurring for instance Cr. 1120, and Sermon Ps. 28, 24. It may be pointed out that *lease sceaweras*, Beow. 253, is used in the sense of spies. *Lēasung* is rarely met with; we have it in *forlæte þa leasunga*, El. 689.

351. The OE. word for oath is *að*. While the idea of perjury is expressed by *ne me swor jela / aða on unriht*, Beow. 2738, we read *on worulde her / monnum ne deriað mane aðas*,<sup>1</sup> Met. IV, 48. The perjurer is called an *aðloga* Cr. 1605. *Mānswara* is applied to him Cr. 193, the plural being found 1612.

352. *Tæl*, f., slander, calumny, is found a few times, e.g., *ic for tale ne mæg / anigne moncynnes mode gelufian / eorl on eple*, Prayer IV; 105. *Tælnis* in the sense of blasphemy has already been quoted under that heading. The verb *tælan*, to slander or backbite, is comparatively rare, being encountered in *Eorl oðerne mid æþþancum / and mid teonwordum taleð behindan*, Sermon Ps. 28. 4. the father warning his son *Ne beo þu no to talende ne to tweospræce*, Instructions 90. In the sense of to blaspheme is found (he) *his godu tælde*, Jul. 598. We note also, *þe oft wraðe me trage taldan (qui detrahunt mihi apud Dominum)*, Ps. CVIII, 20.

353. *Wyrgðu*, f., curse, is used a number of times. Thus we find, *þe eow of werðe (lysan þohte)*, El. 295, *Euan scyld eal forþynded, / wærgða aworpen*, Cr. 98, *He wolde werðu wyrcean georne (dilexit maledictionem)*, Ps. CVIII, 17, etc. The verb is *wyrgan*, its use being illustrated by (*ongan hine*) *wordum wyrcean* (Noah Ham), Gen. 1594, *þa ge werðdon þane, / þe eow of werðe (lysan þohte)*, El. 294, *gif me min feond fæcne wyrgeð (si inimicus maledixisset mihi)*, Ps. LIV, 11. Not seldom *ðwyrgan* is utilized, often applied in the sense of accursed one to the devil or the lost, as, *se awyrgða*, Sat. 316, etc., *awyrgða*, 676, etc. For further remarks see chapter XII, 431.

#### IV. PECCATA CORDIS

354. Among the deadly sins as conceived by the Mediaeval Church *superbia* stood first, which in OE. poetry is often rendered by *oferhygd*, n., examples of which are numerous. Pride was at the bottom of the rebellion

<sup>1</sup> OS. *mēnēh*, OHG. *meineid*, ON. *meineidr*.



of the angels against God. We are told *þæt wæs geara iu in godes rice, / þætte mid englum oferhygd astag*, Moods 57-8, so that *hi to swice þohten / and .brymcyning þeodenstoles / ricne beryfan*, 61-2. Of the chief it is said, *ær ðon engla weard for oferhygde / dæl on gedwilde*, Gen. 22, while *æfst and oferhygd and þæs engles mod*, 29, proved the downfall of the angels, *þa blacan feond / for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon*, Sat. 196-7. Of other occurrences of the term we note, *oferhygd* Dan. 490, *oferhygd*, 495, 615, *fore oferhygdum*, Jul. 424, *on oferhygdo*, Moods 23, *oferhygda ful*, 43, similarly 53; from the *Psalms* *on oferhygde (in superbia)*, LVIII, 12, *þe oferhygd up ahebbe (qui facit superbiam)*, C, 7, etc., etc. *Oferhygdig*, n., occurs Ps. LXXVII, 58 (*aemulationem*). The adjective *oferhygdig* is found a number of times, especially in the *Psalms*. We note, *englas oferhydige*, Prayer IV, 55, *oferhidig cyn engla*, Gen. 66, *oferhydige (superbos)*, Ps. CXVIII, 21, 22, *oferhydigum (superbis)*, XCIII, 2, etc.

355. In order to express *superbia* other terms are also employed, as, *ofermæde*, n., *his engyl ongan ofermede micel / ahebban wið his hearran*, Gen. 293, *on ofermedum*, Moods 75, *ofermædla*, *for his ofermedlan*, Dan. 657, *onmædla*, a number of times, as, *onmedla wæs*, Cr. 815, *for ðam anmedlan*, Sat. 74, *for anmædlan*, 429, *for anmedlan*, Dan. 748. We have further, *ofermetto*, f., *his ofermetto ealra swiðost* (chief angel), Gen. 351, *þurh ofermetto*, 332, *þurh ofermetto ealra swiðost* (fallen angels), 337, *ofermōd*, n., *se engel ofermodes*, Gen. 272, *for his ofermode*, Maldon 89. The adjective *ofermōd* is found a number of times, *ofermod wesan*, Gen. 262, *se ofermoda cyning* (chief angel or devil), 338, *Eala ofermodan!* Met. X, 18, etc. *Ofermōdig* in the pl. occurs Ps. CXVIII, 51 (*superbi*), found only once, as also the verb *ofermōdgian*, Met. XVII, 16. Related terms are *hēahmōd*, adj., (*Se þe hine sylfne*) *ahefeð heahmodne*, Moods 54, *swiðmōd*, Dan. 529, etc., also *hēahheort*, adj., Dan. 540.

356. Among other terms for *superbia* we note *wlenco*, f., *wlenco onwod*, Gen. 2579, *hie wlenco onwod æt winþege*, Dan. 17, *wlenco gesceod*, 678, *for wlence*, Gen. 1673, etc. *Gāl*, n., is encountered Gen. 327, and *gālscipe* 341, in each case the term probably referring to pride. *Bālc*, L. *superbia*, *arrogantia*, we find in *bālc forbigeð* (Assyrians), Jud. 267, and *bālc forbigde* (rebellious angels), Gen. 54.

357. *Nīþ*, m., L. *invidia*, is used in referring to the devil Ph. 400, as also in *þurh nædran nīþ*, 413. We have *wið nīþa gehwam* 469, while it is said of Cain, *hygewælm asteah / beorne on breostum, blatende nið*, Gen. 980-81, *brandhala nið*, And. 768, referring to the devil, etc. Similarly, also including hatred, *æfest* is employed. We have, *æfst and oferhygd and þæs engles mod* (devil); Gen. 29, *ne meahon hy* (devils) *æfeste anforlætan*, Gu. 158, *fore æfstum*, 684, *caldfeondes æfest*, Ph. 401, *æfstum þurh inwit*

(Christ was crucified), El. 207, *is gromra to fela / æfestum eaden*, Prayer IV, 46, *hie (Jews) for æfstum inwit syredon*, And. 610, *hie for æfstum unscyldigne (jeore beræddon . . . , Jews Stephen)*, El. 496, etc., etc.

358. *Hete*, m., is often employed in the sense of hatred, also having the wider meaning of hostility. We quote, *se wæs lað gode, / on hete heofon-cyninges*, Gen. 648, (*Ic fleah*) *hlæfdigan hete*, 2273, (*godes agen bearn*) *þurh hete hengen on heanne beam*, El. 424. From *hete* a number of compounds are formed, thus, *hetepanc*, *ne gerim witan / heardra hetepanca*, Jul. 315, *mid his hetepancum*, Beow. 475, *hetepancol*, Jud. 105, *hellen*, full of hate, Cr. 364. *Fēogan*, to hate, is encountered a number of times, especially in the *Psalms*. We note, *þa þe dryhtnes æ / feodon þurh firencræft*, Jul. 14, *ieodon þurh feondscipe*, El. 356, *þe hine feodan (qui oderunt eum)*, Ps. LXVII, 1, *ðe fæste ær feodan, drihten (oderunt te)*, LXXXII, 2, etc.

359. *Forhyrgan*, despise, detest, is exemplified by *ðu forhogodes heofon-cyninges word*, And. 1381, *sipþan he þas woruld forhogde* (not a sin here), Gu. 713, *hine forhogode* (*despexisti*), Ps. LXXXVIII, 32. *Oferhyrgan* is rare, *Utan oferhyrgan helm* (God), Sat. 252, *had oferhogedon halgan lifes*, Dan. 300. *Onscunian*, detest, is found once, *onscunedon þone sciran scippend eallra*, El. 370.

360. *Yrre*, n., occurs frequently, especially in the *Psalms*. *Irre*, Met. XXV, 51, *Yrre ne læt þe æfre gewealdan / heah in hrepre*, Instructions 83, *yrre for æfstum* (Cain), Gen. 982, *Hyre þa þurh yrre ageaf andsware*, Jul. 117, *godes yrre / habban*, Gen. 695, *þa to yrre beoð ealle gecigde (eos qui in ira provocant)*, Ps. LXVII, 7, *Swa hi his yrre oft aweahtan (in iram concitaverunt)*, LXXVII, 58, etc. The adjective is frequently found, *hæleð wæron yrre*, Jud. 225, *wearð yrre anmod cyning*, Dan. 224, *on yrre mod eft gebrohtan*, Ps. LXXVII, 40, etc. Among other terms may be noted *yrsung*, thrice used in *Meters*, while the adjective *yrringa* and the verb *yrrian* are also rare.

361. *Æbylg*, n., is found once, *geafnan æbylg godes*, Gu. 1211, *æbylgð*, f., in the sense of anger, *He æbylgde on hi bitter and yrre sarlic sende (misit in eos iram indignationis suae)*, Ps. LXXVII, 49, *æbylgnes*, L. *indignatio*, *he him æbylgnesse oft gefremede*, Moods 71, and *æbylgnes eac yrres þines (indignatio iræ tuæ)*, Ps. LXVIII, 25. *Belgan*, to become indignant, angry, is frequently employed, *abelgan* and *gebelgan* being also found.<sup>8</sup> *Abylgan*, to anger, offend, we have in *Hi hine on geþeahste oft abyrgdan (exacerbaverunt)*, Ps. CV, 32, *þæt he ne abælige bearn waldendes*, Sat. 195. Among other terms we note *hæltheortnes*, anger, fury, used once, *mid ðæm swiðan welme / hatheortnesse*, Met. XXV, 47, *torn*, OHG. *zorn*, *þenden him hyra torn toglide*, Gn. Ex. 182, *his torn wrecan*, Gen. 2508, etc., *Wæron teonsmiðas*

<sup>8</sup> For examples see *Sprachschatz*.

*tornes fulle*, Gu. 176, etc. Of compounds appear such as *gǣrtorn*, fighting rage, *gærtorn geolað gifrum deofle*, Sal. 145, *tornmōð*, once, Gu. 621, and *tornwraču*, once, Gu. 272. It may be pointed out here that the same terms are occasionally also applied to the Deity, and merely for the purpose of illustration we have at times added an example thus used.

362. *Gitsung*, desire, covetousness, avarice. *Deos gitsung*, Met. VIII, 43, *sio gitsung*, 46, *grundleas gitsung gilpes and ahta*, VII, 15, *gitsunge gelpes*, X, 13, *nales þy he gieldde þurh gitsunga / lænes lifwelan*, Gu. 121-2. From the *Psalms* we note, *nales me gitsung forniman mote (in avaritiam)*, CXVIII, 36, *ongunnan gitsunge began (concupierunt concupiscentiam)*, CV, 12, *for gitsunga (libidine percitus*, Grein), Ps. L. 24. Of compounds occur *woruldgitsung*, Met. VII, 12. *Woruldgitsere* is found Met. XIV, 1, and *feohgitsere* VIII, 55. Closely related are (to) *feohgifre*, Wand. 68, *gōdes grādig*, Sal. 344, and similar terms. *Fæsthasolnes* is found once, Doom 236, rendering *dira cupido*, 119. *Mānsceat*, m., usury, occurs once, *He of mansceatte and of mane eac sniome hiora sawle softe alysyde (ex usuris et iniquitate)*, Ps. LXXI, 14.

363. *Twēogan*, to doubt, is sometimes found in the religious sense. Thus, [No heo tirmetudes] *tweode gifena / in ðys ginnan grunde*, Jud. 1, *huru æt þæm ende ne tweode / þæs leanes, þe heo lange gyrnde*, 346, *ne getweode treow in breostum*, Gu. 515, *tweogende mod*, And. 771, in contrast to which may be noted *hyht untweondne on þone ahangnan Crist*, El. 797.

364. A noun *ungelæfa* does not occur in the poetry, though we have the adjective once, *ungeleaf menn (non credentes)*, Ps. LXVII, 19. The idea is variously paraphrased, but we need not discuss all the expressions here. Not seldom unbelief or godlessness is represented as error or deception. *Gedwīld* is used for instance, *hean þrowian / þinra dæda gedwīld*, Gen. 922, *engla weard for oferhygde / dæl on gedwīlde*, 23. *Misgedwīld* is also found, *þæt we soðfæstra / þurh misgedwīld mod oncyrran*, Jul. 326. *Gedwola* is used several times, as for instance, *in gedwolan hweorfan*, Dan. 22, *gedwolan hyran*, Cr. 344, *gedwolan dreogan*, Gu. 230, practically in the sense of idolatry, *deofulgild todraf and gedwolan fylde*, And. 1688, *þurh deopne gedwolan deofles larum*, 611. It is said of Cyriacus, (*wiðsoc*) *deofulgildum and gedwolan fylde*, El. 1040, and in reference to the Jews, *þurh deofles spild in gedwola lange / acyrrad fram Criste*, 1118-19. Arius' heresy is labeled *Arrianes / gedwola*, Met. I, 40-41. The verb *gedwelian* in the religious sense we have exemplified in *dædum gedwolene* (people of Sodom and Gomorrah), Gen. 1936, similarly Jul. 13.

365. *Untrēow*, f., we find in a secular sense Met. II, 13, in the religious meaning Gen. 773. *Untrēowe*, perfidious, is also encountered, *Wætleas mon and wonhydig, / ætrenmod and ungetreow*, Gn. Ex. 163. *Ungetrēowð*

we have in *tyhð me untrecowða*, Gen. 581. The cowardly companions of Beowulf are called *trecowloga*, 2847. Cowardice, perfidy, and disloyalty would of course be regarded as cardinal sins by the Germanic mind.

366. *Unsoðfæstnes* occurs only once in poetry, Ps. LIV, 9, (*injustitia*). The adjective is also rare, *we unsoðfæste ealle wæron (injuste)*, Ps. CV, 6, *unsoðfæstne wer (virum injustum)*, CXXXIX, 11. *Unriht* in the sense of injustice is also found.

367. As in ON.,<sup>9</sup> the expression for *conscientia* in OE. poetry is not always the same, the idea being foreign to the heathen mind. Besides it is seldom mentioned. Once we have *brēostgehygd*, nf., *ac ealle þurhyrð . . . / breostgehygda*, Doom 172. Wisdom seems to be regarded as the keeper of the soul Cr. 1550-53, (*we magon*) *on an cweþan, / þæt se sawle weard / lifes wisdom forloren hæbbe, / se þe nu ne giemeð*. . . . In this case as in the following the reference is not as clear as we might wish it to be, *þonne se weard swefeð, / sawele hyrde: bið se slæp to fæst / bisgum gebunden*, Beow. 1741-3.

368. God tempts or probes man in order to find out his position. The word used is *costian*, for instance, *þa þæs rinces se rica ongan / cyning costigan* (God Abraham), Gen. 2846. The devil also tempts man, but with the object of seducing him, *costian* also being employed. Regarding the tempting of Christ we hear, *þæt he (devil) costode cyning alwihla*, Sat. 671. Of St. Guthlac it is said, *He gecostad wearð*, 124. The noun is *costung*, a word comparatively rare, *Ne læt usic costunga cnyssan to swiðe*, L. Prayer I, 9, (*Ne læd þu us*) *in costunge (temptationem)*, II, 28, and *na us þu ne læt laðe beswican / on costunga (temptationem)*, III, 105. We have the term also in *sindan costinga / . . . munge arisene*, Gu. 9, and *Wæs seo æreste earmra gæsta / costung ofercumen*, 409. *Fräsung*, temptation, is found in *frasunga fela*, Gu. 160.

369. The devil himself describes his infernal strategy at some length in *Juliana*, under the figure of assailing a castle, etc. To express his procedure in winning man as described by him in language not figurative, we quote the summary of Abbtmeyer<sup>10</sup> on Jul. 362 ff.: "Wherever he (namely the devil) finds the mind steadfast, he arouses wanton pride by inspiring fallacious, delusive thoughts ('suggestio'); he makes sinful lusts appear attractive, until the mind obeys his teaching ('delectatio'); he sets it so on fire with sins that, all ablaze, it will no longer tarry in the house of prayer for love of vice, but do the devil's will ('consensus')."

<sup>9</sup> Kahle, I, p. 406-7.

<sup>10</sup> *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin*, p. 38.

370. The work of the devil is often expressed by *beswican*, to deceive, defraud, seduce, a term also used in a more general sense, as, *oð þæt hie langung beswac, / eorðan dreamas eces rædes*, Dan. 29, *We þurh gifre mod / beswican us sylfe*, Har. 96. In regard to the devil the term is used frequently, so *opþæt hy beswicað synna weardas*, Judg. 16, *na us þu ne læt laðe beswican / on costunga*, L. Prayer III, 104, *þonne hy soðfæstra sawle willað / synnum beswican and searocraftum*, Gu. 540, (devil) *wolde dearnunga drihtnes geongran, / mid mandædum menn beswican, / forlædan and forlæran*, Gen. 451, etc., etc. As exemplified in the last passage, *forlædan* and *forlæran* are also employed. We note further, (*woldun hy geteon*) *in orwennysse* (despair), Gu. 547, *fortēon in þonan us ær þurh synlust se swearta gæst / forteah and fortylde*, Cr. 270, *fortyhtan*, found once, *swa se ealda feond / forlærde ligesearwum, leode fortyhte*, El. 208. *Dimscua*, darkness, is employed, *under dimscuan deofles larum*, And. 141. *Gespan*, n., seduction, we find once, *deofles gespon*, Gen. 720, the verb *spanan* occurring in *mid listum speon / idese on þæt unriht*, Gen. 588, similarly 687; *bespanan* we have once, *ic Herode / in hyge bispeon* (to behead John the Baptist), Jul. 294. *Scyccan*, in the sense of to seduce, we have in *Me nædre beswac and me neodlice / to forsceape scyhte*, Gen. 898. *Scucca* is the seducer, devil, demon, as, *scuccum and scinnum*, Beow. 939, *sceuccum (daemoniis)*, Ps. CV, 27, *scyccgyld* occurring in *sceuccgyldum (sculptilibus)*, 26. With *scuccum and scinnum*, Beow. 939, compare *Swa bið scinna þeaw, / deofla wise*, Whale 31.

## CHAPTER X

## FAITH, CONVERSION, PENANCE

371. The teachings of Christianity demand of man that he forsake sin and lead a new life in Christ. By the grace of God faith accomplishes this regeneration or rebirth, and remains the basis from which Christian virtues and good works proceed as natural and inevitable evidences of sanctification.

## I. FAITH

372. The New Testament *πίστις*, which the Vulgate renders by *fides*, is expressed in OE. by *gelēafa*, OHG. *galauba*.<sup>1</sup> As in the case of OHG., *gelēafa* may be used in both the subjective and the objective sense, though the former is much more common. In the objective meaning it occurs only a few times, as in the missionary command, *bodiað and bremað beorhtne geleasan*, Cr. 483, and similarly, *Bodiað æfter burgum beorhtne geleasan*, And. 335.

373. As a rule, subjective faith is expressed by *gelēafa*, often a modifying adjective also being employed. Thus we have, *An is geleafa, an lifgende*, Maxims 8, *his geleafa wearð / fæst on ferhðe*, El. 1035, *heo ahte trumne geleasan / a to ðam ælmihtigan*, Jud. 6, *mid fæste geleasan*, Charm I, 34, *Ic hæbbe me fæstne geleasan / up to þam ælmihtegan gode*, Gen. 543, (*ne hæfdon*) *on hiora fyrhpe fæstne geleasan* (*nec fideles habiti sunt*), Ps. LXXVII, 36, *mid rihte geleasan*, Jud. 97, *soðne geleasan*, 89, 345, *beorhtne geleasan*, Gu. 770, *leohtne geleasan*, El. 491, (*mid*) *leohte geleasan*, Jul. 653, *leohte geleasan*, El. 1136, Gu. 624, 1084, Ph. 479, *leohttran geleasan in liffruman*, Dan. 643, *leohtes geleasan*, Jul. 378.

374. The verb is *gelēfan*, *gelīfan*, *gelȳfan*, generally expressing the L. *credere*, though also rendering *fidere* and *sperare*. As *gelēfan* is of such frequent occurrence, only a few characteristic examples need be given here, *Ne wile Sarran soð gelyfan / wordum minum*, Gen. 2388, *Ic on sunu þinne soðne gelyfe*, Creed 9, *þe gelyfað on lyfiendne god*, Prayer III, 29, *Lisse ic gelyfe leahtra gehwylces*, Creed 54, *noldan his wundrum wel gelyfan* (*non crediderunt in mirabilibus ejus*), Ps. LXXVII, 31, *Nu is to gelyfenne to ðan leofan gode*, Chr. IV, 13.

375. Only a few compounds are met with in the poetry. *Ungelēaf* has already been cited in 364. The acc. or inst. of *sōðgelēafa* is found Gen.

<sup>1</sup> For this chapter compare Raumer, p. 388 ff., Kahle, I, 407 ff., II, 152-3.

2325. *Gelēafful* occurs a few times, El. 959 and as *gelēaffull* 1047 referring to Cyriacus, *Ofer geleaffulle eorðbugende (ad fideles terrae)*, Ps. C, 6, *wordum (ac) geleaffullum (fidei sermone, 31)*, Doom 61. *Gelēafsum* occurs once, *ƿin gewitnes is weorcum geleafsum (testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt)*, Ps. XCII, 6.

376. Sometimes other terms than *gelēafa* are used to express substantially the same idea. *Trēow*, f., is not infrequently employed. We note, *huru treow in ƿe (Virgin Mary) / weorðlicu wunade*, Cr. 82, *ge mid treowe to me / on hyge hweorfað*, Partridge 5, *Hio in gaste bær / halge treowe*, Jul. 29, *soðe treowe and sibbe mid eow / healdað æt heortan*, 655, (Noah) *Hæfde him on hreðre halige treowa*, Ex. 366, (no) *treow getweode*, Gu. 311, *him ne getweode treow in breostum*, 515, *ƿæt his treowa sceal / and his moðgeðonc ma up ƿonne niðer / habban to heofonum*, Met. XXXI, 18, as also *Til bið se ƿe his treowe gehealdeð*, Wand. 112. *Hygetrēow* we have in (God promises Isaac) *him soðe to / modes wære mine gelatan, / halige higeltreowa*, Gen. 2367.

377. *Trēowan* and *getrēowan* are sometimes used in the same sense as *gelēfan*. Thus, *æghwylcum, ƿe him on treowað (omnes qui confidunt in eis)*, Ps. CXIII, 17, *ƿu in ecne god / ƿrymsittendne ƿinne getreowdes*, Jul. 435, etc., *ƿa ƿe on drihten heora dædum getreowað (qui confidunt in Domino)*, Ps. CXXIV, 1. Especially noteworthy is the use in *Creed*, where *getrēowan* and *gelēfan* are used interchangeably. We have, *Eac ic gelyfe, ƿæt syn leofo gode*, 49, and *ic gemænscipe mære getreowe (ƿinra haligra)*, 52, *Lisse ic gelyfe leahtra gehwylces*, 54, and *ic ƿone ærest ealra getreowe*, 55.

378. The Christian idea of hope is of course closely related to that of faith. Sometimes the terms are almost synonymous in OE. poetry. Among other examples we note *Gesette minne hyht on ƿec*, Prayer IV, 36, *Uton us to ƿære hyðe hyht stapelian*, Cr. 865, *hyht untweondne on ƿone ahangnan Crist*, El. 797, *berað in breostum beorhtne geleafan, / haligne hyht*, Gu. 771; *hopað to ƿam ecum*, Met. VII, 44, *se miccla hopa to ƿinum hælende*, Exhortation 10.

## II. CONVERSION

379. Conversion is expressed in different ways in OE. poetry, the turning away from sin and the turning to God being especially emphasized. In order to indicate conversion, the New Testament uses the terms *ἐπιστρέφειν*, *στραφῆναι*, and *ἐπιστροφή*. rendered in the Vulgate by *convertere*, *converti*, and *conversio*. These are concrete terms used in every-day life, metaphorically expressing actions taking place in the religious life of individuals. In OHG., ON., and OE. similar expressions are employed. In OE. poetry *cyrran*, which as a rule denotes to turn in a profane sense,

is used to indicate conversion, as, *Ac ðu synfulle simle lærdes, / ðæt hio cerrende Criste herdon*, Ps. L. 56. *Gecyrran* in the sense of to convert is used a few times, of which examples we note, *Gecyr mine sawle clæne on pine rædes reste* (*convertere anima mea in requiem tuam*), Ps. CXIV, 7, etc., *ðæt ic fram ðæm synnum selfa gecerre*, Ps. L. 64, *ðæt hie arlease eft gecerdan / to hiora selfra saula hiorde* (*et impii ad te convertentur*), 106-7. On the other hand, apostasy is similarly expressed as a turning away from God, *acyrred cuðlice from Cristes æ*, Jul. 411, *acyrred from Criste*, El. 1119.

380. Other expressions are also used. We note for to convert, *fulwiað folc under roderum, / hweorfað to heofonum*, Cr. 485, *þe ðu gehweorfest to heofonleohte / þurh minne naman*, And. 974, *Gehweorf us hraðe, hælend drihten* (*Converte nos Deus, salutaris noster*), Ps. LXXXIV, 4, *wenede to wuldre weorod unmæte*, And. 1682, *sippan hine inlyhte, se þe lifes weg / gæstum gearwað*, Gu. 70-71, *Lærde þa þa leode on geleafan weg*, And. 1680, *Ongon heo þa læran and to lofe trymman / folc of firenum*, Jul. 638-9, etc. To be converted is also expressed in many different ways, *hweorfan hige-bliðe fram helltrafum / þurh Andreas este lare / to fægeran gefean*, And. 1691-3, *he þæt betere geceas, / wuldres wynne and þam wyrstan wiðsoc, / deofolgildum and gedwolan fylde, / unrihte æ*, El. 1038-41, *inbyrded breostsefa on þæt betere lif, / gewended to wuldre*, 1045-6, *ge mid treowe to me on hyge hweorfað*, Partridge 5-6, (*Ic eom*) *leomum inlyhted to þam leofestan / ecan earde*, Gu. 627, *þæt soðe leoht sweotole ancnavan / leohte geleafan*, Met. V, 25-6, *þær manegum wearð mod onlihted, / hige onkhyrded þurh his halig word*, Ap. 52-3.

### III. PENANCE

381. In order to express repentance the New Testament uses *μετάνοια*, which the Vulgate renders by *poenitentia*. According to Catholic doctrine *poenitentia* is divided into three parts, *contritio*, *confessio*, and *satisfactio*. In OHG. *hriuwa*, *bijihli*, and *buoza* are employed, though not always in their strict sense.<sup>2</sup> In OE. poetry no such definite distinction can be made. As a rule *hrēow* is used for *contritio*, no distinct term for *confessio* occurs, though *scrift* in the sense of confessor is found, while *bōt* would seem to be more inclusive than *satisfactio*.

382. *Hrēow*, f., is used a few times, so in the strictly religious sense, *bute him ær cume / hreow to heortan, ær he hionan wende*, Met. XVIII, 11, *ne he wihhte hasað / hreowe on mode*, Cr. 1558, and somewhat more general, *hreowum gedreahte*, (overwhelmed with sorrow at the destruction of the world), 994, *þær næfre hreow cymeð* (in Heaven), 1675. In Doom 56 the term is more inclusive than *contritio*, for *hu micel forstent and hu mære is / seo soðe hreow synna and gylta* renders the Latin *peccati quantum valeat*

<sup>2</sup> Raumer, p. 393.



*confessio vera*, 28. Of compounds *hrēowcearig* occurs a few times, so in the strictly religious sense, *hreowcearigum help*, Cr. 367. *Ic þær licgende lange hwile / beheold hreowcearig hælendes treow* we read Rood B, 25. The saint's companion is characterized as *hyge hreowcearig*, Gu. 1026, while in a general sense the term is also applied to the devil Jul. 536. *Hrēowig* is used once, *Nu wit hreowige*, Gen. 799, referring to Adam and Eve. *Hrēowigmōd* is rare, occurring in *þæt wif* (Eve) *gnornode, / hof hreowigmod*, Gen. 771, while the plural in the profane sense is applied to the Assyrians Jud. 290. *Hrēowlic* in the religious meaning we have in *mid hreowlicum tearum*, Doom 75, rendering the L. *lacrymis profusis*, 40. We add here a description of the *contritio*, *hwi not feormast þu / mid teara gyte torne synne* (*Cur tua non purgas lacrymis peccata profusis*, 40), Doom 78-9, and *Nu þu scealt greotan, tearas geotan* (*fletibus assiduus est*, 42), 82.

383. The verb is *hrēowan*, *āhrēowan* and *gehrēowan* also being found. Adam says, *Nu me mæg ahreowan*, Gen. 816, *me nu hreowan mæg*, 819, to which Eve rejoins, *on þinum hyge hreowan, þonne hit me æt heortan deð*, 826. We quote also, *him* (Jews) *þæt* (Crucifixion of Christ) *gehreowan mæg*, Sat. 540, *Him* (devil) *þæt eft gehreaw*, 374, *forðon me hreoweð nu, þæt ic firene on ðe fremede* (*—quia peccavi tibi*), Ps. XL, 4, to which may be added, *hreaw hine* (God) *swiðe* (that he had created Adam), Gen. 1276; etc.

384. Confession is expressed in OE. prose by *scrift*, m., etymologically connected with L. *scriptum*.<sup>3</sup> The term has also the meaning of confessor and prescribed penalty. ON. uses *script*, *scrift*, and though the word is found in other Teutonic dialects, the meaning penance, confession, is confined to English and Scandinavian. The verb *scrifan* in the sense of to judge appears in OE. poetry, (*seo þrynis*) *scifeð bi gewyrhtum*, Jul. 728, *scyppend scinende scifeð bi gewyrhtum / eall æfter ryhte*, Cr. 1220, while *forscrifan* in the sense of to condemn is encountered, *sipðan him* (Grendel) *scyppend forscriften hæfde*, Beow. 106, and *hu he þæt scyldi werud forscriften hæfde*, Sat. 33.

- 385. *Scrift* in the sense of confessor occurs once in the poetry, *ne mæg þurh þæt flæsc se scrift / geseon on þære sawle, hwæper him mon soð þe lyge / sagað on hine sylfne, / þonne he þa synne bigæð*, Cr. 1306. If *bigðan* has here the sense of to confess, it is the only example of such occurrence.<sup>4</sup> The confessor is called *godes bodan* (dat.), 1305. We point out here, as has also been done under *contritio*, that *seo soðe hreow*, Doom 56, renders *confessio vera*, 28.

386. *Satisfactio*, penance, forms the third part of the *poenitentia*. Of the Germanic languages OHG. has *buoza*, OFris. *bōte*, OS. *bōta*, ON. *bót*,

<sup>3</sup> For the etymology compare *NED.* under *shrift*, also Kahle, I, pp. 409-10.

<sup>4</sup> Compare note in Cook's *Christ*, p. 204.

while OE. uses *bōt*, f., the general meaning of which is advantage, compensation. However, in the poetry its meaning is more inclusive than the L. *satisfactio*, as for instance, *gif we sona eft / þara bealudæda bote gefrem- maþ*, El. 515, and *se ðe* (Cyriacus) *to bote gehwearf / þurh bearn godes*, 1125. *Dædbōt* is met with once in the poetry, *þæt man her wepe / and dædbote do*, Doom 85, rendering *Poenituisse iuvat*, line 43. The verbs *bētan* and *gebētan* are also found, in the religious sense, *þeah he lætlicor / bette bea- lodæde*, Prayer IV, 34, and *forðon he gebette balaniða hord / mid eaðmede ingeþance*, Ps. L. 151-2. *Unbēted* occurs only once, *wom unbeted* (guilt or stain unatoned), Cr. 1312.

## CHAPTER XI

## CHRISTIAN VIRTUES, QUALITIES, AND GOOD WORKS

## I. VIRTUES

387. In order to render Latin *virtus* OE. prose sometimes uses *mægen*, n., a term generally expressing vigor, power, might.<sup>1</sup> In OE. poetry *mægen* as a rule has the latter meaning, though in a passage like *of mægne in mægen mærbum tilgan*, Cr. 748, it may perhaps be rendered by virtue.<sup>2</sup> This is probably the case in *ne þan mægen hwyrfe in hæðendom*, Dan. 221. In other passages as *Hio* (namely prudence) is *þæt mæste mægen monnes saule*, Met. XX, 202, and *þa ðe snyttro mid eow / mægn and modcraeft mæste hæbban*, El. 408, the connotation seems to represent the transitional stage. Another word closely approaching in meaning to virtue is *dugub*, f., power, efficiency. In *duguðum bedeled*, Sat. 122, it may occur in the sense of power, but has the meaning virtue in *Swa is dryhten god dreama rædend / eallum eaðmedum oprum gesceaftum, / duguða gehwylcre*, Panther 57, which Thorpe<sup>3</sup> renders "to everything of virtue," and Grein<sup>4</sup> "den edelen anderen Geschöpfen," with which compare *duguðe beswicað*, seduce the virtuous, Whale 33. *Cyst*, mf., really choice, is sometimes used in the sense of virtue. Thus, *his giefte bryttað / sumum on cystum, sumum on craeftum*, Gifts 106, *kystum god* (Edward), Chr. V, 23, *he sibban sceal / godra gumcysta geasne hweorfan*, Jul. 381, *þæt we gumcystum georne hyran*, And. 1606, while of Cain it is said, *se cystleasa cwalmes wyrhta*, Gen. 1004. The plural of *þeaw*, m., though generally modified, is at times used in the sense of virtues. We cite, *cristenum þeawum*, El. 1210, *þa þe meotude wel / gehyrdun under heofonum halgum ðeowum, / dædum domlicum*, Ph. 444, *hyran holdlice minum hælende / þeawum and gepyncðum*, Gu. 577, *þeowiað in þeawum*, 473, *sigefæston / modum gleawe in monþeawum*, Az. 190.

388. The chief Christian virtue is love. The New Testament distinguishes religious from profane love by using ἀγάπη, ἀγαπᾶν in connection with the former and φιλεῖν with the latter. The Vulgate employs *amor* and *amare* to denote sexual and other secular love, while *caritas* and

<sup>1</sup> For this chapter compare Raumer, p. 397 ff., Kahle, I, 411 ff., II, 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Compare note on p. 146 of Cook's *Christ*. Ps. LXXXIII, 7, on which the phrase in *Christ* seems to have been modelled, has *of mægene on mægen (de virtute in virtutem)*, in the sense of strength, victory. It is interesting to note that in ON. *kræft*, really power, might, renders L. *virtus* in the religious sense of virtue, while the Latin term itself originally denoted manly strength.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex Exoniensis*, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> *Dichtungen*, I, p. 219.

*diligere* serve to express the religious emotion.<sup>5</sup> Later this distinction is partly obliterated, *amor Dei* for instance being frequently found.<sup>6</sup> In OHG. and ON. no such distinctive terms are used, which holds good also for OE., where we have *lufu*, OHG. *luba*. The word is comparatively frequent in the poetry, generally occurring in the religious sense. The secular use is illustrated for instance in *lufum and lissum*, Gen. 2737, *lufu langsumu*, 1906, *idese lufan*, Instructions 36, *wifes lufan*, 38; *wiflufan*, Jul. 296, *sibblufan*, Gen. 2514, *freondlufu*, 1834. The examples dealing with religious love have been selected with a view of showing particular qualities or relations. (Establish) *mid lufan sibbe*, / *leohhte geleafan*, Jul. 652, *þæt seo lufu cyþeð*, / *þonne heo in monnes mode getimbreð* / *gæstcunde gife*, Gu. 741, (Philip and James died) *for meotudes lufan*, Men. 82, *lufan dryhtnes*, Judg. 49, also Seaf. 121, El. 491, similarly 947, 1205; *colap Cristes lufu*, Gu. 9, *for Cristes lufan clæne geheolde* (her maidenhood), Jul. 31, *seo hluttre lufu* / *godes and manna*, Exhortation 8-9, *hæfde hluttre lufan*, / *ece upgemynd engla blisse*, And. 1063, *soð lufu*, Jul. 669, *þæt he soðlice sybbe healde*, / *gastlice lufe*, Sermon Ps. 28, 39; *for gæstlufan*, Az. 172, *mid gæstlufan*, 188, *ac hie of sibblufan* / *godes ahwurfon*, Gen. 24, *mid sibblufan sunu waldendes* / *freonoman cende*, Cr. 635, (those that know) *haligne heortlufan* (in observing Sunday), Dox. 29, *fæste fyrðlufan*, And. 83, *torne bitolden wæs seo treowlufu* / *hat æt heortan*, Cr. 538, *byrnende lufu*, Gen. 191, *fyrhat lufu*, / *weallende gewitt*, El. 936, *brondhat lufu*, Gu. 937, etc. The verb *lufian* is very frequent. We note, *lufige mid lacum þone þe leoht gescop*, Jul. 111, *gif þu soðne god* / *lufast*, 48, *hate æt heortan hige weallende* / *dæges and nihtes dryhten lufiað*, Ph. 478, *lufudun leofwendum lifes agend*, Cr. 471, *ic lufie þe* (*Dilexi*), Ps. CXIV, 1, *ic minne drihten deorne lufige* (*ego vero delectabor in Domino*), CIII, 32, *þine hælu holde lufigean* (*diligunt salutare tuum*), LXIX, 5.

389. Another Christian virtue is fear of God, the reverential awe due the supreme power. In the Old Testament the idea of fear is prominent, but though in the New Testament it is modified to reverential awe, Latin still retains *timor*, *timere*.<sup>7</sup> In OE. poetry the idea is variously expressed. We note, *mid cwide sinum* / *gretan godfyrhtne* (Matthew), And. 1022, *godfyrhtne guman Josua and Tobias*, 1516, *þætte godferhte gylt gefræmmað*, Ps. L. 14. *Ege*, m., and *egesa* are more commonly used. Thus, *hafa metodes ege on gemang symle*, / *þæt is witodlice wisdomes ord*, Exhortation 17, *se þe him ege drihtnes on ferhðcleofan fæste gestandeð* (*qui timet Dominum*), Ps. CXI, 1, *þa on ege þinum ealle healde* (*in timore tuo*), CXVIII, 38, *hire wæs godes egsa* / *mara in gemyndum*, Jul. 35-6, *him gasta weardes* /

<sup>5</sup> Raumer, pp. 398-9.

<sup>6</sup> Kahle, I, p. 412.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

*egesa on breostum wunode*, Gen. 2865-6, *flyhð yfla gehwylc / grimme gieltas for godes egsan*, Ph. 461, in a more general sense, *ealle eorðbuend egsan habbað (et timebunt gentes)*, Ps. CI, 13, in a religious sense, *þam þe egsan his elne healdað (timentes eum)*, LXXXIV, 8. *Ondrædan* is also used a number of times, so in *gif he him god ne ondræt*, Exhortation 38, *þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ*, Seaf. 106, *þa þe ondrædað him (timentes eum)*, Ps. CII, 16, *Eadige syndon ealle, þe him ecne god drihten ondrædað (beati omnes, qui timent Dominum)*, CXXVII, 1, *ne him godes fyrhtu georne ondrædað (non timuerunt Deum)*, LIV, 20, where we have in addition *fyrhtu*.

390. As the remedy against *superbia* and as one of the most important Christian virtues appears humility, the L. *humilitas*. The idea of humility was foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, so that the Christian terminology had to be created.<sup>8</sup> In Gothic *hauneins*, really lowering, then lowliness of mind, came to be used, in ON. *litelléte* and the adjective *litellátr*. In OHG. the terms are *odmuoti*, *deomuoti*, etc., which, as will be seen, are closely related to those used in OE. Here we have the adjective *ēaðmōd*, as, *Eom ic eaðmod his ombiehthera, / þeow gepyldig*, Gu. 571, *Eadig bið se þe eapmod leofað*, Seaf. 107, *he (Augustine) on Brytene her / eaðmode him eorlas funde / to godes willan*, Men. 99, *her on eorþan eaðmod leofað*, Moods 68, *gif þu eaðmodne eorl gemete*, 78. *Ēaðmōd* is also used, as, *þanne beo þu eadmod*, Exhortation 3, *þu eadmodra ealra locast (humilia respicit)*, Ps. CXXXVII, 6, the adverb *ēaðmōdlice* occurring in *eadmodlice eallunga biddan / heofena drihten*, Exhortation 48. *Ēaðmēde* and *ēadmēde* are also encountered, of which we note only, *dreama rædend / eallum eaðmedum<sup>9</sup> oprum gesceastum / duguða gehwylcre*, Panther 56, *ic eom eadmede (ego humiliatus sum)*, Ps. CXV, 1. The verb *geēadmēdan* is rare, used in *geeadmeded ingeþancum*, Ps. L. 128, and *ic geeadmeded eom (humiliatus sum)*, CXLI, 6. The noun employed is *ēaðmēdu*, *ēadmēdu*, pl. n., *þurh eaðmedu*, Gu. 74, *oft his word gode / þurh eaðmedu up onsende*, 748, *He wæs on elne and on eaðmedum*, 299, (Cyriacus prays) *eallum eaðmedum*, El. 1100, *min eaðmedu (humilitatem meam)*, Ps. CXVIII, 153, *ic mid eaðmedum eall gepafige (humiliter)*, CXXX, 3, *þa eadmēdu æghwær begangað on eorðwege, up on heofenum (et humilia respicit in celo et in terra)*, CXII, 5. *Ēaðmetto*, pl. n., is used, (*wyrce him*) *his modes hus, þær he mæge findan / eaðmetta stan ungemet fæstne*, Met. VII, 33, while the reference is to the Deity in *forþæm on þære dene drihten selfa / þara eaðmetta earfæst wunigað*, 38.

391. The Latin *misericordia* is often expressed by *milds*, *miltis*, f., a term which is generally applied to the Deity. As supposedly pertaining to man we encounter it in *on merefaroðe miltse gecyðan*, And. 289, while *No he hine wið monna miltse gedælde, / ac gesynta bæd sawla gehwylcre*

<sup>8</sup> Compare Kahle, I, pp. 413-14.

<sup>9</sup> The unchanged reading of the MS

occurs Gu. 302. An adjective often found is *milde*, really liberal, frequently applied to God. It is also used of man, as, *sumum he syleð monna milde heortan*, Gifts 108, *kyninge, kystum god, clæne and milde*, Chr. V, 23, probably in the religious sense, since it refers to Eadweard, (who) *sende soðfæste sawle to Criste*, 2. The judge tells the blessed, *Ge þæs earnedon, þa ge earme men / woruldbearfende willum onfengun / on mildum sefan*, Cr. 1350-2. In Az. 149 the three youths are called *milde masseras*. Of Beowulf it is claimed, though probably in a profane sense, that he was *wyruldcyninga, / manna mildust*, 3182, and Moses is called *manna mildost* Ex. 549. *Mildheort* is hardly ever used of man, though we find it in *þæt man si mildheort mode soðfæst* (*misericordiam et veritatem*), Ps. LXXXIII, 12. *Manþwære*, L. *mansuetus*, is rarely applied to man. We note, *þam manþwærum syleð mære hælu* (*exaltabit mansuetos in salutem*), Ps. CXLIX, 4, in the same sense, *milde mode and manþwære* (*mansuetos*), CXLVI, 6, while it is said of Beowulf, *manna mildust and mon [þw] ærust*, 3182.

392. The idea expressed by L. *patientia* would have been repugnant to the Germanic heathen mind. Only gradually could such a virtue take hold among a fierce and vindictive people. OE. uses *gepyld*, f., in order to render *patientia*. Thus we find the admonition, *Ðys dogor þu gepyld hafa / weana gehwylces*, Beow. 1395, further, (*Forgif þu me*) *gepyld and gemynd þinga gehwylces, / þara þu me, soðfæst cyning, sendan wille / to cunnunge*, Prayer IV, 22, *Sum gewealdenmod / hafað in gepylde, þæt he þonne sceal*, Gifts 71, *Sum gepyld hafað, / fastgongel ferð*, 79, *he minre gepylde þingum wealdeð* (*quoniam ab ipso patientia mea*), Ps. LXI, 5, *he gepyldum bad* (the saint), Gu. 886. The adjective *gepyldig* is even rarer than the noun. We note, *þeowfæst and gepyldig* (Abraham), Gen. 2662, *Eom ic eaðmod his ombiekhthera, / þeow gepyldig*, Gu. 572. *Mōðgepyldig* is found in *Ða wæs gemyndig mōðgepyldig / beorn*, And. 981.

393. *Abstinencia* is once rendered by *forhæfdnes*, namely *þa man mæg . . . mid* *forhæfdnessum heonon adrifan* (gluttony, etc.), Exhortation 46.

## II. QUALITIES

394. Here a number of terms may conveniently be treated, such as certain virtues, etc., qualities of the pious and faithful, which are ascribed not so much to any particular persons as representing a class, but rather to them as the adherents of God and Christ and as members of the heavenly kingdom. The apostles, patriarchs, saints, and the blessed in Heaven are all represented, and need not be treated separately, since all come under the heading of the faithful, and similar qualities are ascribed to them.

395. *Godsæd*, n., really God's seed, is encountered in the sense of piety, *gode in godsæde* (three youths in the fiery furnace), Dan. 90. *Folc godes*,

Cr. 764, *Cristes folces*, El. 499. The Christians conceived as the flock of Christ we find in *þin eowde*, Cr. 257.

396. Not seldom the faithful are called the chosen ones, *Criste gecorene*, Jul. 605, *cempan gecorene*, *Criste leoſe*, Gu. 769, *bærndon gecorene*, / *gæston godes cempan*, Jul. 16-17, *gæſtas gecorene*, Ph. 593, *þa gecorenan*, Cr. 1635, *his þa gecorenan*, Dox. 42, etc.

397. Closely connected with the idea just mentioned is that of purity. Sometimes terms for both appear in the same sentence. We note, *clæne and gecorene Cristes þegnas*, L. Prayer III, 53, *clæne and gecorene* (Juliana), Jul. 613, *sawla soðfæste song ahebbað*, / *clæne and gecorene* (the blessed), Ph. 541, *þine þa gecorenan wes an clæne and alysde* (*liberentur dilecti tui*), Ps. CVII, 5.

398. Cleanliness is often ascribed to the faithful. *þa clænan folc* (at Judgment), Cr. 1223, *hu þu þec geþyde* / . . . *on clænra gemong*, Jul. 420, *hwa in clænnisse* / *lif alifde*, Judg. 62-3, *clænum heortum*, 33, *þa ðe heortan gehygd healdað clæne* (*qui ambulant in innocentia*), Ps. LXXXIII, 13, *þær his sawl wearð* / *clæne and gecostad*, Gu. 506-7. We have not seldom such terms as *synna lease* (Juliana), Jul. 614, *leahtra leasne* (Guthlac), Gu. 920, *wer womma leas* (Martinus), Men. 209, *leahtra clæne* (the blessed at the Judgment), Ph. 518, etc.

399. *Hālig* is very frequently employed. We note here only, *þone halgan heap* (apostles in Heaven), Ap. 90, *gæsta halig*, Gu. 1033, *gæsthaligne in godes temple*, 1122, both passages referring to Guthlac, *gæsthalge guman*, Panther 21, *gæsthaligra*, Gu. 845.

400. *Sōðfæst*, the L. *rectus* or *justus*, occurs often. *Sangere he* (David) *wæs soðfæstest*, Ps. L. 6, *soðfæste men*, Panther 66, Sat. 307, *Him þa soðfæstan on þa swiðran hond* / *mid rodera weard reste gestigað*, Sat. 611, *eallra soðfæstra*, Met. XX, 272, *soðfæstra sib*, Dox. 4, *soðfæstra* / . . . *mod*, Jul. 325-6, *soðfæstra sawle*, Gu. 539, similarly 762; *þær soðfæstra sawla motan* / . . . *lifes brucan*, And. 228. We have also *healdan heora soðfæstnysse symble mid dædum* (*faciunt iustitiam in omni tempore*), Ps. CV, 3.

401. We have also such terms as *wærfæst*, applied to Lot Gen. 2596, *halig þær inne* / *wærfæst wunade* (Juliana), Jul. 238, *wærfæstne haeleð* (Andrew), And. 1273, *dōmfæst*, for instance, *domfæstra dream*, Gu. 1056, *ārƿæst*, as, *Sum bið ƿærfæst*, Gifts 67, *ārƿæstnes* twice in the sense of piety (*pietas*, 110, 135), Doom 219, 268, *æfæst*, thus, *ehteð* (devil) *æfæstra*, Sermon Ps. 28, 35, *þæt we æfæstra* / *dæde demen*, Gu. 497, etc.

402. *Æfremmende* occurs Jul. 648, *ryhtfremmende* Ph. 632, the gen. pl. Jul. 8, while the keeping of the commandments is often mentioned, of which

we note only a few expressions. The general statement *gif ge gehealdað halige lare* is found Ex. 560, etc., *læstan*, to obey, to do, is used frequently, as in *hu ic læste well*, Ps. CXVIII, 12, etc., *Swa þu læstan scealt*, Gen. 509, etc., *læston larcwide*, And. 674, *þæt hie his lare læston georne*, 1653, *þæt æ godes ealle gelæste*, Dan. 219, etc. *Æfnan* in practically the same sense as *læstan* is found a number of times, thus, *þæt heo his wisfæst word wynnum efnan* (*ad faciendum ea*), Ps. CII, 17, *soðe domas sylfe efnan* (*custodiunt iudicium*), CV, 3.

### III. GOOD WORKS

403. During the Middle Ages special emphasis was placed upon good works, and this doctrine of the Church has left a deep impression in OE. poetry. Time and again we are met with the claim that good works will be rewarded by eternal salvation.<sup>10</sup> Exhortation 12-15 we have mentioned, *eac opera fela / godra weorca glengað and bringað / þa soðfæstan sawle to reste / on þa uplican eadignesse*, though here prayer, love, and hope are also enumerated in connection with almsgiving. In order to express the specific religious meaning, *weorc*, like Greek *ἔργα* and Latin *opera*, has to be modified. This was done in the example just quoted by *gōð*, similarly in *þæt we to þam hyhstan hrofe gestigan / halgum weorcum*, Cr. 750. *Dæd* is also used. Thus, *Crist ealle wat / gode dæde*, Judg. 68, *geleanað lifes waldend / . . . / godum dædum*, 87, further, *hu hi fore god-dædum glade blissiað*, Cr. 1287, *þæt we motun her mereri / goddædum begietan gaudia in cela*, Ph. 669, and *þæt he godra mæst / dæda gefremme*, 462-3.

404. Among good works a very prominent place was accorded the giving of alms. The OE. word is *ælmyse*, *almesse*, f., cognate with OFris. *ielmisse*, OS. *alamōsna*, ON. *almusa*, OHG. *alamuosan*,<sup>11</sup> the common Teut. type *\*alemosna* or *\*alemosina* going back through popular L. *\*alimosina* to L. *eleēmosyna* and Greek *ἐλεημοσύνη*. The word is encountered a number of times in OE. poetry, one small piece treating especially of alms, bestowing the highest praise upon this good work. *For worulde weorð-mynda mæst / and for ussum dryhtne doma selest*, the author exclaims Alms 3-4, and as to the results, (*Efne swa he mid wætre þone weallendan / leg adwæsce, þæt he leng ne mæg / blac byrnende burgum sceððan*, 5-7) *swa he mid ælmeßan ealle toscufeð / synna wunde, sawla lacnað*, 8-9. Such a man is said to have *rume heortan*, 2. It is also claimed, *þæt se hæfde are on eorþ- rice, se þe ælmyßan / dælde domlice drihtnes þances*, Charm I, 36-7. *Þonne he ælmeßan earmum dæleð*, Ph. 433, is mentioned as an effective antidote against *nipa gehwam*, 451, and it is said of the monks, *sellað*

<sup>10</sup> Compare Judgment and Heaven in the next chapter, 410 and 420.

<sup>11</sup> Note discussion of *alms* in NED., Pogatscher, *Lautlehre*, 38, 74, and for further references see his index, p. 210.



*almessan*, Gu. 48. Exhortation 9 enumerates *seo almessylen* among the good works that bring the soul to a blessed rest, while lines 32-3 exhort, *syle almessan oft and gelome / digolice*, and similarly Dan. 587, *syle almæssan, wes earmra hleo*. While Gifts 67 simply states, *Sum bið arfast and almesgeorn*, Exhortation 2-3 is more insistent, *gif þu wille þæt blowende rice gestigan, / þænne be þu eadmod and almesgeorn*.

405. Among other good works fasting held a prominent place in the Mediaeval Church. The OE. word is *fæsten*, n., the L. *jejunium*. In the poetry it is encountered only a few times, namely, *fæsten lufiað*, Gu. 780, said of monks or hermits, and *þa* (namely gluttony, etc.) *man mæg mid fæstenum / and forhæfdnessum heonan adrifan*, Exhortation 45. The other examples are found in the *Psalms*, *þonne ic minum feore fæsten gesette (et operui in jejuniō animam meam)*, LXVIII, 10, and *Me synt cneowu swylce cwicu unhale for fæstenum (Genua mea informata sunt a jejuniō)*, CVIII, 24. The verb *fæstan*<sup>12</sup> is also rare. It is said of Christ, *he fæste feowertig daga*, Sat. 667, and the body is addressed, *Fæstest ðu on foldan and gefyldest me / godes lichoman, gastes dryncas*, Soul. 145. In the sense of *jejuniis expiare*<sup>13</sup> we encounter it in *þonne hie woldon sylfe / fyrene fæstan*, Dan. 592.

406. We may mention also *swencað hi sylfe* (mortify themselves), Gu. 778, referring to monks, while in reference to withdrawing from one's kin we have the threatening attitude of the devils toward St. Guthlac, (*gif he eft ne wolde*) *his sibbe ryht / mid moncynne maran cræfte / willum bewitigan*, Gu. 168-70.

<sup>12</sup> Goth. *fastan*, OFris. *festia*, OHG. *fastēn*, ON. *fasta*.

<sup>13</sup> *Sprachschatz*. See also *Bibl.* II, p. 507.

## CHAPTER XII

## THE FUTURE LIFE

407. Germanic heathenism was not without definite notions about a future life, developed especially among the Scandinavians.<sup>1</sup> However, it cannot be our object to enter into the discussion of this subject here. Suffice it to say that we know scarcely anything as to the views held by the heathen Anglo-Saxons, while the evidence at hand seems to indicate that they had very vague ideas about the matter.<sup>2</sup>

## I. JUDGMENT DAY AND PURGATORY

408. We may fittingly begin our discussion of the future life with the Day of Judgment or the Day of Doom. The term for judgment is *dōm*, m., from OTeut. \**domoz*, appearing in OFris. and OS. as *dōm*, OHG. *tuom*, ON. *dōmr*, Goth. *doms*.<sup>3</sup> The OE. word is found in *ðonne dryhten sylf dom geseceð*, El. 1279, *Ic ondræde me eac dom þone miclan (judiciiue diem . . . magnum, 8)*, Doom 15, and in many other passages. The particulars of the Last Judgment need not be entered into here, since that has been done sufficiently elsewhere<sup>4</sup> and is only remotely connected with our subject. A few of the more important phases, however, will appear in our discussion. *Ic þone ærest ealra getreowe, / flæscas on foldan on þa forhtan tid*, Creed 55-6 runs, rendering the L. *Carnis resurrectionem*. By *þa forhtan tid* the Day of Doom is meant, to which two entire poems are devoted, and which furnishes a fruitful theme in several other pieces, notably so in *Phenix* and *Christ*. Though Germanic mythology knows of the end of the world, the *Ragnarök*, etc., a day of judgment in the Christian sense was unknown,<sup>5</sup> and in OE. as well as in the other Germanic dialects, the

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *D.M.*, I, 259 ff., II, 682 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, 289 f. 313 ff., 471 ff., Kahle, I, 387, 421 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard, *History and Antiquities*, p. 42: "Of a future life their notions were faint and wavering; and if the soul were fated to survive the body, to quaff ale out of the skulls of their enemies was to be the great reward of the virtuous: to lead a life of hunger and inactivity, the endless punishment of the wicked"; Hunt, *Church History*, p. 13: "The mysteries of life and death exercised the mind of the English, and their ideas of a future life appear to have been confused and to some extent gloomy."

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion on the Judgment Day in OHG. compare Raumer, pp. 406-9, in ON. Kahle, I, 422-3, II, 153.

<sup>4</sup> See especially W. Deering, *The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day*, also G. Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichts*, and Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXXV, pp. 263-5.

<sup>5</sup> Note Deering's rather daring statement, p. 83: "In the darkest days of their heathendom, the Germanic tribes believed in a destruction of the world, in a Judgment after death, in a Hell, in a Heaven."

term for it had to be especially created. In OE. it is *dōmdæg*, the L. *dies iudicii*, Gr. *ἡμέρα κρίσεως*, while OHG. and ON. translate the Latin expressions in various ways, though like OE., OHG. has also *tuomtag*. As occurrences of the term we may cite, *ær he domdages dynn gehyre*, Sal. 272, *on þam domdæge*, Soul 96, *worþað hine deofol / on domdæge*, Sal. 26, *on domdæge*, Sat. 600, Rood B, 105, *æt domdæge*, Cr. 1619, 1637. *Dōmes dæg*, OHG. *tuomes tag*, also occurs, as for instance, *oð domes dæg*, Beow. 3069, *ær domes dæge*, Met. XXIX, 41, and *domes dages dyn*, Sal. 324.

409. Kennings for the Day of Judgment are not infrequently used. It is the terrible, great, greatest, famous day, the grim, hard time, etc. And on that terrible day, *þonne eall monna cynn / se ancenneda ealle gesamnað*, Soul I, 50-1, when according to L. Prayer III, 95, *heofonwaru* and *eorðwaru*, *helwaru þridde* are present. *Gemōt*, the assembly, meeting, is therefore mentioned, so Judg. 36, *þæt biþ þearlic gemot*, Soul 153 telling of *gemotstede manna and engla*. We hear also of *meðel*, the assembly or judicial meeting, *æt meðle*, And. 1436, *æt þam mæþle*, Ph. 538, *on þam meðelstede*, Ex. 542. Once we have *þing*, Cr. 927, and once also *seonop*, Ph. 493.

410. Christ is generally conceived of as the judge, though judgment is also ascribed to God, e.g., Ex. 541-2, and to the Trinity, to the latter for instance Jul. 723-9. As to Christ, we have among other statements, *Ac k̅wa demeð ðonne dryhtne Criste / on domes dæge, ðonne he demeð eallum gesceaftum?* Sal. 334-5, *þonne Crist siteð on his cynestole, / on heahsetle heofonmægna god, / fæder ælmihtig: folca gehwylcum / scyppend scinende scrifeð bi gewyrhtum*, Cr. 1217-20, etc., etc. Christ is on his judgment seat, *domsetle drihtnes (tribunal, 62)*, Doom 123, *on heahsetle (sublimis in alto, 59)*, 118. One law or standard of judgment obtains for all, *þær hæfð one lage earm and se welega (et miser et dives simili ditione timebunt, 81)*, Doom 163. We are told, *Crist ealle wat / gode dæde*, Judg. 67-8, and the decision is rendered according to the works of men, *scrifeð bi gewyrhtum*, Jul. 728, *æfter dædum deman wille*, 707, *þæt gehwylc underfo be his dædum æt drihtne sylfum (judicium ut capiat gestorum quisque suorum, 61)*, Doom 121, *sceal bearna gehwylc mid lice and mid sawle leanes frigan / ealles þæs þe we on eorþan ær geworhtan / godes oppe yfles*, Judg. 40-43, etc., etc. The people are divided into two parts, the chosen and the cursed, each to receive its reward, *þar man us tyhhað on dæg twegen eardas, / drihtenes are oððe deofles þeowet*, L. Prayer III, 97-8, etc.

411. The subject of purgatory or the purgatorial fire, the doctrine of which was first expressly formulated by Gregory the Great,<sup>6</sup> may receive

<sup>6</sup> Dial. IV, 39: "*de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendum est.*" *Enc. Brit.*

a brief treatment here.<sup>7</sup> Though in OE. poetry the purgatorial fire is several times described or alluded to, it differs in important respects from the doctrine that came to be accepted by the Church of Rome.<sup>8</sup> Excepting *Elene*, the statements are not as clear and explicit as we might wish them to be. In *Judgment* the earth is consumed by fire, though the idea as a purgatorial element in regard to man does not appear. More definite are the statements in *Phenix*. Having spoken of the fire before, the author continues, *þonne þeos woruld / scyldwyrcende in scome byrneð / ade onæled*, 501 ff., *Fyr bið on tyhte, / æleð uncyste*, 525-6, *Beoð þonne amerede monna gastas, / beorhte abywde þurh bryne fyres*, 544-5. Especially clear and detailed are the statements in *Elene*. The poet in 1278 speaks of *tionleg nimeð*, and with 1285 the detailed description begins. On the Day of Judgment the people are divided into three groups. The *soðfaste* are uppermost in the fire and least affected, 1288-94, the *synfulle . . . / mane gemengde* are in the middle, *in hatne wylm*, 1294 ff., while the third part, *awyrgeðe womsceaðan in þæs wylmes grund, / lease leodhatan lige befaested*, 1298-9, are in the grip of the fire, from whence they are thrown *in helle grund*, 1304. The other two divisions are purged, *hie asodene beoð, / asundrod fram synnum swa smæte gold*, etc., 1207-8, *swa bið þara manna ælc / ascyred and asceaden scylda gehwylcre, / deopra firena þurh þæs domes fyr*, 1311-13. Though this description leaves nothing to be desired as regards clearness of statement and as to the purging process, no special term for purgatory has as yet been adopted. Later the Latin word is taken over.

## II. HEAVEN

412. After the Day of Judgment the righteous enter Heaven, there to dwell forever with God and the angels in never-ending bliss. The idea of a future happy state was of course not foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, as the mythology sufficiently shows,<sup>9</sup> but with the advent of Christianity this future blissful state received a more definite and significant importance.

413. The OE. term for Heaven is *heofon*, *heofun*, m., cognate with OS. *heðan*.<sup>10</sup> The word is very frequent in the poetry, and there seems to be a

<sup>7</sup> Compare Becker, *Mediaeval Visions*, pp. 69-73, the Anglo-Saxon Purgatory.

<sup>8</sup> Purgatory in the Anglo-Saxon poets commences and ends on the Judgment Day. For the sources see Becker, *Mediaeval Visions*, pp. 72-3, Cook, *Anglia*, XV, pp. 9-20, his edition of *Christ*, p. LXIX f., Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften*, p. 15 ff., etc.

<sup>9</sup> Grimm, *D.M.*, II, p. 682 ff. Golther, *Handbuch*, 289 f., 313 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *NED.*: "Ultior etymology unknown"; as to the relation between the words in the Teutonic dialects, it says: "The LG. *\*heðana-*, *\*heðuna-*, was app. an entirely different word from Goth. *himins*, ON. *himinn*, . . . OHG. *himil* . . . ; at least no connexion between them can, in the present state of our knowledge, be assumed." But see Kluge, *Englische Studien*, XX, pp. 354-5. A bibliography will be found in Falk-Torp, under *himmel*. For Heaven in OHG. compare Raumer, p. 409 ff., in ON. Kahle, I, 423-4, II, 154-5.

preference for the plural forms, probably not uninfluenced by the Latin use. We note the rendering in L. Prayer, *Halig fæder, þu þe on heofonum eardast*, I, 1, *þu ðe on heofonum eart* (*qui es in celis*), II, 2, *Ðu eart on heofonum hiht and frofor* (*Qui es in celis*), III, 11. Otherwise the plural is also extremely common, e.g., *fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð*, Wand. 115, *þa hyhstan on heofonum eac / Cristes þegnas*, Cr. 282, *heofonas secan*, And. 977, *Guðlac sette / hyht in heofonas*, Gu. 406, etc., etc.

414. Regarding the situation, condition, and details concerning Heaven a great deal of material is found in OE. poetry, but our discussion will include only a few of the more important aspects of the subject. As a convenient summary we quote from Deering's essay:<sup>11</sup> "Heaven is, then, in short an idealized, yet concrete and definite kingdom somewhere above the earth, a bright and beautiful landscape with spreading, green fields, dotted with cities, planted with waving fruit-trees and fragrant flowers: in a narrower sense a city, the hereditary stronghold, as it were, of the Eternal King, the happy home of his followers. The mild and generous Prince of Heaven sits upon His throne in His hall, is mindful of the welfare of His people and dispenses to them the rich gifts of His presence, His grace and love, while His devoted followers surround His throne and with becoming reverence express their gratitude and faithful allegiance in glad songs of praise. The good not only enjoy the presence and blessings of God, the fellowship of the angels, the light and glory and beauty of their heavenly home, but are also free from every torment of hell, from every care and sorrow and suffering of earthly life. And these joys of heaven are eternal."

415. Several times Heaven is called *neorxna wang*,<sup>12</sup> a term generally applied to Paradise or the Garden of Eden. Thus we read, *and in gefor* (namely the thief) *þa ænlican geatu / neorxnawonges mid nerigende*, Doom 63-4, where the Latin has *portas paradisi apertas*, 32. *Sigefæstne ham / neorxna wang*, Men. 150-1, also refers to Heaven, while the description in And. 102 ff. closely resembles that of the Garden of Eden, *þe is neorxna wang, / blæda beorhtost, boldwela fægrost, / hama hyhtlicost haligum mihtum / torht ontyned*, which characterizes it sufficiently when compared with

<sup>11</sup> Page 69. For an extended description compare p. 62 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The etymology is doubtful. Grein, *Sprachschatz*: "Sollten somit nicht die ags. *neoriscan*, *neorxan*, *neorzan*, geradezu identisch sein mit den nordischen Nornen, . . . und *neorxna wang* *nympharum pratum* bedeuten?" See O. Ritter, *Anglia*, XXXIII, pp. 467-70, who proposes \**Ercan suna*, \**Ercsuna* (sons of the earth). R. Imelmann, *Anglia*, XXXV, p. 428, quotes These III of his diss. on the *Menology*, Berlin, 1902: "Das anlautende *n* in ae. *neorxnawang*, 'Paradies,' ist nicht stammhaft oder rest eines selbständigen wortes, sondern erklärt sich aus der häufigen stellung von *neorxnawang* nach einem auslauts-*n*." See also Krapp's *Andreas*, p. 85, note to line 102.

the Garden of Eden, Ph. 395 ff., Cr. 1390 ff., Gen. 170 ff., 210 ff., 854, 889, etc.

416. Heaven is above the earth, as is gathered from such terms and phrases as *upheofen*, Sat. 167, etc., *þa heahnisse heofena kyninges*, Prayer III, 35, as also from statements such as *up secan him ece dreamas*, / *on heanne hrof heofona rices*, Dan. 441-2, *þæt we eaðe magon upcund rice / forð gestigan*, Wond. 34-5, etc. It is often called a kingdom, for instance, *on heofonrice heahgetimbro*, Gen. 739, similarly El. 621, Cr. 1246, etc.; *ða halgan duru heofona rices*, Sal. 37, *fæder rice*, Cr. 475, 1345, Soul 140, etc. Furthermore it is spoken of as a city, *þeodnes burg*, Cr. 553, *to wuldres byrig*, Jul. 665, *to þære beorhtan byrg*, Cr. 519, similarly El. 821, etc.; *in þa halgan burg*, Gu. 784, *to Hierusalem*, 785, *godes ealdorburg . . . / rodera ceastre*, Rid. 60, 15-16. We find also, *heahgetimbru*, / *seld on swegle*, Gu. 556-7, *þone sele*, Judg. 92. Regarding the details may be mentioned, *heofonstolas*, Gen. 8, *rodorstolas*, 749, etc. The throne of God or Christ is referred to a number of times, *hehselda wyn*, Sat. 43, *heleð ymb hehseld*, 47, *ymb þæt halge heahseld godes*, Ph. 619, *ymb þæt hehsell*, Sat. 220, *ðu on heahsetle / ecum ricsast* (God), Met. IV, 2, *on heahsetle* (Christ), Cr. 555, 1218, *gæsta gifstol* (Christ), 572, *on þam halgan stole*, Gen. 260, *þonne Crist siteð on his cynestole*, Cr. 1217, while it is said that the rebellious angels tried *þrymcyning þeodenstoles / ricne beryfan*, Moods 62-3.

417. Of the various kennings<sup>12</sup> we note further, *wuldres wynland*, Moods 65, *on engla eard*, 74, similarly Cr. 646; *wuldres eard*, 1203, *upeard*, Gu. 1051, *on ecne eard*, 1155, with which may be compared *awo to ealdre eardfæst wesan*, 758; *ðæs heofoncundan / boldes*, Gu. 54-5, *beorhtne boldwelan*, And. 524, Ap. 33, etc., *lifwela*, 49; *to eadwelan*, Gu. 1091, (*brucan*) *eces eadwelan*, El. 1315, *eðel*, the hereditary home, Gu. 38, etc., *beorht eðles wite*, Cr. 1347, *engla epel*, 630, etc., *epellond*, Gu. 628, *to þam uplican / eðelrice*, And. 119-20, *on ecne geard*, Gu. 1241, *friðgeardum in*, Cr. 399, *sio friðstow*, Met. XXI, 16, *wynsum stow*, 18, etc.

418. Heaven is a home, e. g., *On heofenhame halig drihten his heahsetle hrgr timbrade* (*Dominus in caelo paravit sedem suam*), Ps. CII, 18, *heofonhamas healdest* (*in coelis*), CXXII, 1, etc.; of the Virgin Mary it is said that she sent *þa beorhtan lac / to heofenhame*, Cr. 292-3. We note also, *ham in heofonum*, Gu. 69, *heofonlicne ham*, Rood B, 148, *deoran ham*, Gu. 40, *in þam ecan ham*, Cr. 305, *in þam æpelan ham*, 350, *þone mæran ham*, And. 227, *þone clænan ham / eaðmedum upp*, 978.

419. The dwelling with God and the angels is called *lif*, the L. *vita*, Rood B, 126, etc., while the rendering of L. *vita aeterna* recurs time and again in *ece lif*, Creed 57, Ap. 38, 73, Gu. 33, 97, etc., *eces lifes*, Cr. 1052,

<sup>12</sup> Compare Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 74, Rankin, IX, p. 51 ff.

*eadig on þam ecan life*, 1428. It is further described, *bettre lif*, Gu. 751, *winsumre lif*, Ap. 20, *þæt leohte lif*, Ph. 661. Heaven was thought of as radiant with light, *heofones leoht*, Sermon Ps. 28, 44, *dryhtnes leoht*, Gu. 555, *wuldres leoht*, Ap. 61, *leoht unkwilen*, 20, *þæt leohte leoht*, Cr. 592.

420. The blessings of Heaven were considered the reward for battles well fought, *wigges lēan*, El. 824, *hafað nu ece lif / mid wuldorcining wiges to leane*, Ap. 73-4. Even a reward for the Virgin Mary is not forgotten, *hafde nergend þa / fægere fostorlean fæmnan forgolden / ece to caldre*, Men. 151-3. Undue emphasis is laid upon works, and the theme never seems to weary the poets. Of the many examples encountered we note a few. *Ær earnode eces lifes*, Cr. 1052, *earniað on eorðan ecan lifes, / hames in heahþu*, Gu. 767-8, *þonne ðu gearnast, þæt þe bið ece lif, / selust sigeleana seald in heofonum*, El. 526-7, *him womdæde witan ne þencað / for earnunge ecan lifes*, L. Prayer II, 25-6, *hafð nu lif wið þan / mid wuldorfader weorca to leane*, Men. 146-7; *sigorlean in swegles wuldre*, Jud. 345, *sigorlean*, Gu. 1344, etc., *to sigorleanum*, Cr. 1590, *þonon wuldres leoht / sawle gesohte sigores to leane*, Ap. 61-2, *weorca wuldorlean*, Gu. 1347, *wuldorlean weorca*, Cr. 1080, *Ceapa þe mid ahtum eces leohtes*, Exhortation 34, *feorhræd fremedon*, And. 1654, etc.

421. The fact that the blessed live in a state of bliss and happiness is often emphasized by the poets. A general term for salvation is *gesælð*, f., happiness, blessedness, used a considerable number of times in *Meters*, where we have the contrast between true and false happiness. We note, *sio soðe gesælð*, XII, 19, *soða gesælða*, 23, *ecan good / soða gesælða*, XIX, 31-2, and *soða gesælða, þæt is selfa god*, 36. In contrast to it we quote, *leasa gesælða*, XII, 27, *woruldsælða*, II, 10, VII, 52, 54. *Hālor*, n., salvation, is thrice used in *Juliana*, *ahwyrfen from halor*, 327, similarly 360; *hyge from halor*, 440. The saved are *gesælig*, blessed, a term also applied to Christ, for instance in *þær he gesælig sibban eardað / ealne widan feorh wunað butan ende*, Cr. 438, to the saved, *þæt gesælige weorud*, 1249, *gesalgum*, 1652, 1660, *gesælige sawle*, Sat. 296, *gesælig / mines ebelrices eadig neotan*, Cr. 1461, while *Ea la, se bið gesælig and ofersælig / and on worulda woruld wihta gesæligost*, Doom 246-7, renders *Felix o nimium! semperque in saecula felix*, 124. *Gesæliglic* is also encountered, *meaht and gefea / swiðe gesæliglic sawlum to gielde*, Cr. 1079. The noun *gesælignes* is found only once in poetry, *ac þær biþ engla dream, / sib and gesælignes and sawla ræst*, Cr. 1677. *Ēadig*, L. *beatus, felix*, is common. We note only, *eadig*, Cr. 1497, *eadige sawla*, Sat. 653, *þonne he soðfæstra sawla ladeð, / eadige gastas on uprodor*, Ex. 544, etc., etc. *Welig*, rich, is not so common; we note, *welig in heofonum*, Cr. 1496.

422. The Anglo-Saxon poets never tire of pointing out the joys and blessings of Heaven, transferring their ideas of worldly happiness to the

heavenly abode. To designate the joy, *drēam*, m., is often employed. This word had the 'primary meaning of noisy joviality,'<sup>14</sup> which according to Ferrell,<sup>15</sup> Grimm refers to "the *jubilum aulae*, that ecstatic state of halfdrunkenness in which the comrades sat together in peaceful circle, told stories and drank." We note as the more characteristic occurrences, *ecne dream*, Soul 154, *dream unkwilen*, El. 1231, *halige dreamas*, Sat. 680, *hluttre dreamas / eadge mid englum*, Cr. 1246, *in þam uplican engla dreame*, 102, *engla dreames*, 1343, *in wuldres dream*, Gu. 1278, etc., *swegles dreamas*, And. 809, *swase swegldreamas*, Cr. 1349, *gæstlice goddream*, Gu. 602, *heofon-dreamas*, Soul 105, *on sindreamum*, Ph. 385, *folc gelædan / in dreama dream*, Cr. 580, *agan . . . / dreama dream mid dryhine gode / a to worulde, a buton ende*, Sat. 314.

423. *Symbel*, n., banquet, reminding one of the festal board in the meadhall, with its gayety and conviviality, is also used a few times to express the heavenly joys. Thus, *him is symbel and dream / ece unhwylen eadgum to frofre*, Wonders 96, *þær is blis mycel, / dream on heofonum, / þær is dryhines folc / geseted to symle, þær is singal blis*, Rood B, 139-41.

424. Of other characterizations a considerable number occur, as for instance *gefēa*, which is very frequent. We note, *ecan gefean*, Gu. 1052, etc., *upne ecne gefean*, Sat. 199, *wynsum gefea*, Cr. 1253, *þam fægrestan / heofonrices gefean*, Gu. 808-9, etc. *Blis* is also extremely common, e.g., *þær is hyht and blis*, Cr. 750, *sib and bliss*, Gu. 1055. However, these and similar terms, as also compounds of *heofon*, of which some have been mentioned, need no further discussion.

### III. HELL

425. The Germanic tribes were not without views about a place for the departed spirits, in the North even the idea of punishment having developed.<sup>16</sup> And when Christianity made its advent with its doctrine of hell, the Germanic tribes did not find it difficult to assimilate the new ideas, while the old name was kept. In OE. the term is *hel(l)*, f., OFris. *helle*, *hille*, OS. *hellja*, *hella*, OHG. *hella*, ON. *hel*, Goth. *halja*, all from the Teut. stem *\*haljā*, literally the coverer up or hider. The ON. ideas of *hel* in the extant writings are clearer than those of the other peoples.<sup>17</sup> There we meet also Hel, daughter of Loki and a giantess, as the goddess of the infernal regions.

<sup>14</sup> Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> *Teutonic Antiquities*, pp. 16-17. Grimm's words, *Andreas und Elene*, Cassel, 1840, p. XXXVII, however, are: "Nichts ging ihm über den *seledredm, jubillum aulae*, A. 1656, wo im friedlichen kreise gewohnt, erzählt und gezecht wurde."

<sup>16</sup> Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 259 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, p. 471 ff.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of hell in ON. see Kahle, I, pp. 424-5, II, 155-6, in OHG. Raumer, pp. 414-16.



426. In OE. poetry *hel* is common, and only a few characteristic examples need be given here, *hu heh and deop hell inneweard seo, / grim græfhus*, Sat. 707, *þonne hel nimeð / wærlasra weorud*, Cr. 1613, *on þa hatan hell*, Gen. 331, similarly 362, etc. As *hel* translates Latin *infernus*, the Vulgate rendering of Greek *ᾗδης* and the Hebrew *הַיָּסֵד*, its meaning is of course wider than a place of punishment. We note, *astigon heo on helle heonan lifgende (descendant in infernum viventes)*, Ps. LIV, 14, *þu mine sawle swylce alysdest of helwarena hinderþeostrum (eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori)*, LXXXV, 12, *is min feorh swylce to helldore hylded geneahhe (vita mea inferno appropinquavi)*, LXXXVII, 3.

427. Hell certainly receives its share of attention at the hands of OE. poets, who seem to be especially anxious to describe this dreary place adequately. While it is outside of our task to paint a picture of hell, and we shall mention only a few main points in the following discussion, it may be convenient to give the Anglo-Saxon poets' conception of hell by citing Becker:<sup>18</sup> "Hell is a dark pit under the earth, incalculably immense in area, shrouded in eternal darkness. The principal torment is that of fire, but the flame is black, and burns without light. Side by side with extreme heat is the torment of cold; storms of wind, hail, and frost sweep down from the four corners of hell. Frightful monsters, dragons, serpents, bloody eagles, people the awful depths, and dragons guard the entrance. The sinful souls are bound down with fetters, suffering the utmost agonies of mind in addition to those of the body. Consumed with bitter remorse and despair, they must remain thus eternally, without hope of ever being released from their sufferings or of gaining the bliss of the righteous, which they are forced to look upon."

428. Though the definite location of hell is not given, it is below, under the earth. We read, (*Etne*) *þæt mon helle fyr hateð wide*, Met. VIII, 54, *helle seceð / . . . grundleasne wylm / under mistglome*, Whale 45-7, *ðone deopan wælm, / niðær undær nessas in ðone neowlan grund / grædige and gifre*, Sat. 30-32, similarly Gu. 535, etc. As Heaven is a kingdom, so also hell, in which Satan rules, *helwarena cyning*, Jul. 544, etc. Sal. 106 speaks of it as *ðæs engestan eðelrices*, with which may be compared *in þam engan ham*, El. 920, etc. However, it seems to *blac bealoves gast, þæt he on botme stod, / . . . þæt þanon wære / to helle duru hund þusenda / mila gemearcodes*, Sat. 721-4. But, as Becker<sup>19</sup> has pointed out, "the terms of spaciousness are to be interpreted literally, whereas those of narrowness permit of no other than a figurative interpretation," so that he would take *enge* in

<sup>18</sup> *Mediaeval Visions*, pp. 63-4. Compare also p. 58 ff., Deering, 48 ff., Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXXV, 265 ff.; for kennings, Bode, 75 f., Jansen, 29 f., Rankin, IX, 54 ff. For a discussion of the sources of the characteristics of hell see Deering, p. 57 ff., Becker, 11 ff., 54 ff., Abbt-meyer, 16.

<sup>19</sup> *Mediaeval Visions*, p. 58.

the sense of oppressive. Hell is also called *mægburg*, Har. 91, *of feonda byrig*, Cr. 569, *helwara / burg*, Rid. 56, 6-7, *deaðsele*, Gu. 1048, while similar terms are frequent. The doors of hell are often mentioned, as, *he helle duru / forbræc and forbegde*, Sat. 467, *behliden helle duru*, El. 1229, *æt heldore*, Gu. 531, etc. It is stated, *Æce æt helle duru dracan eardigað*, Sat. 98, while influenced by the preceding figure Whale 76 and 78 reads, *þa grimman goman / . . . / helle hlinduru*. With this may be compared *ah in helle cafl / sið asette*, And. 1703, and *dreogaþ deaðcwale in dracan fæðme*, El. 765. Walls and other parts are mentioned, e.g., *helle weallas*, Har. 34, *helle floras*, Sat. 70, *hellegrund*, Soul 105, *in helle grund*, Cr. 562, El. 1304, etc.

429. Hell is the place of punishment for the devils and the damned, *in ece fyr, / ðær ge sceolon dreogan deað and bystro*, Gu. 606-7. As Cr. 1535-6 the condemned are committed to *forwyrde on witehus, / deaðsele deofles*, so this state itself is called *se eca deað æfter ðissum worulde*, Met. X, 70. *Wite*, n., or *hellewite*, is often used to denote punishment, just as we find *helliwizzi* in OHG., *helliwiti* in OS., and *helviti* in ON., a rendering of the Latin *supplicium inferni*. We note, *helle witum*, Soul 32, *in wita forwyrð*, Sermon Ps. 28, 10, *synna to wite*, Cr. 1623, *heardes hellewites*, Gen. 303, *alysdest / fram hæftnyde hellewites*, L. Prayer II, 36. We find further, *þæt witescræf*, Sat. 691, *þæt witehus*, 628, and *þa wyrrestan witebrogan*, El. 931, etc.

430. References to the agencies of punishment are often found, especially to the fire, *grim hellefyr, gearo to wite*, Cr. 1270, *under helle cinn in þæt hate fyr, / under liges locan*, 1620-21, *þæt ge wærnyse / brynewylm hæbben, nales bletsunga*, Gu. 643-4, *in fyrbæðe / wælmum biwrecene wraplic andlean*, Cr. 831-2, *weallendne lig and wyrma slite / bittrum ceastum*, 1251-2, etc., etc. The poets seem anxious not to omit a detailed description of the sufferings the doomed have to undergo, or, in the words of Deering:<sup>20</sup> "Having thus drawn such frightful pictures of the horrors of hell, the poets might have left their readers to imagine the sufferings of the damned, but the opportunity of impressing these dreadful scenes was too good to be lost, and they cannot resist the temptation to add a few more strokes to their already horrible pictures and tell us again and again of the physical and mental tortures of this eternal punishment."

431. The condemned are often called the cursed, as, *Astigað nu, awyrgde, in þæt witehus*, Sat. 628, *Farað nu awyrgde willum biscyrede / engla dreames on ece fir*, Cr. 1520-1, etc. *Wærnis* (weargnes), is once used in the sense of damnation, *þæt ge (devils) wærnyse / brynewylm hæbben, nales bletsunga*, Gu. 643. Among other kennings for the doomed we note, *unsælge*, Cr. 1288, the devil being called *unsælig*, Jul. 450, the Jews, *hæleð*

*unsalige*, And. 561, and *hæleð hynfuse*, 612; we find *helfuse men*, Cr. 1124, while the Mermedonians are called *hæleð hellfuse*, And. 50. For the devil and the doomed we have also such terms as *grundfusne gæst gode orfeorme*, Moods 49, *firenfulra fæge gæstas*, Gu. 532, *þæt fæge folc*, Cr. 1518, *synfulra weorud*, 1229, *firensynnig folc*, 1379, *unsyfre folc*, 1232, etc., etc.

432. A considerable number of compounds of *hel* are found in the poetry. Some of them have appeared in our discussion, while a number are included in the poetical list. Others also occur, but offering nothing characteristic, they need not be discussed.

## POETICAL WORDS

Here are listed those exclusively religious terms which occur in poetical texts only. Kennings have been admitted only when special circumstances and a distinctly religious connotation warranted it. If a word occurs only once, the exact reference has been given. If the use is limited to a single poem where it is found more than once, the title only is added.

- Ǽdfȳr, sacrificial fire, Ex. 398.  
 Ǽdloma, one crippled by fire, devil, Gu. 884.  
 Ǽbebod, command, Ps.  
 Ǽboda, preacher, Gu. 909.  
 Ǽcræft, knowledge of law, religion.  
 Ǽfenlāc, evening sacrifice, Ps. CXL, 3.  
 Ǽfremmente, pious, religious, Jul. 648.  
 Ǽfyllende, pious, Cr. 704.  
 ǼlǼrende, teacher of the law, religion, El. 506.  
 Ǽlcræftig, omnipotent, Met. XX, 38.  
 Ǽrcwide, prophesy ? Moods 4.  
 Ǽrendgāst, angel, Gen. 2296.  
 Ǽriht, code of law or faith, El.  
 Ǽwita, counsellor, El. 455.  
 Ǽgilpan, to exult in, Soul 166.  
 ǼglǼccræft, evil art, And. 1362.  
 Ǽnboren, only begotten.  
 Ǽnbūend, hermit, Gu. 59.  
 Ǽnseld, hermitage, Gu. 1214.  
 Ǽrgifa, giver of benefits, Gifts 11.  
 Ǽðloga, perjurer, Cr. 1605.  
 Bēntīd, prayer time, Men. 75.  
 berēotan, to bewail, Har. 6.  
 bernelāc, burnt offering, Ps. L. 123.  
 bismērlēas, blameless, Cr. 1326.  
 blǼdgifa, giver of prosperity, And.  
 brǽgdwīs, crafty, Gu. 58.  
 byrneield, burnt offering. Gen.  
 Ceargēst, sad spirit, devil, Gu. 364.  
 circnytt, church service, Gifts 91.  
 culpa or culpe, fault, sin, Cr. 177.  
 cūsc, modest, virtuous, Gen. 618.  
 Dægweorðung, feast day, El. 1233.  
 dēaðbēam, deathbringing tree, Gen. 638.  
 dēaðfīren, deadly sin, Cr. 1207.  
 dēaðsele, hell.  
 dēofolcund, diabolical, Jud. 61.  
 dēofoldæd, fiendish deed, Dan. 18.  
 dēofolwītga, wizard, magician, Dan. 128.  
 drencflōd, deluge.  
 drūt, beloved one, Doom 291.  
 dryhtendōm, majesty, glory, And. 999.  
 Ʒadfruma, author of happiness, Cr. 532.  
 Ʒadgifa, giver of prosperity, And. 1292.  
 Ʒadgifu, gift of blessedness, Jul.  
 ealh, temple.  
 eallbeorht, resplendent.  
 eallhālig, all-holy, Ps. CXXXI, 8.  
 eallmiht, omnipotence, Ps. CXXXV, 12.  
 ealwālða, all-ruling, almighty, God, Christ.  
 earfoðcynn, depraved race, Ps. LXXVII, 10.

(ge)edbyrdan, to regenerate, Soul  
101, Exeter text.

edwitspreca, scoffer, Gu. 418.

efenēadig, equally blessed, Hymn  
21.

efeneardigende, dwelling together,  
Cr. 237.

efenēce, co-eternal, Cr.

eftlēan, recompense, Cr. 1100.

ēgorhere, flood, deluge, Gen.

endelēan, final retribution.

engelcund, angelic, Gu. 72.

engelcynn, race or order of angels.

ēðelboda, land's apostle, native  
preacher, Gu. 976.

Fācendād, sin, crime, Ps. CXVIII,  
53.

fācengewipere, deceit, Ps.  
LXXXII, 3.

fācensearu, treachery.

fācenstafas, treachery, deceit, Beow.  
1018.

fācentācen, sign of crime, Cr. 1566.

felameahtig, most mighty.

felasynnig, very guilty, Beow. 1379.

feohgīfre, avaricious, Wand. 68.

fēondæt, eating things sacrificed to  
idols, Ps. CV, 24.

feorhrād, salvation, And. 1654.

ferhðlufu, heartfelt love, And. 83.

fīfmægen, magic power, Sal. 136.

fīrenbealu, transgression, Cr. 1276.

fīrencræft, wickedness, Jul. 14.

fīrendād, wicked deed, crime.

fīrenfremmente, committing sin, Cr.  
1118.

fīrengorn, prone to sin, sinful,  
Cr. 1606.

fīrensynnig, sinful, Cr. 1379.

fīrenweorc, evil deed, sin, Cr.

fīrenwyrcente, sinning, sinful, Ps.

fīrenwyrhta, evil doer, Ps.

forescyttels, bolt, bar, Cr. 312.

fortyhtan, to seduce, El. 208.

fortyllan, to seduce, Cr. 270.

frīðoscealc, angel, Gen.

frōwe, woman, Doom 291.

frumgesceap, creation of the world,  
Cr. 840.

frumscyld, original sin, Sal. 445.

fulwihttid, time of baptism, Men.  
11.

fulwihtðēaw, rite of baptism, Met.  
I, 33.

fýrclo, band forged in the fire, in  
hell, Sat. 39.

fýrngidd, ancient prophesy, El. 542.

fýrnsceaða, devil, And. 1346.

fýrnsynn, sin of old times, Jul. 347.

Galdorword, magic word, Rim. 24.  
gālmōd, wanton, licentious, Jud.  
256.

gārtorn, fighting rage, Sal. 145.

gāstbona, devil, Beow. 177.

gāstcund, spiritual, Gu. 743.

gāstcwalu, pains of hell, Gu. 651.

gāstcýning, God, Gen. 2883.

gāstgeniðla, devil, Jul. 245.

gāstgewinn, pains of hell, Gu. 561.

gāsthālig, holy in spirit.

gāstlufu, spiritual love, Az.

gāstsunu, spiritual son.

gēocund, preserver, Savior.

geongerdōm, discipleship, Gen.

geongerscip, allegiance, Gen. 249.

gīfnes, grace, favor, L. Prayer III.

glēdstede, altar, Gen.

goddreām, joy in Heaven, Gu.

godegyld, idol, Ps. CV, 17.

godgim, heavenly jewel, El. 1113.

godsād, piety, Dan. 90.

godscyld, sin against gods, impiety,  
Jul. 204.

godscyldig, impious, Gu. 834.

grandorlēas, guileless, Jul. 271.  
 grornhof, sad home, hell, Jul. 324.  
 grundfūs, hastening to hell, Moods  
 49.

Hælubearn, Savior, Christ, Cr.  
 hæðencýning, heathen king, Dan.  
 54.

hæðencynn, heathen race, Gen.  
 2546.

hæðenstýrc, heathen calf, Ps. CV,  
 17.

hæðenweoh, heathen sacrifice, Jul.  
 53.

hālor, salvation, Jul.

hālswurðung, thanksgiving for  
 safety, Ex. 581.

handgift, wedding present, Creed  
 18.

hēahblis, exultation, Ps. CXVIII,  
 111.

hēahboda, archangel, Cr. 295.

? hēahcāsere, Christ, L. Prayer III,  
 60.

hēahfrēa, high Lord, Cr.

hēahgæst, Holy Ghost, Cr. 358.

hēahgesceap, divine destiny, Beow.  
 3084.

hēahgod, most high, God, Ps. LVI,  
 2.

hēahheort, proud, Dan. 540.

hēahmiht, high authority, great  
 might, Ps. CL, 2.

? hēahnama, most exalted name, L.  
 Prayer III, 18.

heargtræf, idol temple, Beow. 175.

heargweard, temple warden, priest,  
 And. 1124.

hellbend, bond of hell, Beow. 3072.

Some terms quoted with hell  
 possibly not compounds.

hellcræft, hellish power, And. 1102.

hellcwalu, pains of hell, Cr. 1190.

helledor, gate of hell.

hellebealu, hell bale, Cr. 1427.

helleceaf, jaws of hell, And. 1703.

hellecinn, hellish race, Cr. 1620.

helleclamm, hellbond, Gen. 373.

helledēofol, devil.

helledor, gate of hell, Har. 87.

helleduru, gate of hell, El. 1229.

helleflōr, floor of hell, Sat. 70.

hellegāst, spirit of hell.

hellegrund, abyss of hell.

hellegryne, horror of hell, Sat. 433.

hellehæft, prisoner of hell, Sat. 631.

hellehæfta, prisoner of hell, Beow.  
 788.

hellehæftling, prisoner of hell.

hellehēaf, wailings of hell, Gen. 38.

hellehinca, hell-limper, devil, And.  
 1171.

hellehūs, hell-house, Gu. 649.

hellenið, torments of hell, Gen. 771.

hellescealc, devil, Sat. 133.

helleðegn, devil, Gu. 1042.

hellfiren, hellish crime, Partridge 6.

hellfūs, bound for hell.

hellgeþwing, confinement in hell,  
 Gen. 696.

helltræf, devil's temple, And. 1691.

helltrega, hell-torture, Gen. 73.

helrūna, hellish monster, Beow. 163.

heofonbeorht, heavenly bright.

heofonbyme, heavenly trumpet, Cr.  
 949.

heofondēma, heavenly ruler, Sat.  
 658.

heofondrēam, joy of Heaven.

heofonduguð, heavenly host, Cr.  
 1655.

heofonengel, angel of Heaven.

heofonhālig, holy and heavenly,  
 And. 728.

heofonhām, heavenly home.

- heofonhlāf, bread of Heaven, Ps. CIV, 35.  
 heofonlēoht, heavenly light, And. 974.  
 heofonmāgen, heavenly force.  
 heofonsetl, throne of Heaven, Doom 277.  
 heofonstōl, throne of Heaven, Gen. 8.  
 heofonðrēat, heavenly company, Sat. 222.  
 heofonweard, God, Gen.  
 heofonwuldor, heavenly glory, L. Prayer II, 12.  
 heortlufu, heart-love, Dox. 29.  
 heterūn, charm which produces hate, Rid. 34, 7.  
 hildedēofol, demon, Ps. XCV, 5.  
 hinderðeostru, nether darkness, Ps. LXXXV, 12.  
 hospcwide, insulting speech, El. 523.  
 hūslbearn, communicant, Gu. 531.  
 hūslwer, communicant, Gu. 768.  
 hygeclāne, pure in heart, Ps. CIV, 3.  
 hygefrōfor, consolation.  
 hygetrēow, fidelity, Gen. 2367.  
 hygeðryð, pride, insolence, Gen. 2238.  
 hyhtgifa, giver of hope, El. 851.  
 hyhtlēas, unbelieving, Gen. 2387.  
 hyhtwillā, hoped for joy, Sat. 159.  
 hyhtwyn, joy of hope, Jud. 121.  
 Ingebed, earnest prayer, Ps. LXXXVII, 2.  
 inwitstæf, wickedness, evil, Ps.  
 Leahtorcwide, blasphemy, Jul. 199.  
 lēohtfruma, source of light.  
 lifrēa, Lord of life, God.  
 liffruma, source of life, God.  
 lifweard, guardian of life, Christ, El. 1035.  
 ligcwalu, fiery torment, hell, El. 296.  
 lofmāgen, praise, Ps. CV, 2.  
 lofsum, praiseworthy, Gen. 468.  
 lustgryn, snare of pleasure, Soul 23.  
 lygenword, lie, Gen. 699.  
 lygesynnig, lying, false, El. 898.  
 lygewyrhta, liar, Sermon Ps. 28, 11.  
 Māgenwundor, striking wonder, Cr. 927.  
 mǎnfæhðu, wickedness, Gen. 1378.  
 mǎnfolm, evil doer, Ps. CXLIII, 8.  
 mǎnforwyrht, evil deed, sin, Cr. 1095.  
 mǎnfrēa, lord of evil, devil.  
 mǎnfremmende, sinning.  
 mǎngenlōla, evil persecutor, And. 916.  
 mǎngewyrhta, sinner, Ps. LXXVII, 38.  
 mǎnhūs, home of wickedness, hell, Ex. 535.  
 mǎnsceat, usury, Ps. LXXI, 14.  
 mǎnscild, crime, fault, sin, Hymn 23.  
 mǎnscyldig, criminal, guilty, Gen.  
 mǎnwamm, guilty of stain, Cr. 1280.  
 mǎnword, wicked word, Ps. LVIII, 12.  
 mǎnwyrhta, evil doer, sinner, Ps.  
 mereciest, sea-chest, ark, Gen. 1317.  
 metod, fate, Creator, God, Christ.  
 micelmōd, magnanimous, Ps. CXLIV, 3.  
 misgedwild, error, perversion, Jul. 326.  
 mōdgeþyldig, patient, And. 981.  
 morðorhof, place of torment, El. 1302.  
 morðorhūs, house of torment, Cr. 1625.

morðorlēan, retribution for sin, Cr.  
1612.

morðorscyldig, guilty, And. 1599.

Nēodlof, zealous praise, Ps.

CXLVIII, 12.

nēodweorðung, zealous honoring,  
Ps. CXLII, 11.

nīðloca, place of torment, Har. 64.

nīðsynn, grievous sin, Sat. 180.

Ofersælig, excessively happy, Doom  
246.

ofersælð, excessive pleasure, Met.  
V, 27.

oferwealdend, over-lord, God, El.  
1235.

onblōtan, to sacrifice, Gen. 2933.

(Ge)palmtwīgan, deck with palm  
branches, Sal.

Regolfæst, adhering to monastic  
rules, Men. 44.

reðehygdig, right-minded, Alms 2.

reðeman, usurer, Ps. CVIII, 11.

rodorcýning, king of Heaven.

rodorstōl, heavenly throne, Gen.  
749.

Sāwelcund, spiritual, Gu. 288.

scīngelāc, magical practices, And.  
766.

scuccgyld, idol, Ps. CV, 26.

scyldfrecu, wicked craving, Gen.  
898.

scyldwreccende, avenging sin, Cr.  
1161.

scyldwýrcende, evil doing.

sealmfæt, in 'on sealmfatum' ren-  
dering L. 'in vasis psalmi,' Ps.  
LXX, 20.

selfsceaft, not begotten, Gen. 523.

sigebēam, cross.

sigebearn, Christ.

sigedēma, victorious judge, God.

sigetiber, sacrifice for victory, Ex.  
402.

sigortifer, offering for victory, Jul.  
255.

snytrohūs, house of wisdom, taber-  
nacle, Ps. LXXVII, 60.

sōðcýning, God.

sōðfæder, God, Cr. 103.

suslbona, devil, Sat. 640.

suslhof, place of torment, Creed 32.

sweglcýning, king of Heaven.

sweglwuldor, heavenly glory, Gu.  
1160.

sweglwundor, heavenly wonder, Gu.  
1292.

sygegealdor, victory-bringing  
charm, Charm VIII, 6.

synfāh, sin-stained, Cr. 1083.

synrūst, canker of sin, Cr. 1321.

synsceaða, sin-stained wretch, sin-  
ful outrager.

synscyldig, wicked, Doom 168.

synwracu, punishment for sin.

synwýrcende, sinning.

Tēonsmið, evil-doer, devil, Gu. 176.

tīrfruma, price of glory, Cr. 206.

trēowlufu, true love, Cr. 538.

trēowrāden, state of fidelity, Gen.  
2305.

Ðrymcyme, glorious coming, Gu.  
1230.

ðrymcýning, king of glory, God.

ðrymsittende, dwelling in Heaven.

ðrýðcýning, king of glory, God,  
And. 436.

Unbealu, innocence, Ps. C, 2.

unbēted, unatoned, Cr. 1312.



ungeblētsod, 'non habentes signaculum Christi,' Jul. 492.

ungelēaf, unbelieving, Ps. LXVII, 19.

unholda, devil, Cr. 762.

unhwielen, eternal.

unrihtdōm, iniquity, Dan. 183.

unrihtfēoung, unrighteous hate, Met. XXVII, 1.

untwēod, undoubting, And. 1242.

upeard, Heaven, Gu. 1051.

upengel, heavenly angel.

Wægðrēat, deluge, Gen. 1352.

wælnreg, deluge, Gen. 1350.

wærloga, traitor, liar, devil.

wamcwide, shameful speech, curse, blasphemy.

wamdæd, deed of shame, crime.

wamful, impure, shameful, sinful, bad.

wamsceaða, sin-stained foe, devil.

wamscyldig, sinful, criminal, Gen. 949.

wamwyrccende, worker of sin, Cr. 1093.

weargtræf, home of the damned, hell, El. 926.

weolme, choice, Cr. 445.

wigsmið, maker of idols, Ps. CXIII, 12.

wigweorðung, idol worship, idolatry.

wilboda, angel, Gu. 1220.

wītehrægl, penitential garb, sackcloth, Ps. LXVIII, 11.

wītescræf, hell, Sat. 691.

wiðerbroga, devil, Cr. 564.

wlīteandæt, confession of splendor, Ps. CIII, 2.

wōhfremmend, evil doer, Met. IX, 36.

worulddrihten, Lord of the world, God, Met. XXIX, 1.

woruldgītserē, coveter of worldly things, Met. XIV, 1.

wrōhtscipe, crime, Gen. 1672.

wrōhtsmið, evil doer.

wuldorcyning, God.

wuldordrēam, heavenly rapture.

wuldorfæder, Father of Glory.

wuldorgāst, angel, Gen. 2912.

wuldorhama, garb of glory.

wuldorlēan, glorious reward.

wuldormāga, heir of Heaven, Gu. 1076.

wuldormago, heir of Heaven, Gu. 1267.

wuldormicel, gloriously great, L. Prayer III, 94.

wuldorweorud, heavenly host, Cr. 285.

wuldorword, glorious word, L. Prayer III, 46.

wynpsalterium, psalm of joy, Ps. LVI, 10.

wynrōd, blessed cross, Sal. 235.

wyrdstæf, decree of fate, Gu. 1325.

wyrmgeard, abode of serpents, Sal. 468.

wyrmsele, hell, Jud. 119.

Yfelsæc (eofulsæc), blasphemy, El. 524.

yrreweorc, work of ænger, Sat. 399.

A few remarks on the terms thus listed by us will not be without interest. Of the 343 words 261 occur only once, 23 are confined to one poem, being found more than once, while 59 occur in more than one poem. Regarding the distribution as to poems, we note that 44 are found exclusively in Christ, 16 in Elene, and 14 in Juliana, in all 74 for Cynewulf; in addition, a number of terms are peculiar to the three poems. As to the

other chief poems, the exclusive occurrence of terms is as follows, 40 in Psalms, including Psalm L (Cottoniana), 34 in Genesis, 27 in Guthlac, 19 in Andreas, 10 in Christ and Satan, 8 in Beowulf, 7 in Meters, 6 in Solomon and Saturn, 5 in Daniel, 5 in Doomsday, 4 in Judith, and 4 in Exodus, while none is found in Phenix.

## LOAN WORDS

Abbot, L. *abbatem*  
 ælmesse, L. *eleemosyna*

Amen, L. *Amen*  
 apostol, L. *apostolus*  
 bisceop, L. *episcopus* or Gr. *ἐπίσκοπος*  
 cantic, L. *canticum*  
 (Cherubin), L.  
 cirice, Gr. *κυριακή*

Crist, crīst, L.  
 crīsten, L.  
 crīstnian, L.  
 culpa, L. *culpa*  
 dēofol, L. *diabolus* or Gr. *διάβολος*

dīacon, L. *diaconus*  
 drūt, OF. *drut*  
 drȳ, Celtic ?  
 earc, earce, L. *arca*  
 (Ebrēas), L.  
 engel, L. *angelus* or Gr. *ἄγγελος*

(Gabriēl), L.

(Israēl), L.  
 (Judēas), L.  
 (Lucifer), L.  
 mæsse, L. *missa*  
 mæssere, L.

## HYBRIDS

ælmesgeorn  
 ælmessylen

apostolhād  
 bisceophād

circnyt  
 ciricsōcn

dēofolcund  
 dēofoldæd  
 dēofolgild  
 dēofolwītga  
 hildedēofol

drȳcræft

engelcund  
 engelcyn  
 hēahengel  
 heofonengel  
 upenge

hēahcāsere, L. *Caesarem*

hlāfmæsse

manna, L. manna  
 martyr(e), L. martyr

martyrdöm  
 martyrhäd

(Michaël), L.  
 munuc, L. monachus  
 mynster, L. monasterium

palmtrëow, L. palmus  
 (ge)palmtwigán, L.

pāpa, L. papa  
 Pater Noster, L. Pater Noster  
 pentecosten, L. pentecoste  
 prëost, L. presbyter  
 psalterium, L. psalterium  
 regol, L. regula  
 reliquias, L. reliquiae  
 säcerd, L. sacerdos

wynpsalterium  
 regolfæst

säcerdhäd  
 caldorsäcerd

salletan, L. psallere  
 sanctus, sanct, L. sanctus  
 (Sätanus, Sätan), L.  
 scrifan, for-, ge-, L. scribere  
 scrift, L. scriptum  
 sealm, L. psalmus  
 seonoð, L. synodus  
 (Seraphim), L.

sealmfæt

tempel, L. templum  
 ymen, L. hymnus

süðportic, L. porticus

## TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

I. *Titles and Abbreviations Referring to the Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, Volumes I-III, by Grein-Wudke*

- Alma. Bibl. III, p. 181.  
 And. Andreas. II, pp. 1-86.  
 Ap. Fates of the Apostles. II, 87-91.  
 As. Asarias. II, 491, 493, 495, 497, 516-520.  
 Beow. Beowulf. I, 149-277.  
 Cædmon's Hymn. II, 316-317.  
 Charm I-VIII. Bibl. I, 312-330.  
 Chr. I-V. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. I, 374-388.  
     I. On the Victory of Æthelstan at Brunanburh.  
     II. Edmund.  
     III. Eadgar.  
     IV. Capture and Death of Ælfred.  
     V. Eadweard's Death.  
 Cr. Christ. III, 1-54.  
 Creed (Hy. X in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 245-249.  
 Dan. Daniel. II, 476-515.  
 Deor. Deor's Lament. I, 278-280.  
 Doom. Be Domes Dæge. II, 250-272.  
 Dox. Doxology (Gloria in Bibl., Hy. IX in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 239-244.  
 Durham. I 391-392.  
 El. Elene. II, 126-201.  
 Ex. Exodus. II, 445-475.  
 Exhortation (Ermahnung zum christlichen Leben in Bibl.). II, 273-276.  
 Fates. Fates of Men. III, 148-151.  
 Gen. Genesis. II, 318-444.  
 Gifts. Gifts of Men. III, 140-143.  
 Gn. Cot. Gnostic Verses, Cotton MS. I, 338-341.  
 Gn. Ex. Gnostic Verses, Exeter Book. I, 341-352.  
 Gu. Guthlac. III, 55-94.  
 Har. Harrowing of Hell. III, 175-180.  
 Hymn (Hymnus in Bibl., Hy. VIII in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 224-226.  
 Instructions. A Father's Instructions to His Son. I, 353-357.  
 Invocation (Auforderung zum Gebet in Bibl.). II, 277-279.  
 Jud. Judith. II, 294-314.  
 Judg. The Last Judgment. III, 171-174.  
 Jul. Juliana. III, 117-139.  
 L. Prayer. Lord's Prayer I-III (Hy. V-VII in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 227-238.  
 Maldon. Battle of Maldon. I, 358-373.  
 Maxims (Bruchstück eines Lehrgedichts in Bibl., Hy. XI in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 280-281.  
 Men. Menology. II, 282-293.  
 Message. Husband's Message. I, 309-311.

- Met. Meters of Boethius. III, 247-303.  
 Moods. Moods of Men. III, 144-147.  
 Panther. III, 164-166.  
 Partridge. III, 170.  
 Ph. Phenix. III, 95-116.  
 Prayer I-IV (Hy. I-IV in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 211-223.  
 Ps. Psalms. III, 329-476.  
 Ps. L. Ps. L (Cottoniana). III, 477-482.  
 Rid. Riddles. III, 183-238.  
 Rim. Riming Poem. III, 160-163.  
 Rood. Dream of the Rood. II, 114-125.  
 Ruin. Ruined Burg. I, 298-301.  
 Run. Runic Poem. I, 331-337.  
 Sal. Salomon and Saturn. III, 304-328.  
 Sat. Christ and Satan. II, 521-562.  
 Seaf. Seafarer. I, 290-295.  
 Sermon Ps. 28 (Predigtbruchstück über Ps. 28 in Bibl.). II, 108-110.  
 Soul. Soul and Body, Vercelli text, unless otherwise noted. II, 92-107.  
 Wald. Waldere. I, 11-13.  
 Wand. Wanderer. I, 284-289.  
 Whale. III, 167-169.  
 Wid. Widsith. I, 1-6.  
 Wonders. Wonders of Creation. III, 152-155.

## II. Other Abbreviations

A few abbreviations from the *NED*. are also used. Others will be interpreted without difficulty.

- Bibl. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, Grein-Wuelker.  
 B.-T. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.  
 Dichtungen. Dichtungen der Angelsachsen, Grein.  
 Goth. Gothic.  
 Gr. Greek.  
 Grimm, D. M. Deutsche Mythologie, 4. Auflage.  
 Kahle, I. Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums. I. Teil: Die Prosa.  
 Kahle, II. Das Christentum in der altwestnordischen Dichtung.  
 L. Latin.  
 MacG. MacGillivray, The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English.  
 NED. New English Dictionary.  
 OE. Old English.  
 OFris. Old Frisian.  
 OHG. Old High German.  
 ON. Old Norse.  
 OS. Old Saxon.  
 OTeut. Original Teutonic.  
 Rankin, VIII and IX. A Study of Kennings in Anglo Saxon Poetry in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Volumes VIII and IX.  
 Raumer. Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die Althochdeutsche Sprache.  
 Sprachschatz. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, Grein, 2. Auflage.  
 W.-W. Wright-Wuelker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies.

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# **SPENSER'S DEFENSE OF LORD GREY**

**By**

**H. S. V. JONES**

**UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
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## PREFACE

It should not be necessary to say that the author of this monograph holds no brief for England's Irish policy in the sixteenth century. Nor has he undertaken to defend against all comers a body of political opinion which, while manifestly congenial to the eclectic genius of Spenser, nevertheless fell far short of a satisfactorily integrated system of ideas. In its primary intention, indeed, the study is descriptive rather than argumentative, even though the necessity of defending the position here taken has led to the adoption of a mildly controversial manner. The larger questions of criticism which will occur to the mind of the judicious reader I have not attempted to answer, in the belief that these might be profitably deferred until after the publication of studies complementary to the one here offered had laid a broader foundation for an estimate of Spenser's position in the literature of the English Renaissance.

For the loan of books I am indebted to the libraries of Harvard, Yale, the University of Chicago, and the University of Cincinnati; and for suggestions and criticisms of various kinds to Professor E. B. Greene, Professor A. S. Pease, and the editorial staff of the University Studies.

H. S. V. J.

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## CHAPTER I

## SPENSER, LORD GREY, AND IRELAND

Among poets in exile who have made contribution to the literature of melancholy, a secure place should be reserved for Joachim du Bellay. In the flute-like melodies of the *Regrets* we hear as clear a romantic note as the period has to offer, answering in key and pitch to a genuine *mal du pays*. The revolt in the famous sonnet series against the cult of humanism loses none of its interest from the circumstance that it was composed and in large measure written in the eternal city. We can read the promise of a later day in the glance of Du Bellay averted from the Roman marbles to the grey cottages of Anjou. Furthermore, his verse speaks the language of ordinary men; it is made without art. No longer is the poet concerned with lofty themes and the colors of rhetoric; rather he laughs and weeps with his verses, making them, as he says, the secretaries of his heart. In a word, du Bellay is here writing what one of his French critics has called *un journal intime*.<sup>1</sup>

Passing over the satiric mood of this *journal intime*, which brings into focus the brilliant frivolities and the inner corruption of the City of the Popes, I turn to an exile who is even more celebrated than his French contemporary, and whose lot was cast in very different places. In the orchestration of Edmund Spenser one also hears the flute complaining, but though there is much that is autobiographical there is little of the *journal intime* in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* or *Colin Clout*. Here and there in Spenser's poetry, however, as in certain dedicatory sonnets of the *Faerie Queene*, we note a gesture that reminds us of du Bellay. The Muses do not frequent the salvage soil of Ireland, and the poet describes his rhymes as rude and rustic. But his satire is reserved not for the place of exile but for the English court. In *Colin Clout* he is glad to return to his sheep and his fellow-shepherds. The life is here the simple life, figured forth in that pastoral symbolism so dear to the nascent spirit. If this is anything more than a literary flourish, it means that Ireland was for Spenser a point of detachment, from which with the aid of his friends, his books, and his Muse, he could get the line and level of the moral life. On the other hand, Ireland in the second half of the sixteenth century was not precisely a scene of pastoral peace; so that in *Colin Clout* we look upon two pictures, one of piping shepherds, and one of wailing and wretchedness, bloody issues and leprosy, grisly famine, the nightly bodrags, and the hue and cry. And

<sup>1</sup> Compare Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille*, Tome VIII, Lille, 1900.

yet these harsh realities against the background of the Irish scene, when contrasted with Elizabethan court life (that other pole of Spenser's experience), could have given only sharper definition to the dualism of nature and art which was woven closely into the fabric of the poet's thought.

No student of Spenser should overlook the fifteen years that he passed in the midst of danger and romantic scenery. Moreover, the high adventure of the moral life found here its apt illustration and its concrete setting in the efforts of Elizabethan gentlemen to reclaim for God and for their Queen the wild and unregenerate realm of Ireland. Journeying through this land of superstition and witchcraft,<sup>2</sup> Spenser, himself a knight of Gloriana, was, in the heart of deep forests and at every turn of his lonely path, exposed to ambuscade and sudden attack. Here and there in symbolism or in direct description he gives us familiar bits of Irish landscape. He found similitudes for human conflict in the troubled waters of the Irish sound or in contending tides and currents where the Shannon meets the sea. The villains that crowd about the House of Temperance are likened to the gnats that swarm at evening over the fens of Allan. Even more arresting than these passages are those in which the poet describes the scenery about the castle of Kilcolman with attention to the myths of river and mountain. It is the Vale of Arlo that he sketches in greatest detail, shut in by ranges to the north and east, from the peaks of which hurry the mountain streams to feed the rivers of the valley. Here we may suppose one would read his Ariosto and his Benevieni with a difference, and table talk with Bryskett, Fenton, and Raleigh would take a freer range. At any rate it was here that the nymphs once had their residence and that Nature held her court.

Before the Court of Nature in the Vale of Arlo appears Mutability claiming sovereignty alike over gods and men. She argues that everything is subject to change and that she is therefore the true ruler of the universe. Neither the elements—earth, air, fire—nor nature; neither man, the celestial bodies, nor the gods themselves are permanent. This imperfect statement of the Heraclitan flux and flow is corrected by Nature's Platonism. Though all may suffer change, the universe is returning through a fixed and preordained cycle to a fixed and permanent source. As the planets keep to their courses, as spring annually returns in the procession of the months, so the soul passing through all vicissitudes of fortune will at length rest in the bosom of the father whence it came. The confused and troubled action of the Faerie Queene, in which Holiness, Temperance, Chastity, Friendship, Justice, and Courtesy battle in the armor of God against all unrighteousness closes with a note of faith in the Eternal—"in whom there is neither variableness nor shadow of turning":—

<sup>2</sup> "At this period there was a general complaint against witchcraft, which even the Earl of Ormond did not blush to assign as the sole cause of the rebellion of his brothers." *State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585; Preface, p. 44.*



Then gin I think on that which Nature sayd,  
 Of that same time when no more change shall be  
 But steadfast rest of all things, firmly stayd  
 Upon the pillours of eternity,  
 That is contrayr to Mutabilitie;  
 For all that moveth doth in change delight:  
 But thenceforth all shall rest eternally  
 With him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:  
 O that great Sabbaoth God graunt me that Sabaoths sight!<sup>3</sup>

It should be clear from what has been said that Ireland for Spenser was in part at least the country in which he had fed his imagination, cultivated his friendships, and nourished his faith; there he had found Nature dwelling among the hills. But Ireland to our poet-philosopher was also the Irish question; and when he turned to this great problem of the centuries I cannot believe that he failed to apply to it a political philosophy consonant with the morality and religion of the *Faerie Queene*. Yet Spenser's contribution to the Irish question has dealt with Ireland and the Irish in a way to inflame the wrath of Celtic and Catholic critics. "Almost every page of the State of Ireland," declares a writer in the *Dublin Review*,<sup>4</sup> "is a violation of the morality of the Fairy Queen." "Spenser," he says, "was prepared by his previous idolatry of absolute power to exhibit in his State of Ireland a spirit which better suits a law of Woden than the day star of English poesy;" and further on, "his (Desmond's) estate was parcelled among English adventurers, and Kilcolman, with three thousand acres, fell to the lot of Spenser. To this circumstance, to the same fell spirit that haunts the usurper on his throne, or the brigand in his cave, we must attribute the sad metamorphosis of the angel of poesy into a dark spirit in politics, gloating over the atrocious

<sup>3</sup> The background of Irish Scenery in the *Faerie Queene* and the light that the Mutability cantos throw upon Spenser's understanding of the Irish question are subjects treated suggestively in an unsigned review, "Spenser in Ireland," published in the *Edinburgh Review*, 201 (1905), 164 ff. For the Irish rivers in Spenser's poetry see, further, P. W. Joyce, *Fraser's Magazine*, N. S. Vol. 17, 315 ff., and Keightley, *Notes and Queries*, Series 4, Vol. 4, 169 ff.; compare, too, Keightley, *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1859. One may consult, too, "Spenser's Irish Residences" by a Dreamer, *Dublin University Magazine* 22 (1843), 538 ff. The article in the *Monitor*, "Edmund Spenser and his Relation to Ireland," I have not seen.

Two passages from the *Edinburgh* article may here be quoted:—"He [Spenser] could conceive no greater injustice to Ireland, nothing more injurious to the well-being of his adopted country, than the making her the sport of English politicians, or the arena for the rivalries of the English courtiers who contended for the favour of Queen Elizabeth. Inconsistency or inconstancy in action, lack of purpose and vacillation on the part of the representatives of the Crown, he considered injurious alike to both the English and the Irish elements of the population" (p. 185). "The first stanza of Canto VI, with the two stanzas which have alone reached us of the 'unperfite' eighth canto, plainly bespeak the pessimism of the poet in his latter days. Convinced of the ultimate triumph of the principle of constancy in the moral and spiritual world, he yet despairs of witnessing the effective assertion in the actual world in which he moved of the principle of unswerving consistency of purpose and action" (186).

<sup>4</sup> *Dublin Review*, December, 1844 (No. 34): "The Works of Edmund Spenser."

horrors of the Munster war, and sternly urging their perpetration against the Irish in Ulster." "The poison [of the *Vene*] must operate more fatally, coming from a hand from which no evil could be suspected." And referring to the Legend of Sir Artegall in the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*: "to make him [Lord Grey] the personation of a virtue of which his whole life was a profanation is an outrage unparalleled in the annals of literary curiosities. An ironical hymn to purity in the dens of a brothel, a hymn to pity on the lips of the lurking assassin, or the hymn of the atheists of '92 around the altars of God, might be as bad; but what could be worse?"

To meet such attacks as this the Reverend Alexander B. Grosart brought up his heavy artillery.<sup>5</sup> His purpose is "to vindicate the good name alike of Lord Deputy and Secretary and England against impudent mendacities." "Sir John Pope Hennessy, in his *Raleigh in Ireland* (1883) and Irishmen generally," declares our gentle divine, "have turned this incident on the very threshold of Lord Grey's government of Ireland to shameless account against the Lord Deputy and Spenser in their passionate resolve to defame our England." However, "before the State Documents the sentimental perversions and artful pathos of Sir John Pope Hennessy will be seen in their true light." The charges against Grey and Spenser Grosart describes as "so heinous and disproved, so damning all around, that it is imperative to meet them as is now done conclusively." Sir John Hennessy's book is "as treacherously skilful as was the kiss of Judas in its pseudo-pathetic vein of condemnation;—a more misleading, lopsided 'History' (save the mark!) has rarely been palmed upon the world." And as for the article in the *Dublin Review*, it is "a scandalous paper," "pitifully partizan and perpetually blundering."

Into the shouting and tumult of this particular controversy I do not intend to enter. Whether or not Grosart's defense of Grey and Spenser on the ground of military necessity and military precedent will stand the test of dispassionate inquiry, I am not prepared to say. If, however, we would be fair to Spenser, we should remember not only that his "sentiments long rendered his name abhorrent to the native population" of Ireland, but that they arose from an understanding of the significance of the Irish situation. "It is monstrous," Grosart says, "to ignore that it was a death struggle in which England's life was at stake as well as Ireland's, England's Future as well as Ireland's Present." As early as 1570 the Pope had declared English subjects released from loyalty to their Queen,<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Works of Edmund Spenser*, Vol. 1, p. 136 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The text of the bull may be found in Carl Mirbt's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttum und des römischen Katholizismus*, Zweite Auflage, Tübingen und Leipzig, 1901, 266-267 (§338). For the reception of the bull in France, see Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, II, 17-18. In Lingard, *History of England*, VI, 319, I have noted the following: "In the bull of his [Gregory XIII.'s] predecessor Ireland had not been named: but the omission was now supplied; and Gregory signed, though he did not publish, a new bull, by which Elizabeth was declared to have forfeited the crown of Ireland no less than that of England."

a succession of events preceding and following the Armada revealed the plans of the Jesuits and Philip the Second to bring about the Catholic conquest of England. The back door of England in the sixteenth century swung ajar for the emissaries of continental imperialism. When Spenser wrote the *Vene*, he knew that England had long been swarming with Jesuits, that seminarists from Douay had been attempting to undermine the loyalty of his fellow-countrymen to their Queen, and he had vividly in mind the disclosures of the abortive Throckmorton rebellion, in which even the Spanish minister had been involved. The massacre of the garrison at Smerwick, for which Lord Grey's critics particularly censure him, was dictated by the circumstance that the garrison harbored a large number of Spanish soldiers.<sup>7</sup> "Every port and town and upland town," Sir John Dowdall writes to Lord Burghley, "is furnished with superstitious priests. The townsmen and merchants do transport them from Spain to Ireland, and so from Ireland to Spain again, and

<sup>7</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, III, 287 ff. Innes, *England under the Tudors*, p. 321, says "Grey doubtless regarded the measures as a just return for the doings of the Inquisition" and the punishment of English sailors as pirates, for his retort to the garrison's overtures had been that their presence in England was piracy. But the whole business illustrates the alger ruthlessness which characterized both sides, at least when there was a technical excuse for denying belligerents' rights to the vanquished." See, further, article 571, *State Papers, Foreign*, 1577-1578, 423 ff.: *Designs Against England*: "There has been proposed to the Most Christian King on the part of certain Italians favouring the Church of Rome, a conspiracy with a view to exterminate all the reformed Churches of Christendom and utterly destroy all princes and others who profess the Gospel as well according to the French as the Augustan confession, by means of intelligence between the Kings of Spain and France and the Pope, with other princes whom they call Catholic.

"First, they point out that the reformed Churches were first founded in Germany, having been courageously protected by some of the princes of that country, among others the Electors Palatine and of Saxony, who still uphold them, and that the sovereigns of England notably the present Queen, with the view of securing their own realms, foster, to the injury especially of the Kings of France and Spain, the heresies which are always troubling their realms, and now promise a great revolt throughout the Low Countries, and consequently in the rest of their dominions. In order therefore to cut away these troubles at the root, to stop the favour shown to the heretics, and cut off their resources, and to bring all Christendom back under the Pope's authority, it is necessary to fall upon their chief supporters, and especially on the Queen of England.

"Don John has been designated to the chief command in the execution of this enterprise, as the most suitable person they could find; having all the qualities required for a great captain to bring the matter to a happy issue, being young, prudent, valiant and experienced.

"His past good fortune, the disposition of affairs in the Low Countries, the notion that he might marry the Queen of Scots through the practice of the House of Guise, the assurance that he would be accompanied by many persons in his confidence, who living on the fruits of war try all means of continuing it, stimulate him to the undertaking."—John is to receive material support from the King of Spain, the Pope, and the King of Sweden.

"The manner of execution will be to take these forces to Ireland, and there break into [entamer] the English State. They claim to have intelligence with a good number of English, Scottish, and other Catholics who have fled thither; and these after the first battle, in the event of victory being on the side of Don John, promise to declare themselves, to get a footing

likewise to France, which swarm up and down the whole country seducing the people and the best sorts to draw them from God and their allegiance to the Prince. Every town is established with sundry schools where the noblemen and gentlemen's sons of the country do repair; these schools have a superstitious or an idolatrous schoolmaster, and each school is overseen by a Jesuit, whereby the youth of the whole kingdom are corrupted and poisoned with more superstition and disobedience than all the rest of the Popish crew in all Europe."<sup>8</sup> A communication like this, which might be easily paralleled from the *Calendar of Irish Papers*, gives to our picture a touch of Prussian blue. If we now fill in a few more details, the seriousness of the situation will sufficiently appear. From the *Calendar* I take the following:—"Turlagh Lynagh assisted by the Scottish King's forces and they of Munster and Connaught by the supply of Spaniards to be landed at Sligo, should break out all at once. Turlough looking for aid from Scotland and Spain expected to be made King of Ireland. He said that the realm was carelessly left without force and no man of war to govern it, and therefore they thought it best not to lose so good an occasion, especially when they were offered so great aid from foreign parts."<sup>9</sup> And it was about this time that Pope Gregory XIII. was "amusing himself with the dream of making his son, Signor Jacomo, King of Ireland."<sup>10</sup>

Whether or not, then, we champion Lord Grey's harsh measures in Ireland and our English poet's defense of them, we should try to see the

on the main land, to raise their party, and favour the landing of 8,000 or 10,000 men, who will be sent."—The rest of the entry is worth reading.

Compare Holinshed VI:436:—"It was thoroughlie concluded between the Pope and King Philip, to make a thorough conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serve, to doo the like with England;" and in regard to the surrender of Smerwick, *ibid.*, VI: 437-438:—"But before anie assault given, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to doo, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in hir majesties land, and required therewith to yield up the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had given that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receive and recover that land to the holie Church of Rome, which by hir maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the Church, with other reprochfull speeches; and that therfore they were in that respect to keepe what they had and to recover what they had not." Strype, *Annals* II, 630 ff., says in regard to the seminarists at Douay:—"The Pope gave them an annual Pension, or rather a maintenance: purposely to plot and contrive ways to expel the Queen, and demolish the Church of *England*. After they had tarried there some years, upon some troubles they removed most of them to *Scotland*. Where the Queen of *Scots* allowed them a Pension, and liberty to set up another School for the education of *English* Youth, who would come thither. Here they were taught all manner of ways to divide the Protestants of *England*, in Principles of Religion, as also to withdraw them from the Form of Prayer established."

<sup>8</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, (1592-1596), p. 487.

<sup>9</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574-1585, article 39, p. 520; compare in the same volume article 43, p. 521.

<sup>10</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574-1585, Preface, p. 43.

Irish Question in its true colors; we should remember that Ireland in the lifetime of Spenser was a bridgehead of Spanish imperialism. We should also—and this is my special task—examine the *Vene* and the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene* to ascertain whether our poet rested his case on any surer foundation than that of military necessity and military precedent. I contend that such an examination will reveal Spenser neither as the dual personality envisaged by the Dublin Review nor, according to Professor Greenlaw,<sup>11</sup> as the interpreter of the Machiavellian politic rightly understood, but as the “sage and serious” poet looking to his central philosophy of life as his final justification. Indeed the *Vene* when brought into relation with the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene* (and the two should always be studied together) appears as a quite intelligible application of Spenser’s moral philosophy. One of the questions which the Irish wars raised in the shrewd mind of Elizabeth they raised also in the philosophical mind of Spenser, as a moment’s comparison of the *Vene* with the *Calendar of Irish Papers* will make clear. In defending Lord Grey, who by his severity had incurred the displeasure of his Queen, Spenser is trying to meet Elizabeth on common ground. What this common ground is, what is the fundamental philosophy of Spenser’s apology, how that philosophy connects with the philosophy of the *Faerie Queene*, and from what contemporary quarter it drew its inspiration, I will now attempt to show.

The Dictionary of National Biography<sup>12</sup> is right in some measure when it says that “Spenser wrote of Ireland altogether from the point of view of the Elizabethan Englishman. He allowed no recognition of Irish claims and rights. English laws were to be enforced and Irish nationality to be uprooted by the sword.” The question was indeed not one of Irish rights as distinct from and opposed to English rights, but of the extent to which the enforcement of English rights and English laws should be instructed and directed by political and humanitarian considerations. Of these considerations, Elizabeth in her dispatches makes a good deal. In the instructions which Lord Grey took to Ireland he was told to “have an especial care that by the oppression and insolencies of the soldiers our good subjects may not be alienated from us;”<sup>13</sup> and Grey is particularly cautioned against being too strict in religious matters.<sup>14</sup> Indeed there were many complaints that the Queen’s attempts to season justice with mercy were ill-timed and that they embarrassed the direction of the English campaigns. Sentleger laments her ill-considered tolerance;<sup>15</sup> and Sir John Dowdall, writing to Lord Burghley under date of March

<sup>11</sup> *Modern Philology*, VII, 187 ff. See below p. 64 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Article *Spenser*.

<sup>13</sup> *Carew Papers*, July 15, 1580 (No. 422).

<sup>14</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574–1585, p. 275.

<sup>15</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574–1585; Preface, p. 100.

9 (1595–1596),<sup>16</sup> exclaims: "Who is it of them but hath felt of Her Majesty's mercy and a great many that have been rewarded by her bounty for small deserts or none, if they be governed by a mild hand and accounted of, and so rewarded, they swell so in pride and say that the Governor standeth in doubt or feareth them, but if he be severe with justice in one hand and the sword in the other to use it according to equity, they say he is a tyrant, and desire to have such a one removed, being most meet to govern this nation." In a similar strain Waterhouse had written to Walsyngham (December 23, 1580)<sup>17</sup>: "If the Queen will use mildness with the traitors, she would do better to discharge her army at once." On the other hand, White, the Master of the Rolls, approves her course. He writes to Burghley,<sup>18</sup> May 25, 1582: "Her Majesty's clement and merciful disposition towards her people is the greatest comfort that ever came into this land, Elizabeth, the Amor Hiberniae above all the Princes that ever reigned."

Now Grey's apologists were concerned to redeem his character in general as well as his Irish policy in particular. He is represented in the *Calendar of State Papers*<sup>19</sup> as well as in the *Vene* as a man of merciful disposition, upon whom a stern task had been imposed. Those who know Grey, Irenaeus of the dialogue says, "knewe him to be most gentell, affable, loving, and temperate; but that the necessitye of that present state of thinges enforced him to that violence, and almost changed his very naturall disposition. But otherwise he was so farr from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of those which were afterwarde his accusers had tasted to much of his mercye, and were from the gallows brought to be his accusers."<sup>20</sup> This, with other passages which might be cited, accepts Elizabeth's premise that justice in Ireland should be seasoned with mercy, but opposes the conclusion that Lord Grey had fallen short of this standard. Furthermore, the passages in the *Legend of Justice* devoted to equity and

<sup>16</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574–1585, March 9, 1595–1596. Compare "A Declaration by the Lord Deputy and Council" (*State Papers*, 1596, No. 261): "The way to suppress the Northern rebels is to prosecute them with a sharp war, and thereby extirpate those who are obstinate."

<sup>17</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574–1585, p. 276; *ibid.*, p. 274: The Queen writes to Grey expressing the wish that "those who have been spared had been reserved for her to have extended either justice or mercy;" *ibid.*, p. 299, Privy Council to Grey: In reply to a request for an additional 1000 men "to war against Turlough Lynagh," suggests "an offer of pardon and confirmation of certain things to be offered to Turlough Lynagh;" *ibid.*, p. 299: "Proclamation set forth by the Queen in England, offering her gracious pardon generally, with one exception of the Earl of Desmond, etc." Compare the reply of Grey, *ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>18</sup> *State Papers*, 1574–1585, p. 369.

<sup>19</sup> "Grey has never taken the life of any, however evil, that submitted;" *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574–1585, p. 301. In his letter to the Queen regarding the Smerwick Massacre Grey wrote: "a hard and forcible hand I too well find must bring them [the Irish] to duty, which I confess falls not with my nature;" *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574–1585, Preface, p. 74.

<sup>20</sup> *Globe Spenser*, p. 655.

mercy—the episodes of Isis Church and the House of Mercilla—in which Spenser declares the loyalty and love which the Lord Deputy felt for the Queen, at once merciful and militant, and those other passages in which he is represented as recalling Talus from the stern execution of justice,—all of these show that Spenser was defending Lord Grey as one who in the practice of justice was loyal to the principle of clemency.<sup>21</sup>

More particularly, Spenser undertook to defend Lord Grey against the suspicion of intolerant Protestantism. There seems to be sufficient evidence for his religious zeal. His speech in defense of William Davison, the Queen's secretary, is described by Camden<sup>22</sup> as inflamed with religious ardor; and Elizabeth felt that his anti-Catholic feelings would carry him to extremes in the Irish campaigns. He himself complains under date of December 22, 1580, that his obedience to the Queen's "warning against being strict in religious matters is very harmful."<sup>23</sup> To meet the criticism of religious intolerance stated or implied, Spenser in the *Vene* declares that it was Grey's belief that "instruction in religion needeth quiett times, and ere we seeke to settle a sounde discipline in the clargye we must purchase peace unto the layetye;"<sup>24</sup> and that "in planting of religion thus much is needfull to be observed, that it be not sought forcebly to be impressed into them with terrour and sharpe penalties, as nowe is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildeness and gentleness soe as it may not be hated before it be understood."<sup>25</sup>

The fundamental issue, then, raised by Lord Grey's administration of his deputyship concerns the relation in the abstract between justice and tolerance; and the issue is considered in general and more particularly in its religious aspects. In discussing this issue I will turn not to the familiar classical sources of Spenser's ethical system, but to contemporary speculation under classical and other influences which was presumably congenial to a low churchman from Pembroke College, Cambridge, who had satirized Bishop Aylmer, praised Archbishop Grindal, and enjoyed the patronage of Leicester.

<sup>21</sup> See below p. 53 ff. Holinshed (VI:450) describes Grey as follows: "The said Lord Greie was a man of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and dutifull in hir majestie in all obedience. And albeit he had deserved well of that Irish nation, and had sowed the good seeds of notable services, as well for his martiall services, as for his civill government; yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but darnell and cockle."

<sup>22</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, article Grey.

<sup>23</sup> *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574-1588, p. 275.

<sup>24</sup> *Globe Spenser*, p. 646.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 679.

## CHAPTER II

## THE CULT OF NATIONALISM AND TOLERANCE IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In the period of the Reformation and the Religious Wars the culture of the Renaissance was endangered by fanaticism. Passionate and vindictive loyalties delayed the triumph of liberal thought. The excesses of religious enthusiasm insulted that ideal of the tempered passions and the open mind which it was the concern of the humanist to inculcate; and as an instrument of reform the pliant Erasmian disposition, open to impressions, barbed with irony, impatient of the mechanism of dogma, gave way before the inquisition and the *auto-da-fé*. Everywhere, according to Janet, Protestant intolerance imitated and equaled the intolerance of Catholics. Beza, Calvin, and even Melancthon argued strongly for the punishment of Catholics.<sup>26</sup> In Spenser's time the strategic answer to the Catholic challenge was made not so much by those who like Beza adopted Catholic tactics as by moderates of both religions who recognized in the spirit of religious tolerance the salvation of the state.

The outstanding documents of Anglican religious literature are apologetic. To meet the attacks of both Catholics and Puritans the chief apologists of the Establishment, Jewel and Hooker, interpreted the English Reformation as a revival on the one hand of early Christianity and patristic Catholicism, as contrasted with the scholastic and corrupt Catholicism of the Romanists; on the other hand, as a conservative bulwark protecting at once the state and the traditional church against the extravagance and the vagaries of the extreme Protestant sects. In his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*,<sup>27</sup> Bishop Jewel compares the Romanists with the Anabaptists and the Libertines in that they all shake off the yoke of civil power.<sup>28</sup> An exponent of order and a champion of an uncontaminated Catholic tradition, he regarded the Pope as a Lord of Misrule and the extremists among the Puritans as irresponsible and licentious. He comes out frankly as a defender of the sovereignty of the Prince in the political sphere and of the Bible and reason in the sphere of religion. "As for us," he writes,<sup>29</sup> "we run not for succour to the fire, as these men's guise is; but we run to the Scriptures; neither do we reason with the sword but with the word of God; and therewith as saith Tertullian, 'we do feed our faith; by it do we stir up our hope, and strengthen our confidence.'" And again:<sup>30</sup> "And

<sup>26</sup> Janet, *Histoire de la Science Politique, Troisième Édition*; II, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> *The Works of John Jewel*, Part III, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.



as for their religion, if it be of so long continuance as they would have men ween it is, why do they not prove it so by the examples of the primitive church, and by the fathers and councils of old time? Why lieth so ancient a cause thus long in the dust destitute of an advocate? Fire and sword they have had always ready at hand; but as for the old councils and the fathers, all mum not a word. They did surely against all reason to begin first with these bloody and extreme means, if they could have found other more easy and gentle ways."

The line of argument adopted by Jewel in the *Apologia* was followed out elaborately by his more celebrated disciple, the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Like Jewel, Hooker<sup>21</sup> argues for a renaissance of early Christianity, and like him he contends against the revolutionary teachings of the extreme Puritans. The greater part of his book is occupied with a defense of the Anglican organization and administration of ecclesiastical affairs. But his distinguished performance contains a discussion of topics far more fundamental than the ordination and authority of bishops and the reason of ritual. Students of jurisprudence turn to him for an admirable diagram of laws eternal, human, natural, and divine; and for a doctrine of sovereignty that is closely related to his philosophy of law. His book is notable throughout for its tolerant spirit. "My meaning," he declared, "is not to provoke any but rather to satisfy all tender consciences." "His Ecclesiastical Polity," writes Professor Usher,<sup>22</sup> "was the preparation of the English church settlement to unite all men under one common banner, to satisfy all tender consciences, so that none might be excluded from that great church of the Living Christ which he would found upon the law of Nature and the Reason of Man." He is concerned, indeed, not only to defend the divine source and responsibility of the kingship but the eternal reason that lies behind and beneath the law of God and all laws derivative from it. On this account, Hooker is rightly regarded not only as the chief apologist of the Anglican Establishment but as an unconscious forerunner of such a rationalized defense of monarchical institutions as Hobbes expounded in the following century.<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately the temper of all Anglicans was not that of Jewel and Hooker. Although Whitgift<sup>24</sup> naturally approved the reasoned defense of the Church in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, he can not be said to have administered his high office in the spirit of "our meek and gentle Mr. Hooker." His strict enforcement of the *Statute of Uniformity* not only stirred up the hornet's nest of Martin Marprelate but called forth the censure of Bacon and even of Burghley.<sup>25</sup> And yet this austere executive showed himself

<sup>21</sup> For the relation of Hooker to Bancroft, see Usher, *Reconstruction of the English Church*, I, 72 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 77.

<sup>23</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, III, 348.

<sup>24</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, III, 347.

<sup>25</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, III, 342.

liberal in matters of doctrine. That his austerity was addressed not so much to the dogma of the Church as to its law and order, appears in the celebrated *Lambeth Articles*, which were rejected by the Queen. When we compare him with Jewel, Hooker, and Grindal, we recognize that the contrast is not in narrowness of mind but in harshness of temper.

Whitgift did not, however, differ from his fellow-churchmen in his devotion to the ideal of sovereignty. In the spirit of Bodin's *Harmonic Justice*, he applied the autocratic principle to the polity, the democratic principle to the doctrine of the Church. His persecutions—if we call them that—were political rather than religious. And in general under the Anglican Establishment there were no martyrs, as has often been remarked, but only traitors.<sup>28</sup>

If this applies to the dissenting Protestants, it is applicable *a fortiori* to a large if not the entire body of English Catholics. Compared to the Catholic menace the opposition of the Puritans carried comparatively little danger except such as might arise from the weakening effect of internal dissension. Men like Leicester and Sidney combined with their loyalty to the Queen an interest in European Protestantism and a sympathy with English Puritans. Coming in part through the intermediary of Sidney under the influence of the leading Protestant thinkers of the time, the circle of Spenser naturally viewed Protestantism in its large philosophical and international aspects. Like our modern democracy it was a bond of freedom which united England with the Netherlands and the Protestant princes of Germany against the imperial Catholicism of Philip II. With their outlook upon the religious problems of their day Spenser and his friends doubtless considered the differences of English Protestants as insignificant when compared with the very serious Catholic peril.

<sup>28</sup> Professor Usher, *op. cit.*, I, 40 f., writes: "Every attempt to alter the religious settlement became a blow at the State; every refusal to attend Church or to accept the ordinances of the Establishment, savoured of treason to the Crown; and, in turn, whatever affected the stability and strength of the State, inevitably reacted upon the Church. When adhesion to the ecclesiastical system was made a test of political loyalty, the good of the Church, as an institution, was naturally subordinated to the safety of the State. For years, every ecclesiastical problem had been regarded in fact not as a religious but as a political issue, to be handled circumspectly and cautiously, for in its train might follow ruin for Church and State alike." Compare Innes, *England Under the Tudors*, 417 ff.:—"In writing of the persecutions under Elizabeth alike of Catholics and of Puritans, it is not uncommon to imply that the political argument in their defence was a mere pretext with a theological motive. As a matter of fact, however, the distinction between Elizabeth's and Mary's persecutions is a real one. Broadly speaking, it is now the universally received view that no man ought to be penalized on the score of opinions conscientiously held, however erroneous they may be; but that if those opinions find expression in anti-social acts, the acts must be punished. Punishment of opinions is rightly branded as persecution. Now although in effect not a few persons, Puritans or Catholics, were put to death by Elizabeth, and many more imprisoned or fined—as they would have said themselves for conscience' sake—this was the distinction specifically recognized by her; which without justifying her persecutions, differentiates them from those of her predecessors."

The spirit of religious tolerance which was characteristic of the political and international Protestantism of Spenser's circle took an even wider range in the philosophical mind of Bacon. With the recognition that indiscriminate anti-Catholicism was unjust to many loyal English Catholics,<sup>27</sup> the essentially political issue was more and more sharply defined, and religious toleration as such had a larger opportunity. In their efforts to make religious tolerance serve the ends of national integrity and security, men like Bacon were squarely in line with a party in France which undertook to subordinate sectarianism to nationalism. This cult of nationalism, the sober Protestant and Catholic thinkers of the time—however Machiavellian might have been the politicians—undertook to defend on broad philosophical grounds, and in some ideal way to bring into accord with the principle of religious tolerance the doctrine of political sovereignty.

Bacon, who thought that a kingdom was a model of heaven and that "reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God,"<sup>28</sup> spoke clearly and strongly for tolerance in his *Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (1589).<sup>29</sup> He declared that the then state of religion needed not so much "the general canon and sentence of Christ against heretics," as "the admonition of St. James, 'Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath;' and that the wound is no way dangerous, except we poison it with our remedies;—if any shall be offended at this voice, *Vos estis fratres*; ye are bretheren, why strive ye? he shall give a

<sup>27</sup> The case of conscientious English Catholics who were loyal to their country and Queen is stated with force and apparent sincerity in a letter from Mr. George More, "perhaps of the family of Sir Thomas More," reprinted in Strype's *Whitgift*, IV, 505 ff. (anno 1597): "Would to God therefore," he says in the course of the letter, "it might please her Majesty to grant Toleration of Religion: wherby mens minds might be appeased, and joyned, all in one, for the Defence of our Country. We see what Safety it hath been for France. . . . Wel may Mens Bodies be forced, but not their minds. And where Force is used, Love is lost. And there the Prince and State is in Danger." Strype's comment upon the letter is to the point:—"The State of the *English Romanists* at this Time was the worse, by Reason of the King of *Spain's* implacable Malice against *England*, and his fierce Purpose of invading the Realm, and destroying the Queen, being set on by many *English* Priests and *Jesuits* abroad; particularly *Holt* and *Parsons*. Who had a great Stroke with that King, and were continually exciting him to those Courses. And it fared the worse with al the Queen's Subjects of that Religion, both at home as well as abroad, for the malicious minds of some." The disposition in favor of religious tolerance expressed by men like Hooker and Bacon appears to have been shared generally by the people. I have found in Innes, *op. cit.*, 290 f. what has impressed me as a judicious description of the situation—"The bulk of the population was quite content with conformity to a compromise, and was tolerant of a very considerable theoretical disagreement, and even of actual nonconformity, so long as it was not actively aggressive. It was not till Jesuits on one side, and ultra-puritanism on the other, developed an active propaganda directed against the established order that there was any general desire to strike hard at either; nor did even the puritan parliaments display any violent anti-Catholic animus till roused by the insult to the nation of the Bull of Deposition."

<sup>28</sup> Spedding, *Life*, V, 145.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, VIII, 74 ff.

great presumption against himself, that he is the party that doth his brother wrong." "The controversies," he holds, "be not of the highest nature;" for it is not now as it was of old when the Catholics were compelled to follow the heretics "with all subtilty of decisions and determinations" and when "it was an ingenious and subtle matter to be a Christian." "Therefore seeing the accidents are they that breed the peril, and not the things themselves in their own nature, it is meet the remedies be applied unto them, by opening what it is on either part, that keepeth the wound green." He protests against "this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matters of religion are handled in the style of the stage."—"To turn religion into a comedy or satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometime in one sentence; is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant beseeming the honest regard of a sober man." A fool is to be answered, "but not by becoming like unto him."

Having paid his respects in this manner to the more noisy and intolerant controversialists, Bacon proceeds to inquire into the accidents and circumstances of the controversies. I will not take space to reproduce the capital topics of his discourse, but I will cull from the text a few quotations to show the spirit and direction of his thought. To those who "infer the solicitation for the peace of the Church to proceed from carnal sense," he replies in the words of St. Paul: "Whilst there is amongst you zeal and contention are ye not carnal?" He beseeches the Lord to multiply his blessings and graces upon other churches: "God grant that we may contend with other churches, as the vine with the olive, which of us beareth best fruit; and not as the brier with the thistle, which of us is most unprofitable." "I pray God to inspire the bishops with a fervent love and care of the people; and that they may not so much urge things in controversy, as things out of controversy, which all men confess to be gracious and good." "I dislike that laws be contemned, or disturbers be unpunished. But laws are likened to the grape, that being too much pressed yield an hard and unwholesome wine." Speaking of still another group, of those that affect "certain cognizances and differences," although they have not cut themselves off from the body of the church, Bacon declares: "Yea, be a man endued with great virtues and fruitful in good works, yet if he concur not with them, they term him (in derogation) a civil and moral man, and compare him to Socrates or some heathen philosopher: whereas the wisdom of Scriptures teacheth us contrariwise to judge and denominate men religious according to their works of the second table; because they of the first are often counterfeited and practised in hypocrisy. So, St. John saith that a man doth vainly boast of loving God whom he hath not seen, if he love not his brother whom he hath seen." "And as they censure virtuous men by the names of civil and moral, so do they censure men truly and godly wise (who see into the vanity of their assertions) by the name of politiques;

saying that their wisdom is but carnal and savoring of man's brain." "The word (the bread of life) they toss up and down, they break it not." "They forget that there are sins on the right hand, as well as on the left; and that the word is double-edged, and cutteth on both sides, as well the superstitious observances as the profane transgressions."

With the views of Bacon might be compared those which Harvey has set forth in *Pierces Supererogation*.<sup>40</sup> This friend of Spenser's here asks what could grow out of the controversy "but to make every man mad-brayned, and desperate; but a general contempt of all good order, in Saying or Dooing; but an Universal Topsy-turvy?—Had it not beene a better course, to have followed Aristotles doctrine: and to have confuted levity with gravity, vanity with discretion, rashness with advise, madnesse with sobriety, fier with water, ridiculous Martin with reverend Cooper?—I am not to dispute as a professed Devine; or to determine, as a severe Censour: but a scholler may deliver his opinion with reason.—It is neither the Excess, nor the Defect, but the Meane, that edifyeth.—Superstition, and Credulitie, are simple Creatures: but what are Contempt, and tumult?" Employing here the argument of the policists, he declares: "The difference of Commonwealthes, or regiments, requireth a difference of lawes, and orders: and those lawes, and orders, are most soverain, that are most agreeable to the regiment, and best proportioned to the Commonwealth.—Howbeit none so fitt to reconcile contradictions, or to accord differences, as he that distinguisheth Times, Places, Occasions, and other swaying Circumstances; high pointes in government, either Civill, or Ecclesiasticall.—In cases indifferent, or arbitrary, what so equall in generall, as Indifferency: or so requisite in speciall, as conformity to the positive Lawe, to the custome of the Countrey, or the present occasion? To be perverse, and obstinate without necessary cause, is a peevish folly: when by such a duetyfull, and justifiable order of proceeding, as by a sacred league, so infinite Variances, and contentions may be compounded.—Were none more scrupulous, then St. Paul, how easily, and graciously might divers Confutations bee reconciled, that now rage, like Civill Warres? The chiefest matter in question, is no article of belief, but a point of pollicy, or government: wherein a Judiciall Equity being duely observed, what letteth but the particular Lawes, Ordinances, Injunctions, and whole manner of Jurisdiction, may rest in the disposition of Sovereine Autoritie? Whose immediate, or mediate actes, are to be revered with Obedience, not countermaunded with sedition, or controled with contention. He is a bold subject, that attempteth to binde the handes of sacred Majesty: and they love controversies well, I trow, that call their Princes proceedinges into Controversie." It will be seen from this passage, which it has seemed worth while to quote at length, that Spenser's scholarly friend, like Bacon,

<sup>40</sup> *Works*, Ed. Grosart, II. The quotations that follow will be found at page 131 ff.

Jewel, Hooker, and the French policists, acknowledges his loyalty to the twin ideals of religious tolerance and political sovereignty.

The year in which Bacon's Advertisement was written, 1589, saw a significant change in the alignment of religious and political parties across the channel. Henry III., having weakly temporized with the sinister Spanish party, sought to extricate himself by the murder of the powerful Duke of Guise. This was no sooner done than he realized that his only safety from the outraged Catholics lay in an alliance with the King of Navarre.<sup>41</sup> The consummation of this truce was not only hailed with delight by the war-worn French but was welcomed by the English as furnishing an opportunity for a closer union with France against the common enemy. Burghley wrote on the twenty-seventh of May:—"The world is marvellously changed, when we true Englishmen have cause, for our own quietness, to wish good success to a French king and a king of Scots; and yet they both differ one from another in profession of religion; but seeing that they are enemies of our enemies we have come to join with them in these actions against our enemies."<sup>42</sup> When in the following August Henry III. was himself assassinated and the King of Navarre came to the throne as Henry IV., there was evidently a desire in England to make the *entente cordiale* as cordial as possible. Particularly Elizabeth desired to make it clear that her religion was in line with that of the new king of France, if we can judge from a letter dispatched by Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, to Monsieur Critoy, Secretary of France.<sup>43</sup> This interesting document Spedding has no doubt was composed by Bacon. Stressing throughout the point that the crimes for which the English Non-Conformists were punished were crimes against the sovereignty of the Queen and not against the doctrine of the Church, the letter is digested into two principles upon which her Majesty's proceedings have been governed—

I. The one, that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and the use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.

II. The other, that the causes of conscience, when they exceed their bounds and grow to be a matter of faction, lose their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish the practice or (*sic*) contempt, though colored with the pretence of conscience and religion.

When in 1593 Henry entered the Romanist communion, there was no little surprise and chagrin in England; but by 1596—the year in which the *Veue* was written and the last three books of the *Faerie Queene* were published—England and France had come to terms in a defensive and offensive alliance.

Our understanding of Anglo-French relations in the last two decades of the sixteenth century is furthered by comparing the temper of Elizabeth

<sup>41</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, III, 511.

<sup>42</sup> Spedding, *op. cit.*, VIII, 95.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 97 ff.

and Henry IV. in matters of religion. In his noble address to the three estates of the realm on the fourth of March, 1589,<sup>44</sup> Henry declared that his policy was one of clemency and peace:—"Although more than any other I regret to see religious differences, and though more than any other I desire to remedy such a situation, nevertheless in full recognition of the truth that it is God alone and not arms and violence that must attend to these matters, I swear before him, engaging faith and honour, the integrity of which I have so far by his grace preserved,—I swear that just as I should not have suffered one to constrain me in matters of conscience, so I shall never allow nor sanction that Catholics should be constrained in theirs, nor in the free exercise of their religion." Further on he avows that he has "long since learned that the true and only means of reuniting people to the service of God and of establishing piety in a state, is gentleness, peace, and true examples, not war and disorders by which wickedness and disorders are born in the world."

But the clemency of Henry of Navarre, like the clemency of Elizabeth, his associate in the Protestant cause, was adjudged by other anti-leaguers but little likely to further the patriotic interests that he had at heart. An effective expression of this point of view is found in the *Satyre Ménippée*.<sup>45</sup>

The *Satyre* consists of a fancied report by a Florentine gentleman of a session of the estates at Paris, to be sent his lord, the Duke of Florence, that the latter might know how admirable was the condition of affairs in the French capital. But it happened that while this gentleman was returning by way of Amiens the driver of his palfrey took French leave of his master, who he had observed was not a good Catholic. The servant, in order to relieve his lord of the necessity of feeding two horses, makes off with one, taking with him besides the satchel in which was contained the manuscript of the *Satyre*. The thief before he had gone very far was arrested; and the manuscript, discovered and translated, in time sees the light of day.

It is not my purpose to dwell at length on the *Satyre Ménippée*; but I would emphasize its importance for an understanding of the politico-religious situation in France, seeking to promote as it does law and order, preaching tolerance, but arraigning sharply Catholic intrigue and violence. It recognizes severity as a necessary means to the establishment of the ideal of the tolerant state; and it contends that mere easy-going tolerance

<sup>44</sup> *Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henry IV*, Tome II (1585-1589), 443 ff., in *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Première Série, Histoire Politique*.

<sup>45</sup> *Satyre Ménippée, Kritisch revidierter Text, mit Einleitung und erklärenden Anmerkungen*, von Josef Frank, Oppeln, 1884. An English translation of the *Satyre* was licensed September 28, 1594 and appeared the following year under the title "A Pleasant Satyre or Poesie. Wherein is discovered the Catholicon of Spayne, and the chiefe leaders of the League finelie fetcht over and leide open in their colours." Sidney Lee, who calls attention to the English translation, says that the *Satyre* "helped to guide public opinion in England;" *French Renaissance in England*, p. 298.

such as at times seemed to be the temper of Henry and Elizabeth might prove fatal. In the harangue of Monsieur d'Aubray "pour le tiers-Etat," in which occurs the justly celebrated apostrophe—"O Paris, qui n'es plus Paris, mais spelunque de bestes farouches"—Monsieur d'Aubray asks:—"What laws, what articles, what gospel teaches us to dispossess men of their goods, and kings of their kingdoms, for differences of religion?" On the other hand, kings must guard against an excess of clemency. Then follows a passage which I will summarize in some detail describing the nature of clemency and defining its sphere.

Monsieur d'Aubray declares that though he does not endorse much of the adverse criticism of Henry of Navarre, he recognizes in the Prince one fault,—one, indeed, through which he and others have been much bound to him. Navarre treats us, he says, too gently and indulges us too much. Clemency, which the prince shows in excess, is a virtue highly praiseworthy and one which bears great and long-lasting fruit, however slow it may be in coming. But it is a virtue to be used only by the victorious and those who have no one to resist them. Some attribute it to cowardice and timidity rather than to valor and generosity; for it appears that those that spare their enemies wish that their enemies should do the like to them; or they are afraid that should they show severity, they may be unable to get the better of enemies that are still to be conquered. Other people say that clemency is wholly an imbecility of the heart, judging that he who does not avail himself of his rights is not fully assured of conquering and fears in some way to be conquered. But the philosophers, who have fully treated this matter, have not accounted it a virtue on the part of those who, planning to found a state, have shown themselves gracious and courteous at the outstart of their performances. One may cite, for example, the gentleness that Caesar showed towards the Roman citizens and men-at-arms before he was victorious. That was not clemency but flattery and ambitious courtesy, through which Caesar wished to make himself agreeable to the people and attract everyone to his party. According to the saying of the great *matre d'Estat*: *Imperium occupantibus est clementiae fama*. On the other hand, it was clemency itself which he showed when having conquered Pompey and defeated everyone who could oppose him, he came to Rome without a triumph and pardoned all his capital enemies, restoring them all their goods, their honors, and their dignities. From his conduct, however, much evil came to him, for the very persons whom he had pardoned and to whom he had shown the greatest favor were those who betrayed him and miserably massacred him. There is then a difference between clemency and gentleness (*douceur*). Gentleness belongs ordinarily to women and men of little courage (*la douceur tompe ordinairement aux femmes et aux hommes de petit courage*); but clemency is only in him who does good when he has the power to do what is wholly evil. Our king should defer to employ clemency until he has us all in his power. Further-



more, it is the reverse of clemency, that is cruelty, as Cicero says, to pardon those who deserve to die. Never will civil wars end if we continue to be gracious where severe justice is necessary. The malice of rebels is puffed up and hardened by the gentleness one shows them, because they think that one does not dare to irritate them nor to give them an incentive to do worse than they have done. I make no doubt, that had the king sharply punished all that have fallen in his hands since our troubles began, we should all now be his obedient subjects. But since it has pleased God to make his nature so gentle, gracious, and kindly, we hope still more from him when he shall see us prostrated at his feet, offering him our lives and our goods and asking him pardon for our past faults, inasmuch as now that we are armed to resist and to assail him he lets us have our lives and all that we ask of him.

Keeping in mind, then, the political relations between France and England during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, and with respect to the religious differences of the time, the similarity of Elizabeth's mediatory position to that of Henry of Navarre, we may properly turn to a group of French publicists who deal with the concepts of Justice, Clemency, and Sovereignty in a spirit congenial with that of Hooker, Jewel, and Gabriel Harvey. I refer to the representatives in literature of *les politiques*, a party which opposing extremists among Protestants and Catholics alike, sought in tolerance and peace the salvation of France. Of this cult of sovereignty and tolerance in its speculative aspects I will take as representative three of its distinguished exponents: Michel de l'Hôpital, François de la Noue, and Jean Bodin. Although the publicists as a group were reproached with Machiavellian duplicity,<sup>46</sup> these writers sought an ideal basis for their philosophy of the state, which was openly antagonistic to Machiavelli. Furthermore, and what is particularly to the point in our present investigation, they were all in one manner or another associated with the circle of Edmund Spenser.

#### *Michel de l'Hôpital*<sup>47</sup>

Born in Auvergne, de l'Hôpital studied at Toulouse and in the schools of law and letters at Padua. After the conclusion of his university career he filled various positions in and out of France: he was for a time at Rome,

<sup>46</sup> See below p. 69 f.

<sup>47</sup> In the following brief account of de l'Hôpital's life, I have relied chiefly upon Baudrilart, *op. cit.* See further A. F. Villemain, *Vie du Chancelier de l'Hôpital*, Paris, 1874; St. René Taillandier, *Le Chancelier de l'Hôpital*, Paris, 1861; Dupré-Lasalle, *Michel de l'Hôpital avant son élévation au poste de Chancelier de France*, Paris, 1875-1899; Amphoux, *Michel de l'Hôpital et la liberté de conscience au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1900; C. T. Atkinson, *Michel de l'Hôpital*, London, 1900; A. E. Shaw, *Michel de l'Hôpital and his Policy*, London, 1905; and the article in Eugene and Emile Haag's *La France protestante* (2nd Ed. 1877). Compare: du Bellay, *Au Seigneur de l'Hôpital, Oeuvre Politiques* (*Soc. d. Textes Français Modernes*, Ser. 1) vol. 2, p. 275; Ronsard, *A Michel de l'Hôpital, Ode X, Oeuvres Complètes* (*Bibliothèque Elzevirienne*).

then at Bologna when the Council of Trent was sitting there. At one time Master of Requests and then President of the *Chambres des Comptes*, he finally attained in 1560 to the high office of Chancellor of France.

As Chancellor, de l'Hôpital was famous for his counsels of tolerance. The Edict of Romorantin, which was in the interest of those who stood within the danger of the Inquisition, had his support; as did the Edict of Orléans and that of January, 1562, which has been described as the most liberal, except the Edict of Nantes, which was ever granted to the Protestants of France. Other public acts attest equally well the spirit of the man. As an old man in his retirement at Vigny he was visited by Montaigne, about the time that the Massacres of St. Bartholomew's Eve were writing in blood the lessons of Ignatius Loyola; and when sending de l'Hôpital the Latin verses of Étienne de la Boétie, the philosophical sceptic paid this generous compliment to the apostle of political tolerance: "I am anxious," said Montaigne, "to come and testify to you the honor and reverence with which I regard your competence and the special qualities which are in you; as for the extraneous and the fortuitous, it is not to my taste to put them in the account."<sup>48</sup>

In his *Traité de la Reformation de Justice*<sup>49</sup> de l'Hôpital has left us an eloquent exposition of the jurisprudence of the policists, which serves as an ideal background for what was by no means always a disinterested polity. To him as to Plato the first principle of justice is harmony, a principle which relates to the inner life as well as to the social and political ethic. "One must believe," says de l'Hôpital,<sup>50</sup> "that a man can not be just unless he is also magnanimous and courageous, temperate and full of prudence;<sup>51</sup> and this is true because justice is the harmony of all the other virtues; it is justice which lends them lustre and grace in full perfection, and it is justice which accomplishes them;" and "when the parts of

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II, 68 ff., and Eclogue III, a *Chant Pastoral* in celebration of the marriage of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, and Madame Claude, daughter of Henry II, in which de l'Hôpital appears as Michau, Du Bellay and Ronsard being represented by Bellot and Perrot respectively. For the friendship between Ronsard and de l'Hôpital, see particularly Pierre de Nolhac, *Documents Nouveaux sur la Pléiade, Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, VI (1899), 351 ff. Michel de l'Hôpital's connections with the Pléiade are not without significance in our attempt to show that his philosophy of justice was congenial with the thought of Spenser. Note his mediatory offices in the literary as well as the political sphere: de Nolhac, *op. cit.*; *Critical Edition of the Discours de la Vie de Ronsard* by Claude Binet, Helene M. Evers, Appendix II. For criticism of Dr. Evers' dissertation, see Laumonier, *La Vie de P. de Ronsard de Claude Binet, Édition Critique*, Paris, 1910, 134 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Courbet and Royer, *Les Essais de Montaigne*, IV, 299.

<sup>49</sup> In *Oeuvres de l'Hôpital*, ed. P. J. S. Dufey, 5 vols., Paris, 1824-1825. I might easily have extended the present section by a consideration of de l'Hôpital's other celebrated work, the *But de la guerre et de la paix*. What I have given here, however, seems to be sufficient for my purpose.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 110 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Conversely without justice the other virtues fail, *op. cit.*, I, 93.

the soul are so well regulated and composed that they produce in us prudence, temperance, and magnanimity, then there is formed and established a very beautiful and harmonious justice in man which causes him to approach the divine nature, when each part of his soul has that which belongs to it."<sup>82</sup> "Let us seek then first this accord, this consonance and this harmony in ourselves, since it is the cause of so great a good and tranquillity in our consciences, and since it unites us with God, a union in which consists the sovereign good of man." "Moreover," de l'Hôpital continues, "we should do all in our power to extend this principle of harmony to the body politic to the end that each one being content with his own and at peace with his neighbour, God should be served according to his will and the purity of his word. The end of justice is that the king should be obeyed, magistrates revered, and individuals protected in their goods, their lives, their honors, both they and their families according to their conditions, rank, and merits. God wills this by his goodness and mercy."<sup>83</sup>

Justice thus regarded as fundamental to the personal and political ethic is also considered as universal. Precisely as it is the same sun that shines at Paris as that which shines at Rome and Constantinople, so divine justice and natural right is no other among the savages of America than among the Christians of Europe. So far as human laws are concerned

<sup>82</sup> The contrast between the politic of de l'Hôpital and that of Machiavelli is suggested in the following passage:—"Je me soubviens d'avoir ouy aultre fois jargonner les rodomons et bravaches et belle happelourdes (faulx diamans) qui ont trouvé dans la science de leur bonne morgue (et c'est tout leur sçavoir, lequel se peult apprendre en moins d'une heure), que tout chrestien leur doit foy et hommaige, à cause de leur belle mine et apparence, dient, pour magnifiques raisons, que, par la loy de nature, les gros poissons mangent les petits, les loups et aultres bestes ravissantes, les aigles, les faulcons, les vautours et aultres oyseaulx de proye mangent les oyseaulx qui ont peu de force et de résistance, et ainsy des aultres; et par ces raisons princes des bestes brutes, veulent prendre droict pour gourmander, injurier, forcer les ames innocentes, les hommes qui bien souvent valent cent fois mieulx qu'eulx, et qui ne payent pas le monde de mines, mais d'une bien plus forte monnoie et de beaucoup meilleur alloy, qui est l'intégrité, la sincérité de mœurs, la prudence, la justice et la sainte troupe des aultres vertus" (*Traité*, II, 47-48). Compare *Traité* I, 93-94:—"Mais passons oultre, et considérons que les aultres vertus sans la justice sont manques et defectueuses au possible? Premièrement qu'est ce aultre chose la magnanimité, la vaillantise et grandeur de couraige que l'homme injuste et meschant? Toute ceste hardiesse dont il fait parade et monstre intérieure n'est qu'un fard, une mine, une apparence, ou du moins une présomption, audace et témérité qui rebouche aux périls tout ainsy qu'une lame de plomb contre une pierre dure, et que la vraye générosité, valeur et prouesse ne peult estre qu'en un homme de bien et craignant Dieu. . . . Qui peult imaginer un plus grand couraige en apparence qu'au Scythe Tamerlan, terreur de l'univers? Et neantmoins, parce qu'il n'y avoit point de justice en son fait, ceste hardiesse, ce hault couraige est plus tost imputé à une fureur bestiale qu'à une vraye générosité."—The "saige mondain" without virtue is a hundred times more dangerous than a fool; *Traité*, I, 110.

<sup>83</sup> "Comme de vray, on ne sçauroit désirer un plus heureux estre en ce monde que sous l'estat monarchique et royal, royalement gouverné: sous ce mot, la justice que est la vraye vertu royale, est comprinse, comme l'injustice n'est propre que pour les tyrans et oppresseurs du genre humain" (*Traité*, I, 244).

each people, monarch and sovereign will of course establish them according to the particular conveniences and necessities of province, country, and city. But in any case reason must be the soul of the law. Otherwise it cannot last, no more than the body can subsist without the soul.<sup>54</sup>

When de l'Hôpital contends that reason is the life of the law, he is far from recommending a merely rationalized politic. He argues, on the contrary, that the law of man is inseparable from the law of God, that justice is always attended by piety, injustice by impiety.<sup>55</sup> A corner-stone of his speculative piety is the dictum that the good Christian and the good citizen are one. He declares that no man who has the fear of God wishes that which belongs to another; nor will he withhold from God that which belongs to him. He will do unto others only as he would that others should do unto him. This it is to do justice and to accomplish in so doing the first commandment of the law of God.<sup>56</sup>

The Christian Platonism of de l'Hôpital's politic is further developed by his provision for the rôle of love in the execution of justice. "The remedies for injustice," he writes, "in the second book of the *Traité*, "are in our possession." "The fires which God will kindle if we implore his aid and his favor in the proper manner, the fires which will drive away the contagious air of injustice, are the fires of love, of charity towards our neighbors, which should warm the soul of every good man, but particularly the souls of Christians." Speaking of the French king, he declares: "Our true Aesculapius will be should it please him our hero and victorious prince, not less just than valiant, not less gracious and jealous of the love of his good subjects than a harsh ruler and enemy of rebels; not less pitiful toward the afflicted than a severe avenger of the proud, the violent, and the oppressors of the people."<sup>57</sup>

To keep the balance true between justice and mercy we should imitate God and love our fellow-men. The true judge, like the good shepherd, thinks of the people as committed to his charge.<sup>58</sup> Clemency, however,

<sup>54</sup> *Traité*, I, 60-61.

<sup>55</sup> Those who are not governed by piety and justice instead of following reason give the bridle to cupidities and unreasonable appetites (*Traité*, I, 132-3). Compare de la Noue, *Discours*, p. 3:—"Les saints escrits font mention de trois pechez remarquables entre tous autres, qui le plus souvent se recontrent et joignent ensemble: à cause de quoy Dieu dissipe les Etats par punitions et ruines publiques: à savoir l'impiété, l'injustice et la dissolution." On page 6 of the *Discours* de la Noue declares that the Wars of Religion have made atheists. Compare further de la Noue, *Discours*, p. 513:—"Il (Plutarch) adjouste apres: Or, comme disoit Diogenes, tout est aux dieux, et toutes choses sont communes entre amis, et les bons sont amis des dieux: aussi est-il impossible que ceux qui sont devots et amis des dieux ne soyent quand et quand bienheureux, ni qu'un homme qui est vertueux, comme temperant et juste, ne soit aussi devot et religieux. N'est ce pas la trop bien parlé pour un Payen, qui jamais n'avoit en que fausses instructions?"

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 21-22.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 9.

<sup>58</sup> "Nous demeurons à ces termes, que l'homme injuste ne fait rien et ne travaille que pour soy mesme, comme font ordinairement tous les tyrans, qui croient en leur doctrine que

should not be inconsistent with severity. There is nothing that insures public peace and tranquillity more than the integrity of a great judge and the severity of his judgments; the judge assisted in the case of a monarchy by a righteous prince, who acts worthily in never pardoning the wicked and evil livers, and in making himself humane and helpful to good people.<sup>59</sup>

"*Severitas senatorum pudoris et modestiae magistra; simul atque vel tantillum intermittitur, statim obrepit indulgentia, petulantiae ac intemperantiae mater, scelerumque pene omnium fomes et receptaculum.*"<sup>60</sup> Mercy, on the other hand, is not only becoming to princes, magistrates and judges but is even necessary, provided that one has always regard to justice and that one uses justice and mercy so that one never appears without the other. All those who govern the republic ought always to abide in honorable moderation.<sup>61</sup> That is the natural seat of virtue. Extremes are always vicious. Justice should stand as it were in the midst of mercy and ever attended by it. Never under the pretext of mercy should we work injustice, nor under the protection of a harsh and severe justice should we be guilty of any cruelty. Justice and Mercy are like inseparable sisters. Those who are inspired with a zeal for piety and justice might well keep in mind the counsels of Seneca: "*Legum praesidem, ait, civitatisque rectorem decet, quamdiu potest, verbis, et iis mollibus, ingenia curare, ut facienda suadeat, cupiditatemque honesti et aequi conciliat animi, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutum: transeat deinde ad tristiores orationem, qua moneat adhuc et exprobet; novissime ad poenas, et has adhuc leves et revocabiles decurrat: ultima supplicia ultimis sceleribus ponat, ut nemo pereat, nisi quem perire etiam pereuntis intersit.*"<sup>62</sup>

The nature and province of clemency as explained by de l'Hôpital substantially agree, as I understand the matter, with the description of that virtue in Seneca's *De Clementia*. Clemency, Seneca defines, as a modera-

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le peuple est fait pour eux. La Justice fait autrement; elle n'a esgard qu'à ce qui appartient à autrui pour le luy distribuer, à l'instar du bon roy, du fidèle tuteur, du soigneux berger, qui savent bien qu'ils sont constitués en leurs charges, non pour l'amour d'eux mesmes et pour passer leur temps en délices et oysivetés, mais pour avoir soing et pourveoir au bien et utilité, l'ung de ses subjects, l'autre de son pupils et le tiers de son troupeau."—*Traité*, I, 75-76.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 174. Compare *Traité*, I, 189:—"C'est aimer les hommes, d'avoir soing d'eux, leur faire du bien et profiter à tous; ce que peuvent faire les princes, et c'est en quoy consiste leur grandeur; c'est imiter Dieu, de protéger les bons, et de remunerer chascun selon leurs mérites, et punir rigoureusement les grands crimes et meschans despoles, pardonner aux fautes légères qui ne vont pas à la ruyne ny destruction de personnes."

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 130.

<sup>61</sup> "Mais venons à la tempérance et continence. Ceste vertu, qui scait ranger les appétits sensuels et les cupidités à la raison, ne va jamais guères seule, ains a la magnanimité pour fidelle compaignie, et unies ensemble font bien souvent des merveilles."—*Traité*, I, 94.

<sup>62</sup> *Traité*, I, 185 ff.:—"Faites miséricorde à l'homme sanguinaire, meschant et assassineur; c'est vous mesme qui coupez la gorge, meurtrissez et assassinez ceulx qui tomberont entre les cruelles mains de cest homme de sang, et vostre vie respondra de celles qui auront puis esté perdues par vostre et affectée clémence et miséricorde."

tion of the mind, a leaning of the mind to lenity in exacting punishments.<sup>63</sup> Its opposite, he says, is not severity but *crudelitas*, which is an atrocity of the mind in exacting punishments. Clemency, then, is not so much what distinguishes the particular judicial act, which out of pity makes an exception to the rule; it is rather the proper and constant mood of the righteous judge, who exacts justice more in sorrow than in anger, a spirit which Portia says is above the sceptred sway, that is enthroned in the hearts of kings, that is an attribute of God himself. Mercy, Seneca says, is to be carefully distinguished from *miser cordia*, which he describes as a vice of the mind.<sup>64</sup> The Lord, according to the Christian version of this Roman opinion, loveth whom he chasteneth.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> This, to be sure, is only one of several definitions offered by Seneca. The passage in question reads:—"Clementia est temperantia animi in potestate ulciscendi vel lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem in constituendis poenis. Plura proponere tutius est, ne una finitio parum rem comprehendat et, ut ita dicam, formula excidat; itaque dici potest et inclinatio animi ad lenitatem in poena exigenda. Illa finitio contradictiones inveniet, quamvis maxime ad verum accedat, si dixerimus clementiam esse moderationem aliquid ex merita ac debita poena remittantem; reclamabitur nullam virtutem cuiquam minus debito facere. Atqui hoc omnes intellegunt clementiam esse, quae se flectit citra id, quod merito constitui posset.

"Huic contrariam inperiti putant severitatem; sed nulla virtus virtuti contraria est. Quid ergo obponitur clementiae? Crudelitas, quae nihil aliud est quam atrocitas animi in exigendis poenis." *De Clementia*, II, 3.

<sup>64</sup> "Ad rem pertinet quaerere hoc loco, quid sit misericordia; plerique enim ut virtutem eam laudant et bonum hominem vocant misericordem. Et haec vitium animi est."—Seneca, *De Clementia*, II, 4.

<sup>65</sup> I cannot forbear quoting at this point from de l'Hôpital the following eloquent description of the just man:—"L'homme juste, mesmement celuy qui est constitué en dignité, premièrement ne faict rien par ignorance, par erreur, par surprise, ne se laisse emporter par les artifices, inventions et imprudences d'ung hardy menteur et rusé calomniateur, par les afféteries non d'ung orateur que je tiens pour homme de bien, mais d'ung discoureur, d'ung babillard, je dirois volontiers d'ung bavard charlatan, qui employe son estude à desguiser l'innocence et la vérité, s'efforce, par ses ruses, d'obtenir ce qu'il prétend en faveur du mensonge et de la calomnie; parce que la prudence luy faict fidelle compaignie, luy descouvre les subtilités, calomnies, ruses et impostures, de quelque part qu'elles viennent; et, s'il n'est pas assez instruit pour l'heure, il aime mieulx différer qu'en précipitant faire injustice, et attend jusques à ce que sa conscience soit informée et satisfaite de tout point; ne faict rien aussy par flatteries, blandices [caresses], par faveurs, par amour, par hayne, par envie, par jalousie, par avarice, par tesmerité, ny oultre passion. Sa tempérance l'en empesche et tient les mauvaïses cupidités asservies sous le joug de la raison; encore moins par orgueil, par présomption, par force, par crainte, par menaces, ny dangers quelconques, parce qu'il possède la vraye magnanimité, qui jamais ne l'abandonne et luy faict mespriser tous hazards, et aime mieulx perdre les biens temporels ou la vie mesme que de faire une injustice et meschanté, ou ne l'empescher de tout son pouveoir;

Non civium ardor prava jubentium,

Non vultus instantis tyranni

Mente quatit . . . . *Op. cit.*, I, 194-195.

Compare de la Noue, *Discours*, p. 72: "Mais que celui qui juge le face en se conduisant selon les regles de charité. Car ceux qui condamnent les autres par orgueil, il avient apres que Dieu les condamne par justice."

*François de la Noue*

François de la Noue (1531–1591), often called *Bras-de-Fer* (a sobriquet due to the iron arm which he wore after his left arm had been shattered at the siege of Fontenoy), was one of the most prominent of the Huguenot captains during the period of the Religious Wars. A friend of Sir Philip Sidney, he devoted himself not only to the cause of the Rochellois but to the Protestant cause in the Netherlands. Captured by the Spaniards in 1580, he spent five years in a prison at Limboy, giving himself there to the composition of his *Discours politiques et militaires*,<sup>66</sup> which was first published at Basle in 1587. After he had been liberated in 1589, he returned to active warfare. Then he was wounded at the siege of Lambolle and died at Moncontour on the fourth of August, 1591.

La Noue, like de l'Hôpital, combined counsels of tolerance with a recognition of the claims of severity. Concord, he declares, is "le seul ciment qui peut rejoindre les membres de ce caduque et ancien edifice tout entr'ouvert" (Epistre III). But it is necessary to remember that there is a false as well as a true concord.<sup>67</sup> "Avant que finir ce discours-ci, il faut aussi parler de la fausse concorde, et paraventure qu'il ne nuira de rien de donner quelques petis advertissemens sur ce point, à fin qu'on ne soit abusé, comme ceux qui ont pris un faux escu pour un bon, par faute de le peser et bien regarder." In words similar, as we shall see to those of Bodin, he says that concord among pirates, robbers, and prostitutes is in reality "un secret discord, cimente de poison" (p. 62). Another kind of false concord is that of the German peasants who revolted against the nobles. This is a *concorde furieuse*. The parties to it, though living together like brothers and even dying together courageously, adopt purposes and procedures which are detestable. He classifies here the Anabaptists of Münster and the Sicilians in revolt against the French; "avec telles gens nous devons plustot avoir discord qu'accord: pour ce que leur union ne vise qu'à alterer les societez legitimes" (62–63). Somewhat further on la Noue speaks of four types of false concord:—*Concorde tyrannique*, exemplified by the rule of Caesar Borgia, "qui a esgalé les tyrans du passé en execrables meschancetez,—le beau patron que Machiavel propose, pour enseigner aux princes comment ils doyvent regner;" *concorde injuste*, an example of which is to be found in Rome under Nero, when senators and judges agreed to commit every iniquity; *concorde insolente*, which depends upon the dominance of the military class; and *concorde hérétique* and *schismatique*, which united the Arian bishops who opposed the Council of Nice (64–66).

<sup>66</sup> *Discours politiques et militaires du Seigneur de la Noue. Nouvellement recueillis et mis en lumière à Basle. De l'Imprimerie de François Forest, 1587.*

<sup>67</sup> "Mais la concorde qui dure, est celle qui est entre les gens de bien, et qui procede des mouvements d'une droite raison illuminée d'en-haut, qui nous rend affectionnez au bien les uns des autres: car estant alimentee d'une humeur radicale si parfaite, elle demeure tousjours vive et fraische comme les arbres qui sont plantez au long des rivages des eaux courantes" (*Discours*, II, p. 66).

In maintaining the true as distinguished from the false types of concord, la Noue agrees with the opinion "qui mesle ensemble la douceur et la rigueur." The violent remedies which only aggravate the sickness should of course be rejected, but we should also avoid those which are too gentle to be effective.<sup>68</sup> "Ceux à qui les choses mauvaises desplaient, quand ils voyent qu'avec trop de douceur et trop mollement on procede à les corriger, ils pensent qu'il y ait quelque secrette connivence avec icelles. —Qu'est-il donc de faire pour abolir ces petites guerres qui se font en paix, et qui rallument les haines et relevent les partialitez? C'est d'attrapper cinq ou six de ces guerriers, à fin que cinq ou six cents deviennent sages. Somme, puisque par la continuation des discussions civiles, l'audace, la malice, et la desobeissance sont si fort accreuës, on ne doit pas penser avec les edicts et ordonnances les pouvoir reprimer, si la verge n'est aussi en la main de ceux à qui il appartient de la porter, pour donner poids aux paroles. Et combien qu'en ceste reformation-ci considerant les choses en general, on y doyve proceder avecques beaucoup de moderation, à fin de ne rien esmouvoir ni troubler: si est-ce qu'en regardant en particulier plusieurs qualitez vicieuses, qui empeschent le restablissement de l'ordre il semble que ce n'est point erreur que de mesler avecques la douceur quelque portion de severité" (104–107).

I fancy it was not only de la Noue's philosophy of justice which might have attracted Spenser to the *Discours*. The principle that "les gentilshommes doyvent estre ornez de plusieurs vertus" he discusses at some length in his *Dixième Discours* (198 ff.). This, which might be called the text of the *Faerie Queene*, justifies us in associating the book with those treatises dealing with the education of a courtier of which our poet's great allegory is confessedly a poetical version. "Les peintres," de la Noue writes, "ont accoustumé de peindre les Muses toutes en une troupe, qui ne s'abandonnent point. Avec aussi bonne raison pourroyent-ils faire le mesme de ceste digne société, en laquelle les associez se plaisent fort de demorner: d'où nous devons titer enseignement, qui puisque si volontairement elles se rengent ensemble, aussi nous leur devons tousjours tenir nostre porte ouverte, à fin que l'une y estant entree, elle attire les autres apres. Je sçay bien que la fortitude (qu'on dit estre prouesse ou vaillance) est une excellente vertu, propre tant aux grands qu'aux petis, et sans laquelle la vie des uns et des autres est molle et sans vigueur: mais si elle est destituee de justice, elle est nuisible aux bons. Si la temperance ne la modere, elle se tournera en fureur: et n'estant guidee par prudence elle agira mal à propos. En quoy on void qu'il y a une liaison entr'elles, et une

<sup>68</sup> "Ceste charité, de quoy je parle, ne contrevient point à la justice civile, et n'abolit l'indignation que nous devons avoir contre les contempteurs de Dieu: car si elle contrariroit à la pieté et à l'ordre public, elle ne seroit humaine, ains inhumaine. Et y a bonne proportion entre elle et la divine: d'autant que l'une dit, Tu aimeras Dieu de tout ton coeur; et l'autre, Tu aimeras ton prochain comme toy-mesme (*Discours*, p. 77).



aide mutuelle qu'elles s'entrefont: qui ne se pourroit alterer qu'au prejudice de chacune en particulier. Les mariniers estiment qu'une seule ancre n'est pas suffisante pour tenir ferme et arrester un navire. Autant en pourroit-on dire des nobles, qu'il faut plus d'une vertu pour donner fermeté à leur reputation. Ce qui bien connu de ceux qui sont instituez en la doctrine morale, dont le nombre est bien petit, à cause que l'erreur, de quoy nous traitons, a rendu trop partiale la plus grande multitude. Cela se void aucunement aux titres que plusieurs se baillent, s'appelans les bras de la patrie, les gardiens des armes, et la terreur des ennemis: qui sont titres que je ne reprouve pas. Toutefois il me semble que se dire, professeurs de vertu, comprendroit encores plus, et les honnereroit davantage." One should note too la Noue's praise of country life as contrasted with that of courts and cities as doubtless pleasing to the author of *Colin Clout*.<sup>69</sup>

### Jean Bodin

Jean Bodin was born at Angers in 1529 or 1530.<sup>70</sup> The tradition that his mother was a Jewess, though lacking confirmation, is of interest in connection with his knowledge of Hebrew and his unquestionable sympathy with Hebraic culture. He studied like de l'Hôpital at Toulouse, and later he delivered lectures there. The immediate fruit of his legal studies, such as the *De Decretis* and the *De Imperio*, are preserved to us only by title; and we know little of the years that he spent after leaving Toulouse as an unsuccessful barrister at Paris. To his failure to meet the practical demands of his profession and to his love of scholarship we owe the books that have made him famous.

<sup>69</sup> See the chapter in the *Discours* (196 ff.) entitled "De Trois Fausses Opinions lesquelles font desvoyer plusieurs de la Noblesse."

<sup>70</sup> For the life of Bodin see particularly Baudrillart, *Jean Bodin et Son Temps*, Paris, 1853; Barthélemy, *Étude sur Jean Bodin*, Paris, 1876, in the Publications of the Société académique de Saint-Quentin; Jean Chauviré, *Jean Bodin, auteur de la 'République'*, Paris, 1915; and the article "Bodin" in Julius Bachem's *Staatslexicon, Zweite Auflage*, I, 946 ff. In my sketch of Bodin's life I have followed Baudrillart rather closely. For Bodin's relations to Judaism, see, Rabbin Guttman, *J. Bodin in seinen Beziehungen zum Judentum*, Breslau, 1906. Upon the disputed matter of Bodin's religion Chauviré in his *Jean Bodin*, 258 f., writes: "On peut apprendre enfin, d'une pareille étude, ce que la seule lecture de la *République* laisse encore indécis, à savoir quel est le parti de Bodin. 'Je ne parle point icy, dit-il quelque part, laquelle des religions est la meilleure (combien qu'il n'y a qu'une religion, une vérité, une loy divine publiée par la bouche de Dieu).' Mais nous savons à présent que la meilleure à ses yeux n'est point la catholique, puisqu'il ne s'inspire, tout en en combattant les excès, que des libelles de tendance huguenote. Ou bien Bodin est protestant, ou bien, s'il ne l'est plus, il est arrivé à cette religion naturelle, teinte de judaïsme, que l'*Heptaplomeres* recommanda. Quant au parti qu'il embrasse, la chose est encore plus claire. Politique, il est à l'aile droite des Politiques, c'est à dire qu'il s'appuie sur les huguenots et leur arguments pour conquérir ou défendre les libertés nécessaires, mais qu'il répudie les principes excessifs qui méconnaîtraient l'autorité royale, à son avis seul garant de l'ordre national. En attendant, et pour garder à cette autorité son prestige intact, que le prince ne persécute plus ses sujets pour cause de religion. Et paix dans les deux religions aux hommes de bonne volonté."

The first of these is the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, which was published in 1566. This justly celebrated work and the *Response aux paradoxes de M. de Malestroît touchant le fait des monnoies et l'encherissement de toutes choses*, which appeared two years later, seem to have opened to Bodin a way to preferment. At any rate by 1571 he has become *matre de requêtes* and the adviser of the Duke d'Alençon, already the acknowledged leader of *les politiques*. In the same year as king's attorney he defended under the law of *Tiers et Danger* the inalienable right of the crown to the royal domain in Normandy against the claims of four hundred noble families—a position which Bodin maintained even after Charles IX. had yielded to the determined opposition of the nobles. Though there is insufficient evidence to prove that Bodin was a Protestant, his principles of tolerance marked him as an enemy of all strict Catholics; so that it was only with difficulty that he saved his life during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. For some time after this he stayed away from Paris. Upon his return we find him enjoying for a period the favour of Henry III., who held his learning in high esteem. In 1576 he is king's attorney at Laon and a deputy of the *tiers-état* at Blois. The proceedings of the estates at this place are recorded by Bodin himself in his *Recueil de tout ce qui s'est negocié en la compagnie du tiers-états de France en l'assemblée generale des trois états, assignee par le roi en la ville de Blois au 15 novembre 1576*.

At Blois the chief question was that of religious unity to be attained at any cost as opposed to the policy of conciliation between Catholicism and Calvinism. Versoris spoke for strong repression of the reformed religion; Bodin, for conciliation; and, although the latter's counsels of tolerance did not prevail, they are of interest as an application in public life of opinions which his books have developed and defended on philosophical grounds. With this advocacy of religious tolerance there goes a devotion to the political institutions of his country. He was loyal to the monarchy to the extent of incurring the displeasure of the king, as appears in his opposition to the alienation of the royal domain to meet the expenses of the realm. This position and his championship of the traditional rights of the estates cost him the favour of Henry III.

Bodin now associates himself more closely with the Duke d'Alençon, who had become the Duke d'Anjou, and who was still regarded as the leader of *les politiques*. In the retinue of this prince he goes to England. He finds that his *Republic* is well known at Cambridge; and while at the University he meets Gabriel Harvey, to whom he appears to have shown some special favour. Queen Elizabeth playfully dubs him *Badin* because of the raillery with which she thought he had written of women. Later Bodin accompanies the Duke to the Low Countries, continuing in his service until the death of Anjou in 1584. He then returns to Laon and becomes in 1587 the successor of his father-in-law in the office of *procureur général*. About this time there occurred an event which Baudrillart calls "un episode

regrettable," "si contraire à tous ses principes." It was in a word Bodin's surprising declaration of adherence to the Holy League. "Le philosophe," writes Baudrillart, "et, sauf cette courte eclipse, l'homme public furent toujours ou se trouvaient la nationalité et la tolerance."<sup>71</sup> In spite of his formal allegiance to the League, Bodin's conduct continued to be so little to the liking of that party that in 1590 he was accused of heresy, his lodgings searched, and his books publicly burned. In 1593, three years before his death, he did something to atone for his past error by a public declaration in favour of Henry IV.

The first of Bodin's works which require our attention is his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, published in 1566.<sup>72</sup> Anticipating Montesquieu<sup>73</sup> at many points, our author emphasises the bearing of the the history of law upon the record of human events. But as history is to him not simply human but natural and divine history as well, so law is something higher and broader than statutes and codes. To find the constant terms among the shifting factors of his problem, the historian must turn to Nature and God. Following the stages of the mystic quest he should consider first himself, in the second place the family, in the third place civil society, then nature, and finally God. Only a few men, however, are capable of thus rising above the senses, as the swimmer with effort keeps his head above water.

Chapter VI of the *Methodus* (*De Statu Rerumpublicarum*), in which the author anticipates ideas later developed in the *Republic*, discusses particularly Platonic communism. "Je ne crois pas," writes Baudrillart, "qu'on ait jamais dit sur ce sujet controversé rien de plus net et de plus vigoureux: changez quelques mots à peine et vous croiriez entendre un philosophe ou un publiciste de nos jours."<sup>74</sup> The hypothesis of Plato, Bodin argues, is radically false; for Nature teaches us that this world, an admirable work of God, consists of unequal parts and of elements which are in sharp conflict one with another, and that the various movements of the stars are so necessary to maintain the world that without this harmonic discord everything would perish. And the most politic state, if it imitates Nature as it should, will preserve the inequalities of governors and governed, of masters and servants, of rich and poor, of good and wicked, of strong and weak; a certain mélange of opposed minds helps to preserve the integrity of the state.

<sup>71</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 131 ff.

<sup>72</sup> I have used the Paris edition of 1572, and the analysis of the *Methodus* given by Fritz Renz in Lamprecht's *Geschichtliche Untersuchungen, Dritter Band, Erstes Heft*, Gotha, 1905: *Jean Bodin, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des historischen Methode im 16 Jahrhundert*. Robert Flint in his *Historical Philosophy in France* (New York, 1894) summarizes the treatise. See, too, Chauviré, *op. cit.*, 294 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Fournol, *Bodin, prédécesseur de Montesquieu*, 1896.

<sup>74</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 155.

Having introduced the parallel of harmonized voices, Bodin concludes that thanks to the upper, lower, and middle classes, the state finds an accord in a happy combination of opposites.

The true state, Bodin contends here and later in the *Republic*, is monarchical. This form of government is as natural as the communistic state is unnatural. Why should we not conform here as elsewhere to the example of Nature? The monarchical principle is illustrated on every hand in the world about us. Animals such as bees and cattle follow a chief; and in the world of inanimate objects there is always something which excels all others, as gold among the metals, the sun among the stars. Finally there is only one God, the lord and maker of the world. If then Nature cries out against communism, if reason revolts against it, if long experience testifies against it, why should we prefer Plato to the nature of things.

Bodin is, however, in the *Methodus* concerned not so much with the philosophy of the state as with the method of the historian. And from this point of view the book is of importance in the present investigation because, although Spenser and Bodin are not in agreement at all points, the historical method which is expounded by the French publicist was certainly familiar to the English poet.

The uncertain and confused nature of human affairs our writer concedes makes impossible in historical investigations the exact methods of mathematics and the natural sciences.<sup>76</sup> Accordingly the historian has to content himself with an approximation to truth: *Historiae naturales verae sint necne facillime intelliguntur; humanae vero, quae semper sui dissimiles sunt, non item.*<sup>76</sup> Corresponding to the differences of subject matter in human, natural, and religious history, he postulates an *assensio triplex, probabilis, necessaria, religiosa*.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless the history of man adopts as its chief purpose the attainment of truth, and it must accordingly rest upon reliable sources. The historian who bases his narrative upon the documents themselves necessarily carries more authority than one who takes his material second hand.<sup>78</sup> Nor should an historian rest his case upon a single record. Documents should be collated<sup>79</sup> and the learning, prejudices, religion, etc. of the historian should be taken into account in assessing the value of his

<sup>76</sup> "Aut si quis nolit cum naturalibus disciplinis mathematicas confundere, quatuor genera constituet historiarum: humanam quidem incertam et confusam: naturalem certam, interdum tamen materiae vel mali genii contagione incertam ac sui dissimilem: mathematicam quod a concretionem materiae libera sit, certiore: sic enim veteres hanc ab illa dividerunt. Postremo divinam certissimam et sui natura plane immutabilem. Atque haec de historiarum partitione" (*Methodus*, I, 17 l.).

<sup>76</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> *Methodus*, Chapter I, 11; Renz, *op. cit.*, 16.

<sup>78</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>79</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 28.

report.<sup>80</sup> History of past times and of foreign peoples, having more detachment, is in many ways more reliable than that of contemporaries and natives;<sup>81</sup> and oral tradition is generally to be viewed with suspicion.<sup>82</sup>

Bodin's method, as we have noted, however scientific it might be, did not put history out of touch with other subjects. This would have been impossible for one who was as interested as he in unifying the diversity of human experience. He combines in a striking manner the mystic and the rational temper, and strives for an articulation of the many sided life of man. Accordingly he was concerned not only to survey and define the province of history but to correlate it with law and philosophy. Moreover, physiology, psychology, and physical geography, in helping us to understand the character of a people will enable us the better to read or write its history. In all that he says of the significance of the milieu, Bodin harks back to mediaeval lore of the relations of the material body to the immaterial soul and he anticipates much later speculation with which everyone associates the name of Hippolyte Taine.<sup>83</sup>

The character of the folk or race, constituting a part of the historian's subject, will be understood by attention not only to the physical milieu but to the mixture of races, which has often brought about an alteration of a people's customs. For instance in their union with the Britons, the Danes, Angles, and Saxons have made those people more warlike, while they themselves have become more cultivated. Such changes, of course, will come about slowly in the case of races which, though living side by side, do not mingle with one another.<sup>84</sup>

Bodin's recognition of the differences of racial character, due to milieu and race mixture, leads him to the position that there should be a careful adaptation of laws and institutions to the special character of the people for whom they are intended.<sup>85</sup> Accordingly he denies the possibility of an ideal state, of validity for all people; for what would be useful for one people would be harmful to another.<sup>86</sup> The differing character of historical periods also receives recognition in this connection, the state at any given time being considered the result of organic development, and the growth of the state corresponding to that of a man from childhood through maturity to decay and death.<sup>87</sup>

Such a far perspective naturally turned the attention of Bodin to the question of the origin of races.<sup>88</sup> His method in dealing with this subject

<sup>80</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 22 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 27, 29.

<sup>82</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 17, 19.

<sup>83</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 38 ff. Compare, *passim*, A. J. Koller, *The Theory of Environment*, 1918.

<sup>84</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 66 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 62.

<sup>86</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 62.

<sup>87</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 63.

<sup>88</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 66 ff.

deserves our attention. As sources of evidence he recognizes historical documents, philological characteristics, and geography. From the first of these his scientific method can expect little, but he has a good deal to say about the value of philological and geographical considerations.

In support of the testimony of Moses, Herodotus, and Xenophon that the Chaldeans were the oldest race, the Hebrew language being only a dialect of Chaldean, he seeks to trace to a Babylonian-Hebrew origin the names of all peoples. His descent is by a pretty uncomfortable route from Chaldean, Hebrew, and Egyptian to Greek and then to Italian. The Celts, too, he attempts to show are descendants of the Greeks, and the Germans of the Celts. The great differences which the languages of these people have developed are due to the passage of time, colonization, and race mixture, and to the influence of milieu.

Considering in the large the evolution of the civilization of the world, Bodin as a scientific historian can give little comfort to the poet's dream of a golden age which the world had outlived. All the evidence, he declares, is against such a view. The cycles of time are cycles of growth and decay, but the wheel of change is ever ascending the hill of progress; or, to use his figure, the field grows in fertility with the decay of vegetation. *Haec illa est rerum omnium tam certa conversio, ut dubitare nemo debeat, quin idem in hominum ingeniis quid in agris eveniat, qui majori ubertate gratiam quietis referre solent.*<sup>89</sup>

After the Methodus, Bodin published in 1568 his *Response de Jean Bodin aux Paradoxes de M. de Malestroit, touchant le fait des Monnaies et l'Enchérissement de Toutes Choses*. Then followed in 1576, the year in which he was appointed king's attorney at Laon, the *Six Livres de la République*,<sup>90</sup> a work of the first importance in the political speculations of the sixteenth century.

In his preface addressed to Monseigneur Du Faur, Bodin (pp. 2-3) compares his book with the similar works of Plato, Aristotle, and Machiavelli. The works of Plato and Aristotle are cut too short, he thinks, to satisfy the appetites of those who read them. Besides the time that has elapsed since those great men wrote has brought much to light that was hidden from them; even Plato confesses that the subject is very obscure. Others who have followed them have profaned the sacred mysteries of political philosophy in their ignorance of law and even of public justice. We have for instance a Machiavelli, who has enjoyed a vogue among the

<sup>89</sup> Renz, *op. cit.*, 71 ff.

<sup>90</sup> I have used the Paris edition of 1577. The analysis and summary of the *Republic* in Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, I have found very helpful. For a briefer digest, see Bluntschli, *Geschichte der neueren Staatswissenschaft*, München und Leipzig, 1881 (Third Edition), Chapter II. A careful examination of the sources of the *Republic* and a much more dispassionate account of Bodin in general than that of Baudrillart will be found in the excellent book of Jean Chauviré already mentioned.

courtiers of tyrants, and whom Paulus Jovius, while placing him in the rank of distinguished men describes nevertheless as an atheist and one ignorant of good literature. As for atheism Machiavelli glories in it in his writings; and so far as his knowledge is concerned, "ceux qui ont accoustumé de discourir doctement, pezer sagement, et resoudre subtilement les hauts affaires d'estat, s'accorderont qu'il n'a jamais sondé le gué de la science Politique, qui ne gist pas en ruzes tyranniques, qu'il a recherchees par tous les coins d'Italie, et comme une douce poison coulee en son livre du Prince, où il rehausse jusques au Ciel, et met pour un Parangon de tous les Roys, le plus desloyal filz de Prestre qui fut oncques: et lequel neantmoins avec toutes ses finesses, fut honteusement precipité de la roche de tyrannie haute et glissante, où il s'estoit niché, et en fin exposé comme un belistre à la mercy et risee de ses ennemis, comme il est advenu depuis aux autres Princes qui ont suyvi sa piste, et pratiqué les belles reigles de Maccia-vel; lequel a mis pour deux fondemens des Republicques l'impieté et l'injustice, blasant la religion comme contraire à l'estat."

Bodin's hostility to Machiavelli so vigorously expressed in this passage, will help us to appreciate the natural antipathy of *la politique spiritualiste* for *la politique matérialiste*. Baudrillart speaks of Machiavelli as the adversary almost always present to Bodin. "Avec le publiciste français," he continues, "on peut dire que la politique spiritualiste prend à son tour la parole, et exerce de noble represailles contre la politique matérialiste alors dans toute sa vogue: mérite d'autant plus frappant qu'il s'allie ici à un esprit observateur et qui offre avec Machiavel lui-même une remarquable analogie par son caractère éminemment expérimental.—Aux maximes bien connues du Prince, il substitue les principes d'une morale élevée, principes éternels, jamais plus opportuns, et dont l'application à la politique n'allait à rien moins qu'à faire révolution dans les idées reçues et dans la pratique adoptée."<sup>91</sup>

But this anti-Machiavellism of *les politiques*, which was recognized by the dedication of Gentillet's *Anti-Machiavel* to the Duc d'Alençon after that nobleman had become associated with the party of Henry of Navarre, does not mean that the policists drifted to Utopian idealism. Bodin does not share the dreams of Plato and More, whose ideal states he regarded as republics "en idee sans effet."<sup>92</sup> What Bodin seeks is a practicable polity informed and inspired by ideals. The end of the political life is not happiness but virtue, and the highest virtue is realized in the life of contemplation. That republic, he says, will be deemed happy that numbers among

<sup>91</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 225 ff. Compare de l'Hôpital, *op. cit.*, II, 12:—"Je ne suis pas figuré une réformation et règlement impossible, ni mesme difficile: je me soubviens des Respublicques de Platon, de la Cyropédie de Xénophon, de l'Utopie de Thomas Morus et autrees qui ont excellement discoureu, et mis par escript de belles et eslevées conceptions; mais ce sont fructs qui n'estaient plus de saison."

<sup>92</sup> *République*, I, Chapter 1, p. 3.

its citizens many men whose lives illustrate the intellectual and contemplative virtues. The first book of his *Republic* sets forth unmistakably the mystical ethic in which his practical politic found its inspiration. The Republic should first of all provide the necessities of life.<sup>23</sup> But the good man will not be satisfied with what contributes to his needs and comforts; he will wish further to side with the virtuous against the wicked; and when his spirit is clear and swept clean of vices and passions which trouble the soul, he will observe more carefully the diversity of human things—various ages, contrary humors, the grandeur of some the ruin of others, the vicissitudes of republics—and he will seek always the causes of the effects which he has noted. Then after a time, turning to the beauty of nature, he will take pleasure in the variety of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral world, considering of each thing its special form, its quality and its virtue; considering further the hostility and the friendships of creatures toward one another and how they are joined by the sequence of cause and effect. Then passing beyond elementary religion, he will preen the wings of contemplation for his heavenly flight, that he might see the splendor, the beauty, and the strength of the celestial luminaries, their magnificence and fearful motions, and that he might hear the melodious harmony of the whole world. He is then ravished with a wonderful pleasure and attended by a ceaseless desire to find the first cause, and him who was the author of such a beautiful work of art. Having reached this point he no longer pursues the course of his contemplation, inasmuch as the maker is infinite and incomprehensible in essence, in grandeur, in power, in wisdom, and in goodness. By this method of contemplation wise men have proved that there is only one God, eternal and infinite; and thence they have as it were drawn a conclusion of human happiness.<sup>24</sup>

With the passage just summarized should be compared the paragraph that closes the first chapter of the first book: Bodin here compares the soul ravished in contemplation and burning with divine brightness to the

<sup>23</sup> Irenaeus in the *Veu* argues that in the reformation of Ireland the care of the body should precede that of the soul; *Veu* p. 646.

<sup>24</sup> *République*, Book I, Ch. 1:—With this passage should be compared the following from the *Methodus*:—"Quoniam hominibus primum studium conservandi sui natura parens ingeneravit: deinde paulatim a rerum naturalium admiratione ad causarum investigationem impulit: tum ab iis illecebris ad ipsius rerum omnium moderatoris cognitionem pertraxit: ob eam causam ab historia rerum humanarum nobis auspicandum videtur, cum primum de summo Deo comprehensiones, non solum probabiles, sed etiam ad assentiendum necessariae in puerorum animis radices egerint. Ita fiet ut a cogitatione nostri primum, deinde familiae, tum communis societatis ad naturę inspectionem, ac postremo ad immortalis Dei veram historiam, id est, contemplationem, abducamur."—*Methodus*, Cap. primum, pp. 12–13. See, too, *Methodus*, Cap. tertium, 33 ff.—"Et quoniam primum studium conservandi sui natura unicuique ingeneravit, primae hominum actiones ad ea pertinent, sine quibus vivi nullo modo potest: deinde ad ea sine quibus vivi quidem, sed non satis commode; aut commode, sed non splendide; aut splendide, non tamen ad eam, quae suavissime sensus oblectat, voluptatem: hinc opum augendarum cupiditas. Sed quia voluptatum nulla satietas, aut ea communis est



moon reflecting the glory of the sun. The soul given too much to the pleasures of the body, the soul that does not seek the divine sun, he compares to the moon hid by the shadows of the earth, which having robbed it of its light and its strength, brings forth in its stead many monsters. "Et neantmoins si elle demeuroit tousjours unie au soleil, il est bien certain que le monde elementaire periroit. Nous ferons mesme jugement de la Republique bien ordonnee, la fin principale de laquelle gist aux vertus contemplatives, jaçoit que les actions politiques soient preallables, et les moins

beluarum aequae ac hominum, quo quisque generosior est, eo longius se a beluarum societate disiungit, ac paulatim gloriae cupiditate fertur, ut reliquis praestare possit: hinc dominandi libido, et tenuioribus vis illata, hinc dissidia, bella, servitutes, caedes. Sed cum hoc vitæ genus turbulentum sit ac periculis plenum, tum vero immanis ea gloria quae hominem excelsi animi explere non possit, consequens est ut homo bene a natura informatus, paulatim feratur ad virtutis actiones, quae in vera laude et solida gloria versantur, in qua plerique finem extremum constituunt. Sed quoniam natura quietis est appetens, planum est eas virtutis actiones ad quietem aliquando dirigi oportere. Quo fit ut homo paulatim a curis et hominum societate distractus solitudinem querat, ut tranquillitate naturae consentanea fruatur. Itaque res humanas despiciens earumque inconstantiam ac temeritatem, naturae causas certissimas intuetur, in quibus contemplandis tantam percipit voluptatem, ut talium studiorum conscientia fretus, regum opes ac Fortunas negligat: quinetiam plerique cum maxima imperia gessissent, ad hoc vitae genus sponte relabi, quam regnare maluerunt. Hinc illae scientiae ac virtutes, quae quod in veri sola cognitione acquiescunt, *theopurici* vocantur. Neque vero id satis est homini bene a natura instituto, ut in iis scientiis, quarum subjecta materia sub sensum cadit, acquiescat; sed his veluti gradibus ad ea fertur, quae sola mente percipiuntur, id est, ad animorum immortalium vim ac potestatem, quousque perniciousis aliis sursum abripiatur, ac suae originis primordia repetens, cum Deo penitus jungatur; in quo finis humanarum actionum et quies extrema, summaque felicitas consistit. Huc omnia consilia, dicta, facta: huc humanae actiones, huc disciplinae ac virtutes referuntur.

Like Bodin, de la Noue is interested in the relation of the contemplative to the active life; for example, *Discours*, p. 533:—"Voilà comment la vie contemplative ne doit point estre desjointe, ni pour tousjours, ni pour long temps de l'active. Ce que mesme les meilleurs Philosophes ont bien connu. Et ce grand Theologien, S. Augustin, a approuvé du tout ceste bien ordonnee composition de l'une et de l'autre. Car encores que les actions spirituelles soyent plus dignes que les corporelles, toutes on ne les doit pas separer." Further, *Discours*, p. 540 (Compare Spenser's treatment of the subject at the close of the first book of the *Faerie Queene*):—"Quelqu'un dira, encores que le Philosophe doive contempler, que pourtant il ne semble pas que le Prince, le Capitaine, le Juge et le Medecin ayent grand besoin de s'y travailler: pource qu'on ne requiert d'eux seulement que de bons effects. Je respondray qu'iceux effects procedent des bonnes consultations, et les consultations de la prudence, à laquelle on parvient premierement par experience: puis par meditation." Again, *Discours*, pp. 539-540:—"Celui qui considerera le parler, qui est seulement propre à l'homme, pensera qu'il n'y a rien qui soit si commun et familier: mais s'il monte jusques à la parole intérieure, qui est la conception de l'entendement, auquel receptacle mille images parfaites, fausses et vraies resident, passent et repassent, qui se manifestent apres par la parole sensible, il admirera un si haut ouvrage de Dieu. Et en ceste maniere devons nous des choses corporelles monter aux incorporelles: et des plus hautes retourner apres aux basses. Car qu'est-ce autre chose que la composition de l'homme, sinon le celeste, et le terrestre, qui par un artifice tres-excellent et inimitable sont conjoints ensemble? Dequoy on peut tirer ceste instruction, que la vie contemplative et l'active conviennent tres bien l'une avecques l'autre: et les vouloir du tout separer, c'est comme vouloir faire force à nature."

illustres soient les premières: comme faire provisions nécessaires, pour entretenir et défendre la vie des sujets; et neantmoins telles actions se rapportent aux morales, et celles cy aux intellectuelles, la fin desquelles est la contemplation du plus beau sujet qui soit, et qu'on puisse imaginer." This order of life is that which God ordained when he set aside six days of the week for work and the seventh for the contemplation of his works and his law and for his praise. Here then is the principal end of republics well conducted, which are the happier the nearer they approach this end. In republics as in men there are several degrees of felicity; some have more, others less according to the end which each has proposed for itself. One might say, for example, of the Lacedemonians that they were courageous and magnanimous, but that nevertheless their actions were unjust, for the reason that their institutions and laws had no other object than that of making men brave and invincible. But the Roman republic has flourished in justice and surpassed that of the Lacedemonians, because the Romans strove not only for magnanimity but directed all their actions to true justice. The type of happiness described above is that which we should seek the means of realizing or at least of approximating.

In seeking the realization of its mystic end, the State should be directed by laws both natural and divine. The underlying principle of direction will be that of harmony, which de l'Hôpital had recognized as the true essence of justice; the order of the State answering to that of the spiritual life and the well-governed family. Furthermore, inequality is of the essence of harmony, so that the good ruler like the good musician seeks an harmonic synthesis of many discordant elements, what Bodin calls an harmonic discord.<sup>96</sup> This idea naturally conducts our philosopher to views of relativity and reconciliation which, introduced into the *Methodus*, receive their application and fuller development in the *Republic*. He is led too to a defense of monarchy as an institutionalized order in obedience to the laws of God and Nature;<sup>96</sup> to an attack upon sixteenth century communism,<sup>97</sup> which sought, like certain modern theories, to obliterate rather than to harmonize distinctions of merit and corresponding inequalities of reward; and to an ideal of domestic order which, patterned after that of the mon-

<sup>96</sup> *République*, VI, Chapter 6. Compare Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 155.

<sup>96</sup> *République*, VI, Chapter 4, 734 f.:—"Toutes les loix de nature nous guident à la monarchie: soit que nous regardons ce petit monde, qui n'a qu'un corps, et pour tous les membres un seul chef duquel depend la volonté, le mouvement, et sentiment: soit que nous prenons ce grand monde, qui n'a qu'un Dieu souverain: soit que nous dressons nos yeux au ciel, nous ne verrons qu'un soleil, et jusques aux animaux sociables, nous voyons qu'ils ne peuvent souffrir plusieurs Roys, plusieurs seigneurs, pour bons qu'ils soient."

<sup>97</sup> *République*, Book I, Chapter 2, p. 11, and *Methodus*, Chapter VI. Compare de l'Hôpital, p. 27 above; and *Traité*, I, p. 112:—"In the true republic, 'les particuliers vivront maintenant chascun selon leurs conditions, rangs et mérites en leurs biens, en leurs vies, leurs honneurs, eulx et leurs familles; qui est la fin et le but de l'intention de la justice.'"

archical state, reduced women to a subordinate position.<sup>98</sup> Finally, his principle of harmony leads him to an ideal of justice which is similar to that of de l'Hôpital and de la Noue in that admitting the claims of both tolerance and severity, it reflects the reason of the well-directed inner life and contributes to the realization of the well-ordered state. "Rien donc d'exclusif," writes Baudrillart, "dans la conception qu'il se forme de la République. Il est spiritualiste et positif, il s'attache à concilier Platon et Aristote, ou plutôt il est décidément en morale de l'école platonicienne, et en politique, il s'inspire de préférence de l'esprit et de la méthode du philosophe Stagyrte. . . . La justice pour règle et pour objet de l'Etat; pour but de la société, la recherche des biens intellectuels et moraux et des biens matériels: ceux-la plus élevés, ceux-ci d'absolue nécessité, et devant être assurés d'abord, tel est, en résumé, l'idéal de la politique aux yeux de Bodin. Il restera fidèle à ces inspirations de son début."<sup>99</sup>

At the centre of Bodin's speculative politic, compounded of Aristotelian and Platonic ideas, is his concept of sovereignty.<sup>100</sup> Without admitting the divine right of kings, Bodin argues for a permanent contract between the people, who are the true source of sovereignty, and the king. Sovereignty is absolute but it appears not inalienable; for the right of the king to dispose of his sovereignty as he would of his property is frankly admitted. Though it may be inherited as house and land, it may not be reclaimed by the people. In the use of his power, however, the king is not theoretically his own master. He is subject, according to our philosopher's synthesis of the spiritual, natural, and political life, to divine and natural laws. Should he violate these he is guilty of *lèse-majesté divine*. In his application of his theory of sovereignty to the practical business of the state Bodin seems to subtract something from the actual power which he had before assigned the Prince by denying him, for instance, the right to levy taxes upon the

<sup>98</sup> *République*, Book I, Chapter 3, *De la Puissance Maritale*:—"le commandement, qu'il [Dieu] avoit donné auparavant au mari par dessus la femme, porte double sens, et double commandement: l'un, qui est literal de la puissance maritale: et l'autre moral, qui est de l'ame sus le corps, de la raison sus la cupidité, que l'escriture sainte appelle quasi toujours femme, et principalement Salomon," etc., (p. 14).—"Mais quelque changement et varieté de loix qui puisse estre, il n'y a jamais eu loy ny coustume, qui ayt exempté la femme de l'obeissance, et non seulement de l'obeissance, ains aussi de la reverence qu'elle doit au mari, et telle que la loy ne permettoit pas à la femme d'appeler le mari en jugement sans permission du magistrat. Or tout ainsi qu'il n'y a rien plus grand en ce monde, comme dit Euripide, ny plus necessaire pour la conservation des Republicques, que l'obeissance de la femme au mari aussi le mari ne doit pas sous ombre de la puissance maritale, faire une esclave de sa femme" (p. 19).

<sup>99</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 232.

<sup>100</sup> *République*, I, Chapters 8, 9, and 10. Compare Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6; and especially Hancke: Bodin, *Eine Studie über den Begriff der Souveraineté* in Heft 47 of Otto Gierke's *Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*. Sidney Lee observes, *French Renaissance in England*, 321 f.: "It can hardly be questioned that Hooker derived from Bodin the doctrine of contractual sovereignty which was developed by Hobbes from the same source, and was afterwards admitted to the political creed of the English Whigs."

people at his pleasure. He fails to distinguish clearly, it would appear, between an absolute and a limited monarchy. The ideal of his political philosophy is, however, unmistakable, and it is of course that with which we are here concerned.

According to Bodin there are five marks by which sovereignty may be recognized. They are: first, the absolute power of legislating for all in general and for each in particular,<sup>101</sup> second the power of declaring war and peace,<sup>102</sup> third, the right of appointing the principal officers of the state,<sup>103</sup> fourth, the right of exercising the functions of the court of last appeal,<sup>104</sup> and fifth, the privilege of showing clemency.<sup>105</sup> In commenting upon the first of these marks of sovereignty, Bodin says that the prince in exercising his legislative powers should not be deterred by the customs of the country over which he rules. His dictum is: "La loi peut casser les coutumes, et la coutume ne peut déroger à la loi."<sup>106</sup> The magistrate "peut ployer la loi, et l'interprétation d'icelle, soit en douceur, soit en rigueur, pourveu qu'en la ployant il se garde bien de la casser."<sup>107</sup> Even the prince in exercising his privilege of clemency should remember his obligations to the laws of God and the interests of the state.<sup>108</sup> "La loi de Dieu dit qu'en punissant ceux qui ont mérité la mort, ont osté la malediction d'entre le peuple; car de cent meschancetez il n'en vient pas deux en justice, et de celles qu'on y fait venir la moitié n'est pas verifiée; et si du crime verifié on ortroye grace, quelle punition pourra donc servir d'exemple aux meschants?"<sup>109</sup> As Baudrillart remarks:<sup>110</sup> "La sévérité ne déplait pas à Bodin. Il en parle avec approbation, avec amour. Pour lui, point de bon gouvernement sans un certain degré de rigueur. Il développe avec complaisance 'bien que la proposition, dit-il, puisse blesser les oreilles délicates' le proverbe: 'de méchant homme bon roi,' en ayant soin d'expliquer ce mot de méchant dans le sens de rigoureux." Equity, says Bodin, is not found "en douceur, contre la rigueur des loix;" equity "est de telle nature qu'elle n'a rien de commun avec la rigueur, ny avec la miséricorde; mais elle ressemble la reigle Lesbienne, laquelle estant de plomb, ploy aussi bien d'un costé que d'autre. Si le forfait est plus grand que les peines apposees aux loix ordinaires, le Magistrat qui cognoist extraordinairement doit la peine; si la faute est moindre, il doit adoucir la peine, et non pas affecter le tiltre de Magistrat pitoyable, qui est l'un des vices à fuir autant, voire

<sup>101</sup> *République*, I, Chapter 10, 163.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>110</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 293

plus que la cruauté. Car la cruauté, bien qu'elle soit à blâmer, retient les sujets en l'obéissance des lois; et la trop grande douceur, fait mépriser les Magistrats et les lois, et le Prince qui les a établies."<sup>111</sup> The proper temper for the magistrate he describes as a "gravité douce"; and those are to be blamed who in the execution of justice "se cholerent, menassent et injurient, ceux qu'ils jugent: comme faisoit ordinairement Claude l'Empereur, qui getta un jour le tranche-plume aux yeux de celui qu'il jugeoit, avecques un visage plus bestial qu'Imperial."<sup>112</sup> But Bodin, like de l'Hôpital, looks beyond the picture of the grave judge administering the law with due dignity and severity to the end of all laws human and divine, which he declares is "d'entretenir l'amour entre les hommes et des hommes envers Dieu: ce qui ne se peut mieux faire, que par fréquentation et union ordinaire."<sup>113</sup> "Paroles belles et précises," exclaims Baudrillart, "qui marquent dignement le rôle de la sociabilité et de la charité parmi les hommes, à côté, et en un certain sens audessus même de la justice? Si c'est la justice qui règle la société, c'est la sympathie qui la fonde, et c'est la charité qui la maintient."<sup>114</sup>

To the subject of sedition Bodin makes a particular application of his views of justice and mercy. "Si on voit qu'on ne puisse appaiser la faction par justice et jugemens, le souverain y doit employer la force, pour l'estaindre du tout, par la punition de quelquesuns des plus apparens; et mesmement des chefs de partie; et n'attendre pas qu'ils se soient tellement fortifiez, qu'on ne puisse leur faire teste."<sup>115</sup> So far as differences of religion are concerned one should proceed in a conciliatory spirit, turning hearts and wills to the true religion without violence or penalty; lest those who are frustrated in the exercise of their chosen religion should become atheists.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, "en matiere de seditions et tumultes, il n'y a rien plus dangereux que les sujets soient divisez en deux opinions, soit pour l'estat, soit pour la religion, soit pour les loix et coustumes; et au contraire, s'il s'en trouve de plusieurs opinions, les uns moyennent la paix, et accordent les autres, qui ne s'accorderoient jamais entr'eux."<sup>117</sup>

The subject of religious tolerance comes in for extended treatment in Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*, an imaginary dialogue in which the spokesmen of

<sup>111</sup> *République*, III, Chapter 5, 330 f.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>113</sup> *République*, III, Chapter 7, 349.

<sup>114</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 327.

<sup>115</sup> *République*, IV, Chapter 6, 465.

<sup>116</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 392.

<sup>117</sup> *République*, IV, Chapter 6, 478 f.—For this we find a classical parallel in the *Heptaplomeres* IV [216], 33: "Toralbe:—Il est vray que les sectes des Academiciens, des Stoiciens, des Peripateticiens, des Epicuriens, et des Cyniques disputoient l'une contre l'autre, cependant ils ne troublent point l'union et la paix de la ville par ce que les Academiciens et les Peripateticiens estoient comme un milieu pour reunir les Epicuriens et les Stoiciens qui estoient entierement opposez. Autrement s'il ne se trouvoit quelque milieu pour rassembler les contraires il faudroit necessairement qu'il y eust partout une guerre perpetuelle."

many faiths, religious and philosophical, take part. The discussion, so far as it is conclusive, is in favor of tolerance and in praise of edicts which protect liberty of conscience. A further consideration of this interesting work<sup>118</sup> would take me too far afield; and I shall mention only in passing the *De Magorum Daemōnomania*,<sup>119</sup> which shows the mysticism of Bodin run to the seed of superstition; and the unenlightened scientific treatise that was entitled *Amphitheatrum Naturae*. The last two works serve only to make clear the limitations of a curious and adventurous mind. By force of reason and imagination Bodin attempted, like a true child of the Renaissance, a reconciliation of science and religion, and believed that in the farther reaches of the mystic quest was to be found the abiding sanction of the true ethic and politic. If he seems to us now to have blindly supported a discredited ideal of the state, we should remember that it was from no low motive that he spoke and wrote; it was indeed for no other end than that reason and the will of God should prevail. From the ways of mere political expediency and intrigue, from the *politique matérialiste*, he turned to the uprightness of the individual life and the integrity of the family as the true bases of the state. And here it is that anxious watchers for the dawn of true democracy may join hands with this apologist of monarchical institutions in a common faith that the ark of political covenants shall be kept inviolate; that passion shall not depose reason in councils of state; and that in the words of Bodin himself, God shall be recognized as the "grand politique et gouverneur de tout le monde."

I have presented here in its ideal aspects a philosophy of justice and sovereignty that was unhappily often tainted with selfishness. Among the policists were those who deserved the reproach that the name of the party implies and to which Bacon alludes, the reproach that attaches to men who sacrifice principle to policy. Catherine de' Medici denominated them religious hermaphrodites; and I have no doubt that there were policists who, to adapt a phrase of Montaigne's, carried a candle for St. George in one hand and a candle for the dragon in the other. When, however, we have made full allowance for Machiavellian duplicity—for the enemies of *les politiques* called them Machiavellian—and for diversity of motive, we must recognize that there emerged from the speculations of this sixteenth century party of the middle an ideal body of doctrine which challenged at once the intelligence and the sincerity of the extremists.<sup>120</sup> It had to bear

<sup>118</sup> Chauviré in *Colloque de Jean Bodin*, Introduction, p. 3, says, "Sans conteste, à n'envisager que le mérite artistique, l'*Heptaplomeres* est le meilleur ouvrage de Jean Bodin." Another dialogue which is of interest in our investigation is Pasquier's *Pour-Parler du Prince*, in which against the arguments of l'Escolier, le Curial, and le Philosophe, le Politique contends that everything should be done to preserve the harmony of the State.

<sup>119</sup> See von Bezold, Jean: "Jean Bodin als Okkultist und Seine Démonomanie," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 105 (1910), 1 ff.; with additions in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 106 (1911), 438-439.

<sup>120</sup> See the passage quoted below, p. 69 f., from F. von Bezold's "Jean Bodin's Colloquium Heptaplomeres u.d. Atheismus des 16 Jahrhunderts", Erster Teil, *Historische Zeitschrift* (1914) 113, 308 ff.

the reproaches that the right and the left have always heaped upon the party of the centre, and to incur the distrust to which the spirit of compromise and reconciliation has ever been exposed. In the higher reaches of its thought, on the other hand, it attained to a knowledge of spiritual freedom which sharply challenged the claims of organized bigotry and oppression; and it opposed to all sixteenth century doctrines of force and efficiency—whether Calvinistic, Machiavellian, or Jesuitical—a gospel of reasonableness. For the religious temper of the policists is opposed at all points to wilfulness—to the wilful Prince of Machiavelli, to the wilful Pope of the Papists, and to the wilful God of Calvin. The watchwords of de l'Hôpital's *Traité* are Sovereignty, Order, Justice, Piety, Tolerance—ideas not in conflict but in harmony with one another; for freedom and tolerance are to be insured only by sovereignty—the sovereignty of reason in the province of the spirit, the sovereignty of the responsible prince in the province of the commonwealth. It is not clemency but cruelty to borrow the thought of Cicero, to relax the severity of justice when sovereignty is attacked. The king, Bodin said, could pardon private wrongs; but he must exact stern punishment for all sins against that sovereignty of which he is the divinely appointed custodian.

## CHAPTER III

## SPENSER AND LES POLITIQUES

It was, I think, in knowledge of and sympathy with the philosophy of sovereignty and justice that I have outlined above that Spenser wrote his *Book of Justice* and his prose tract on Ireland. That the Cambridge group of which our poet was a member was interested in political philosophy is clear from the work of Harvey and the correspondence of Sidney; and that Cambridge men in Spenser's day were enthusiastic students of Bodin's *Republic* in particular is proved by the following passage from the *Letter Book* of Harvey—"You cannot step into a scholars studye but (ten.to one) you shall litely finde open ether Bodin de Republica or Le Royes Exposition upon Aristotles Politiques or sum other like Frenche or Italian Politique Discourses."<sup>121</sup> Moreover it is clear that Harvey took a very personal interest in Bodin, which was doubtless due in no small measure to the commendation which the French publicist, during his visit to Cambridge, had bestowed upon the English scholar. Indeed it is not unlikely that it is Harvey to whom Bodin alludes as the interpreter of the *Republic* at Cambridge. When in *Pierces Supererogation* Harvey opposes to the insults of Nashe the commendations of "worthy favorers," he associates with the names of Bird and Spenser that of Monsieur Bodin;<sup>122</sup> and elsewhere he says in allusion to Sidney, Bodin ("register of realmes happinesse, Which Italyes and Fraunces wonder is"), Hatcher, and others: "let these speake By their sweet Letters, which do best unfould Harvey's deserved praise."<sup>123</sup> Else-

<sup>121</sup> *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, Edited by E. J. L. Scott, Camden Society, 1884, p. 79. Compare Padelford, "The Political, Economic, and Social Views of Spenser," *Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. 14, No. 3, p. 399. For Le Roy, see, A. Henri Becker, *Loys Le Roy de Contances*, Paris, 1896. Machiavelli, Le Roy describes as "un auteur sans conscience et sans religion"; Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

<sup>122</sup> "I speaks not onely to Mr. Bird, M. Spencer, or Monsieur Bodin, whom he nothinge regardeth: (yet I would his owne learning or judgments were anye way matchable with the worst of the three) etc.; *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, edited by A. B. Grosart, II, 83.

<sup>123</sup> Sidney, sweet Cignet, pride of Thamesis;  
 Apollos laurell ; Mars his proud prowess  
 Bodine, register of Realmes happinesse,  
 Which Italyes, and Fraunces wonder is.  
 (*Op. cit.*, II, 24.)

Compare:—

Him whom thou raylest on at thine owne lust,  
 Sith Bodine and Sweet Sidney did not flatter,  
 His Invective thee too much grace affordes.  
 (*Op. cit.*, II, 23.)



where he takes Scott, the author of the *Discovery of Witchcraft*, to task for not dealing "more courteously with Monsieur Bodin,"<sup>124</sup> mentions Bodin's views of the golden age,<sup>125</sup> adopts his concept of Harmonic Justice,<sup>126</sup> and agrees with him in declaring that "the differences of commonwealths or regiments requireth a difference of laws and orders."<sup>127</sup> May we not safely conclude that Spenser was well acquainted with the most distinguished political treatise of his time, seeing that it was in vogue among his fellow collegians and the work of an author particularly affected by his friend Harvey?

Nor is it unlikely that he was acquainted with the works of de l'Hôpital and de la Noue. It is not necessary for me to prove such knowledge, since my study (at least as far as these writers are concerned) is one in literary environment rather than in immediate literary sources. But it is worth while to note Harvey's praise of de la Noue and Sidney's acquaintance with him<sup>128</sup> and possibly with de l'Hôpital.<sup>129</sup> In *Pierces Supererogation* Harvey

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Some Tales to tell, would I a Chaucer were:  
Yet would I not even now an Homer be:  
Though Spencer me hath often Homer term'd:  
And Monsieur Bodine vow'd as much as he.

(*Op. cit.*, I, 252.)

Nash in *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (*Works*, ed. Mc Kerrow, III, 116) writes:—"For M. Bodines commendation of him, it is no more but this, one complementarie letter asketh another; and Gabriell first writing to him, and seeming to admire him and his workes, hee could doo no lesse in humanitie (being a Scholler) but returne him an answer in the like nature."

<sup>124</sup> *Pierces Supererogation*, p. 291. See, further, *ibid.*, p. 231: "And art such a witch for a cherne or a cheese-presse, as is not to be founde in the mallet of witches, or in *Monsieur Bodines Daemonomania*."

<sup>125</sup> *Letter-Book*, p. 86.

<sup>126</sup> *Pierces Supererogation*, p. 183.

<sup>127</sup> *Pierces Supererogation*, p. 137.

<sup>128</sup> Note the following from *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, ed. W. A. Bradley:—"The Prince of Orange and La Noue especially welcomed him [Sidney's brother]; and La Noue, who is full of courtesy, showed him every attention yesterday as long as we were in the citadel. Your letters gave great pleasure to La Noue and the Prince; both of them thanked me warmly for what I have done towards gaining them your good-will. I have no doubt they will show you in their letters how well pleased they are" (Letter 63, Languet to Sidney, p. 177).—"You need not fear the coming of Alençon into this country: if he comes at all, it will hardly be before autumn; and if you should follow the camp only for a few months, you would derive great advantage from it, especially if you should improve your acquaintance with La Noue" (Letter 68, Languet to Sidney, p. 187).

<sup>129</sup> Sidney's residence in Paris for three months in 1572 makes it altogether probable that he met the Chancellor of France. The English traveller, who seems to have begun during this visit his friendship for Walsingham, the English ambassador, was of course very much at home at the English embassy. See Wallace, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 119: "He may also have met Michel de l'Hôpital (1505-1573), the Chancellor of France, regarding whom he afterwards expressed the opinion that France had 'never brought forth a more accomplished judgment

writes: "It were an impossible attempte, to do right unto the great Capitaine, Monsier de la Noue, and the brave soldiour, the French king himself, two terrible thunderboltes of warre, and two impetuous whirlewindes of the Field: whose writings are like their actions, resolute, effectually, valiant, politique, vigorous, full of aery and fiery spirite, honourable, renowned wheresoever Valour hath a mouth, or Vertue a pen."<sup>120</sup> Writing to Sidney from Antwerp under date of November 14, 1579, Languet declares: "In la Noue many excellencies contend for preeminence, besides which he possesses such skill in the Art of War, that the Prince (the Prince of Orange) himself and all the men of understanding here consider him the pillar of their party. . . . The friendship and intimacy of these two men, of whom I speak thus highly, will be already prepared for you if you come hither. They both love you and esteem you greatly;"<sup>121</sup> and in a letter of the following January Languet speaks of the advantages that Sidney will derive from improving the acquaintance of de la Noue.<sup>122</sup>

Like the policists in France and the spokesmen of religious tolerance in England, Spenser was the champion of order.<sup>123</sup> Like them he believed that intemperance and injustice breed disorder. And over his thoughts of justice and mercy presided that faith in divine sovereignty that contemporary philosophers and poets fondly entertained. It was only under the prince, righteous, merciful, and just, that the order and peace of the commonwealth were insured. To insult sovereignty was to insult God and to open the way for all injustice, impiety, and intolerance. These political ideas of Spenser are of course only projections of his Aristotelian ethic: the Prince should rule his country as reason rules the soul, to the end that the harmony of the well-directed inner life should be realized in the body politic. For princes, Spenser and Bodin agree, hold their titles

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more firmly builded upon virtue.' " Professor Wallace's quotation is from the *Apologie for Poetrie*. The following allusion to the Latin poems of de l'Hôpital is not without interest in this connection:—"Rasse des Noeux to Walsingham: My delay in writing has been because I was waiting to send you the Latin poems of the late Chancellor de l'Hôpital, which are not yet ready owing to the death of the President de Pibrac, his close friend, who had undertaken to collect them and have them printed. As soon as they are out, I will send them to you and my Lord Treasurer. You will enjoy them, for they are excellent." (*Calendar, Foreign*, 1584-1585, p. 134.) See, too, p. 537 of the same volume of the *Calendar*.

<sup>120</sup> *Works*, Ed. Grosart, II, 104.

<sup>121</sup> *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, edited by W. A. Bradley, Boston, 1912; p. 184.

<sup>122</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>123</sup> de l'Hôpital, *op. cit.*, I, 13: "Je dis donc que ce qui rend non seulement tous estats, républicques, citez, familles, mais encore chascun homme particulier heureux ou malheureux, sain ou malade, bon ou mauvais, sage ou fol, juste ou injuste, doué de bonnes ou mauvaises qualites et conditions, c'est l'ordre ou le désordre. Cette maxime est des plus certaines, et se vérifie généralement en tout ce qui se trouve en l'univers; et de faict, y a il chose au monde qui estant hors de son lieu, rang et situation naturelle, ne soit incontinent en inquiétude, tourment et vexation?"

Under both the law of God and the law of Nature. "C'est une loy divine et naturelle," writes Bodin, "d'obeir aux edits et ordonnances de celui à qui Dieu a donné la puissance sur nous" (p. 111); and "tous les loix de nature nous guident à la Monarchie: soit que nous prenons ce grand monde, qui n'a qu'un Dieu souverain; soit que nous dressons nos yeux au ciel, nous ne verrons qu'un Soleil, et jusques aux animaux sociables nous voyons qu'ils peuvent souffrir plusieurs Roys, plusieurs seigneurs, pour bons qu'ils soient" (734-735). Spenser says that princes—who, according to the above passages, derive their titles from God, and are as it were the gods of their kingdoms—God makes

like himselfe in glorious sight,  
To sit in his owne seate, his cause to end,  
And rule his people right, as he doth recommend.

(F.Q., V., Pr. 10)

And that this sovereignty is in accord with Nature as well as with the will of God, Spenser allegorically sets forth in the Mutability cantos, where he represents both heavenly powers and earthly wights as appearing before Dame Nature "for triall of their Titles and best Rights" (F.Q., VII, VI, 36). At the conclusion of the session of Nature's Court, Jove is "confirmed in his imperiall see."

Spenser and Bodin<sup>124</sup> also agree in the opinion that the sovereignty of the Prince rests upon a contract of permanent validity. The argument in the *Vene* is that the Irish, having accepted and acknowledged Henry VIII. as their liege lord, are still bound by his laws:—

*Eudoxus*: What is this which you say? And is there any part of that realme or any nation therein, which have not yet bene subdued to the crowne of England? Did not the whole realme universally accept and acknowledge our late prince of famous memory, Henry the Eighth, for theyr only king and liedge lord?

*Irenaeus*: Yes, verely: in a parliament houlden in the time of Sir Antony Sent-Leger, then Lord Deputye, all the Irish lordes and principall men came in, and being by sure meanes wrought therunto, acknowledged King Henry for theyr soverayne lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all theyr owne former priviledges and segnioryes inviolate.

*Eudoxus*: Then by that acceptaunce of his sovereynty they also accepted of his lawes. Why then should any other lawes be now used amongst them? . . . But doe they not still acknowledge that submission?

<sup>124</sup> *République*, I, Chapter 8, p. 89: "Et d'autant que nous avons dit que Republique est un droict gouvernement de plusieurs familles, et de ce qui leur est commun, avec puissance souveraine, il est besoin d'esclaircir que signifie puissance souveraine. J'ay dit que ceste puissance est perpetuelle: par ce qu'il se peut qu'on donne puissance absoluë à un, ou plusieurs à certain temps, lequel expiré, ils ne sont plus rien que sugets: et tant qu'ils sont en puissance, ils ne se peuvent appeller Princes souverains, veu qu'ils ne sont que depositaires, et gardes de ceste puissance, jusques à ce qu'il plaise au peuple ou au Prince la revoquer;" *ibid.*, p. 90:—"Or la souveraineté n'est limitée, ny en puissance, ny en charge, ny à certain temps;" *ibid.*, p. 93:—"Poursuivons maintenant l'autre partie de nostre definition, et disons que signifient ces mots Puissance Absolue. Car le peuple, ou les seigneurs d'une Republique, peuvent donner purement, et simplement la puissance souveraine, et perpetuelle à quelqu'un, pour disposer des biens, des personnes, et de tout l'estat à son plaisir, et puis le laisser à qui il voudra, et tout ainsi que le propriétaire peut donner son bien purement," etc. Compare, Hancke, *Bodin, Eine Studie über den Begriff der Souveraineté*, Breslau, 1894, pp. 18-19.

*Irenaeus*: Now they doe not; for now the heyres and posteritye of them which yeeled the same are (as they say) either ignoraunt therof, or doe willfully denye or stedfastly disavowe it.

*Eudorus*: How can they doe soe justly? Doth not the act of the parent, in any lawfull graunt or conveyance, bind the heyres for ever thereunto? Since then the auncestours of those that now live yeeled themselves then subjectes and liedgemen, shall it not tye their children to the same subjection?"<sup>125</sup>

While accepting this view of the permanent contract Irenaeus argues that nothing thereby was given to Henry VIII. which he did not hold before from his ancestors; "for all other absolute power of principality he had in himself before derived from many former Kinges, his famous progenitors and woorthy conquerours of that land. The which, sithence they first conquered and subdued unto them by force, what needeth afterward to enter into any such idle termes with them to be called theyr King, wheras it was in the power of the conquerour to take upon himself what title he will over the dominions conquered. For all is the conquerours, as Tully to Brutus sayth. Therefore (me seemes) insteede of so great and meritorious a service as they bost they performed to the King, in bringing all the Irish to acknowledge him for theyr Leige, they did great hurt unto his title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the myndes of that people whoe, before being absolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but with termes, wheras els both theyr lives, theyr landes, and theyr libertyes were in his free power to appoynt what tenures, what lawes, what conditions he would over them which were all his: against which there could be no rightfull resistance, or yf there were, he might, when he would, establish them with a stronge hand."<sup>126</sup>

Here Spenser apparently has in mind the authority of Bodin's *monarchie seigneuriale*, described in the following passages from the *Republic*:— (1) "puisque le consentement de tous les peuples a voulu, que ce qui est acquis par bonne guerre, soit propre au vainqueur, et que les vaincus soient esclaves des vainqueurs, on ne peut dire que la Monarchie ainsi establie soit tyrannique: veu mesmes que nous lisons, que Jacob par son testament laissant a ses enfans une terre qu'il avoit acquise, dist qu'elle estoit sienne, par ce qu'il l'avoit acquise à la force de ses armes." (2) "Et ne doit pas la monarchie seigneuriale estre appelee tyrannie: car il n'est pas inconvenient, qu'un Prince Souverain, ayant vaincu de bonne et juste guerre ses ennemis, ne se face seigneur des biens et des personnes par le droict de guerre, gouvernant ses sujets comme esclaves, ainsi que le pere de famille est seigneur de ses esclaves et de leurs biens, et en dispose à son plaisir" (Book II, Chapter 2, p. 204). Moreover Bodin agrees with Irenaeus that the *monarchie seigneuriale* is more stable than that based upon contract, as will appear in the following passage: "Et la raison pourquoy la Monarchie seigneuriale est plus durable que les autres, est pour autant qu'elle est plus

<sup>125</sup> *Globe Spenser*, p. 611.

<sup>126</sup> *Globe Spenser*, p. 612 f.

auguste, et que les sugets ne tiennent la vie, la liberté, les biens (Spenser's "theyr lives, theyr landes, and theyr libertyes"), que du Prince souverain, qui les a conquestez à juste tiltre" (Book II, Chapter 2, p. 204).

To Spenser, as to de l'Hôpital and Bodin, justice like sovereignty derives from God. Princes, he says, have been endowed with this virtue by the divine grace; it is the most sacred virtue resembling God himself. The eye of the poet glancing from earth to heaven sees justice sitting highest in the seat of judgment, in the Almighty's stead. Gods and men equally adore it, and highest Jove dispensing justice to the inferior gods therewith contains his heavenly commonweal. The rôle of mercy in the execution of justice Spenser and the policists agree, is not that of a mere humanitarian virtue, making concessions to human weakness. In describing the character of Lord Grey, Spenser, as we have seen, had in mind that distinction between *clementia* and *misericordia* which is insisted upon by de l'Hôpital and Bodin; and just as de l'Hôpital declared that justice and mercy should never be separated, so Spenser says that they are like sun and moon—they both "like race in equall justice runne."

To the rôle of mercy in the dispensation of justice Spenser devotes two episodes of the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*.<sup>127</sup> The first of these describes the visit of Britomart<sup>128</sup> to Isis Church on her way to the rescue of Artegall from Radigund. The virgin enters the temple with great humility;

<sup>127</sup> It is interesting to note that on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Audley End, Harvey took part in a disputation on the question, whether clemency or severity be more praiseworthy in a prince; see Morley, "Spenser's Hobbinol," *Fortnightly Review*, N. S., V, p. 277.

<sup>128</sup> Although it is Artegall who personifies Justice, his close association with Britomart suggests the classical personification of Justice as a beautiful virgin. This symbolism de l'Hôpital dwells upon in the *Traicté*, opposing to his portrait of Justice another one of Injustice. The two allegorical figures correspond interestingly with the contrasted portraits of Radigund and Britomart in the *Faerie Queene*:—"Premièrement, parce qu'il n'y a rien qui fasse mieulx paroistre le contraire que l'opposant à son contraire: je dis que la justice est figurée fort proprement par Orphée, par Hésiode et aultres poëts anciens, en forme d'une vierge chaste et pudique venue du ciel, et fille de Jupiter, pour nous donner à entendre que la justice est ung don de Dieu mouvant immédiatement de sa bonté, et mis en dépost comme chose précieuse et sacrée entre les mains des puissances terriennes pour la communiquer aux hommes mortels, les faire vivre sous la conduite et discipline d'icelle. . . . Chrysippe, mieulx que tout aultre d'entre les rhétoriciens, dépeint la justice fort élégamment. Filo videlicet ac forma virginali, adspectu vehementi ac formidabili, luminibus oculorum acribus, neque humilis, neque atrocis, sed reverendae cujusdam tristitiae dignitate. . . . A l'opposite d'elle il faut mettre l'injustice, et croire que c'est une fille volaige, impudique, mensongère, bigarrée de toutes couleurs, et merueilleusement effrontée, sortie des enfers pour tourmenter et opprimer les innocents en ce monde, porter et favoriser les meschans, les combler pour ung temps des richesses acquises par rapine, par concutions, par tromperies, et leur donner toutes sortes d'avantaiges sur les gens de bien; et comme il n'y a rien si modeste, si affable que la vierge pudique et bien apprise envers les bons et vertueux, si rude et si farouche et inaccessible à l'encoustrades impudens, luxurieux et desbordez, autant en est il de la justice. . . . Elle a véritablement le regard fort terrible et formidable, les yeulx pénétrants et perceants à la première reconstre, le port et contenance ny trop fier et relevé, ny trop simple et rabaissé, ains meslée d'une douce et

but Talus, the iron man, who throughout represents the principle of stern executive justice, might not be admitted "to her part." The priests of Isis wear rich mitres shaped like the moon to show that Isis signifies the moon as Osiris does the sun: they both "like race in equal justice run." Having looked with wonder upon the stately building supported by goodly pillars "all diapred with shining gold," Britomart is brought to the Idol, cunningly fashioned in silver, clothed in garments of linen, and wearing upon her head a crown of gold to show that she has power in things divine. One foot of the goddess rests upon a crocodile and in her hand she holds a long, white, slender wand. The virgin knight prostrates herself in silent prayer before the image, and then perceiving that Isis with amiable countenance moves the wand, Britomart unlaces her helmet and lies down to sleep by the side of the altar. During the night there comes to her a wonderful vision. The white linen stole that she had assumed is suddenly turned to scarlet and her moon-like mitre to a crown of gold. Then there arises a great tempest that blows the holy fire and scatters the embers over the ground. At the moment when it seemed that the temple would be consumed by a conflagration, the crocodile opening his mouth devours both the flame and the tempest. Swollen with pride he is then about to devour the goddess herself, when with her wand she turns his pride to humility. He then sues for her love, she grants it, and of their union is born a lion of great might that quickly subdues all other beasts.

The following morning the gorgeous imagery of Britomart's dream is explained to her. The crocodile represents in the first instance Osiris and then the faithful lover of Britomart. His position under the foot of Isis shows that

clemence oft, in things amis,  
Restraines those sterne behests and cruell doomes of his.

Moreover Britomart is told:

That knight shall all the troublous stormes asswage,  
And raging flames, that many foes shall reare,  
To hinder thee from the just heritage  
Of thy sire's crowne, and from thy countrey deare.  
Then shalt thou take him to thy loved fere,  
And join in equall portion of thy realme:  
And afterwards a son to him shalt beare,  
That Lion-like shall shew his poure extreame.  
So blesse thee God, and give the joyaunce of thy dreame.

The second episode in the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene* which deals with the theme of mercy is that of Mercilla's House. Here Arthur and Artegall are led by Samient, whom the two knights have rescued from

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*affable aux bons, aux pauvres et affliges desquels elle est le reconfort: sa terreur, son épouvantable regard n'est que contre les meschans et les geans ou tyrans, ainsy que Plato, Cicéron, et l'Ecriture meisme appellent ceux qui veulent résister aux efforts de la justice: Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.—Op. cit., I, 68-69.*

violence. Passing Awe, the warder of the castle, they find themselves in the midst of people making troublous din,

as if that there were some  
Which unto them was dealing righteous doome.

In the midst of the crowd they encounter the marshal of the hall, whose name is Order. The clamor ceases as the people gaze upon the two knights;

For never saw they there the like array;  
Ne ever was the name of warre there spoken,  
But joyous peace and quietness alway,  
Dealing just judgments, that mote not be broken  
For any brybes, or threates of any to be wroken.

Arthur and Artegall are guided to the queen Mercilla, who sits upon a throne adorned with gems and "all embost with lyons and with flourdelice." Encompassing the throne were a thousand people singing hymns and carols. The queen holds in her royal hand a scepter which is

The sacred pledge of peace and clemencie,  
With which High God had blest her happie land,  
Maugre so many foes which did withstand.  
But at her feet her sword was likewise layde,  
Whose long rest rusted the bright steely brand;  
Yet when as foes enforst, or friends sought ayde,  
She could it sternely draw, that all the world dismayde.

Attending upon the throne of Mercilla are just Dice, wise Eunomie, mild Eirene, and among them sit

goodly Temperance in garments clene,  
And sacred Reverence, yborne of heavenly strene.

The knights are given seats on either side of Mercilla, while the trial of Duessa proceeds. Against the culprit appear Zeal, an old sage named the Kingdom's Care, Authority, the Law of Nations, Religion, the Commons, and Justice. Those who pleaded for her were Pity, Regard of Womanhood, Danger, Nobility of Birth, and Grief.

Artegall, with constant firme intent,  
For zeale of justice was against her bent.

Mercilla, though hesitating for a time out of "piteous ruth," is at length constrained to enforce justice;

And yet even then ruing her wilfull fall  
With more than needfull naturall remorse,  
And yeelding the last honour to her wretched corse.

During all which, those knights continued there,  
Both doing and receiving courtesies  
Of that great ladie, who with goodly chere  
Them entertayn'd, fit for their dignities,  
Approving dayly to their noble eyes  
Royall examples of her mercies rare,  
And worthie paterns of her clemencies;  
Which till this day mongst many living are,  
Who them to their posterities doe still declare.

Passing from the House of Mercilla, Arthur proceeds against the Belgae, and Artegall goes to the rescue of Irena.<sup>139</sup>

There can be no mistake about the general significance of the Isis Church and Mercilla episodes. Grey is vowed heart and soul to the service of the Queen, who is at once merciful and militant. It is not simply that he owes allegiance to her, but that he loves those twin ideals of justice and mercy which, as the poet would have it, are the essence of her character and the inspiration of her life. In the person of Mercilla the merciful disposition of the Queen is further celebrated; and there is significance in representing Leicester and Grey as taking with them on their respective missions to the Netherlands and Ireland the lesson to be drawn from the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. That process has shown that the forces that make for order, justice, and peace (Eunomie, Dike, Eirene<sup>139a</sup>)—in a word those that informed the nationalistic and eirenic policy of *les politiques*—were arrayed against the Catholic menace in the person of the Scottish queen; and Arthur and Artegall address themselves to their respective tasks with the example of the stern but sorrowful justice of Mercilla fresh in their minds. In Ireland, Spenser implies, Grey followed the example that the Queen had set in the execution of Mary and that was recommended to Leicester for his campaign in the Netherlands. Moreover, the association of the Scottish queen (the kinswoman of the Guises)<sup>140</sup> with Grey and Leicester in this episode stresses the international significance of Grey's mission to Ireland.

That Grey like the Queen was merciful as well as just Spenser declares in his poetry as he had done in his prose. More than once Artegall recalls Talus from the stern execution of justice.<sup>141</sup> For example, when the iron man sets upon the wild rout in Irena's kingdom,

<sup>139</sup> Grey, it will be remembered, was one of the commissioners appointed to try Mary, Queen of Scots, but this appointment came, as a matter of history, five years after his return from Ireland; *D. N. B.* VIII, 614.

<sup>139a</sup> Irena, too, may mean peace as well as Ireland; see Morley, *English Writers*, vol. IX, p. 394.

<sup>140</sup> The Duke of Guise is apparently alluded to in the following account of the family of Dolon (F. Q., V, 6, Stanza 33):—

He had three sonnes, all three like fathers sonnes,  
Like treacherous, like full of fraud and guile,  
Of all that on this earthly compasse wonnes;  
The eldest of the which was slaine crewhile  
By Artegall, through his owne guilty wile:  
His name was Guizon; whose untimely fate  
For to avenge, full many treasons vile  
His father Dolon had devis'd of late  
With these his wicked sons, and shewd his cankred hate.

As Innes says, *England Under the Tudors*, p. 310: "In England, Scotland, and Ireland the cause of Catholicism was the cause of Mary Stewart."

<sup>141</sup> The rôle of Talus in the administration of justice corresponds to that of force as described in the following passage from de l'Hôpital:—"Il faut donc, pour bien faire, joindre



Artegal, him seeing so to rage,  
 Will'd him to stay, and signe of truce did make:  
 To which all harkning, did a while asswage  
 Their forces furie, and their terror slake;  
 Till he an herauld cald, and to him spake,  
 Willing him wend unto the tyrant streight,  
 And tell him that not for such slaughters sake  
 He thether came, but for to trie the right  
 Of fayre Irenaes cause with him in single fight.  
 (F.Q., V, XII, St. 8.)

In applying his ideal of sovereignty and justice to the practical problems of the state Spenser came to conclusions similar to those which are expounded in the work of the policians. In agreement with Bodin (Book V, Chapter I) he argues that "lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are ment, and not to be imposed unto them according to the simple rule of right; for else (as I sayd) in steede of good they may worke ill, and pervert Justice to extreme Injustice."<sup>14</sup> Similarly Bodin:—"Il faut donc que le sage gouverneur d'un peuple scache bien l'humeur d'iceluy, et son naturel, auparavant que d'attenter chose quelconque au changement de l'estat ou des loix. Car l'un des plus grands, et peustestre le principal fondement des Republicques, est d'accommoder l'estat au naturel des citoyens, et les edits et ordonnances à la nature des lieux, des personnes, et du temps. Car quoy que die Balde, que la raison et l'equité naturelle n'est point bornée ny attachée aux lieux, cela reçoit distinction, c'est à scavoir, quand la raison est universelle, et non pas ou la raison particuliere des lieux et des personnes, reçoit une consideration particuliere" (p. 486).

Furthermore, Spenser and Bodin agree that those who have put themselves beyond the pale of the law cannot in justice appeal to it.

*Iren.* The Irish, in the violence of theyr furies, treade downe and trample under foote all both divine and humane thinges, and the lawes themselves they doe specially rage upon, and rend in peeces, as most repugnant to theyr libertye and naturall freedome, which in theyr madnesse they affect.

*Eudox.* It is then a very unseasonable time to pleade lawe, when a sword is drawn in the hand of the vulgar, or to thinke to retayne them with the feare of punishmentes, when they looke after libertye, and shake of all government.

*Iren.* Then see it is with Ireland continually, Eudoxus; for the sword was never yet out of theyr hand; but when they are weary of warres, and brought downe to extreeme wretchedness, then they creepe a little perhaps, and sue for grace, till they have gotten new

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la force avec la justice, mais avec ceste différence que la force, comme le vassal, obéisse à la justice, comme à la dame de fief et maîtresse souveraine, et ne face rien que sous son autorité, vouloir et commandement."—*Trois*, 1, 88-89. Compare F. M. Padelford, "Talus, the Law," *Studies in Philology*, University of North Carolina, XV, No. 2, 97 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Globe Spenser*, p. 613. Compare Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation*, (Works II, p. 137): "The difference of Commonwealthes, or regiments, requireth a difference of lawes, and orders: and those lawes, and orders are most soverain, that are most agreeable to the regiment, and best proportioned to the Commonwealth."

breath and recovered their strength agayne. Soe as it is in vayne to speake of planting of lawes, and plotting of pollicyca, till they are altogether subdued (p. 614).

"Des loix humaines," Bodin writes, "ont toujours separé les brigans et corsaires, d'avec ceux que nous disons droits ennemis en fait de guerre: qui maintiennent leurs estats et Republicques par voye de justice, de laquelle les brigans et corsaires cherchent l'eversion et ruine. C'est pourquoy ils ne doivent jouyr du droit de guerre commun à tous peuples, ny se prevaloir des loix que les vainqueurs donnent aux vaincus." (Book I, Chapter I, p. 1 f.)

In the next place Spenser's opinion of religious persecution should be compared with that of Bodin. Irenaeus blames the Roman Church for the sad spiritual state of the realm: "Litle have I to say of religion, both because the partes therof be not many, (it self being but one) and my self have not beene much conversaunte in that calling, but as lightly passing by I have seene or heard: Therefore the faulte which I finde in Religion is but one, but the same is universall throughe out all the countrey; that is, that they are all Papistes by theyre profession, but in the same soe blindly and brutishly enformed (for the most parte) as that you would rather thinke them Atheistes or Infidells," etc. (p. 645); but so far is he from approving religious persecution that he declares "instruction in religion needeth quiett times, and ere we seek to settle a sounde discipline in the clargye, we must purchase peace unto the layetye; for it is an ill time to preache amongst swoordes,<sup>143</sup> and most harde, or rather impossible, it is to settell a good opinion in the myndes of men for matters of religion doubtfull, which have a doutless evill opinion of ourselves; for ere the newe be brought in, the old must be removed" (p. 646). This opposition to religious persecution is expressed even more emphatically in a later passage:—"For religion litle have I to saye, my selfe being (as I sayd) not professed therein, and it selfe being but one, soe as there is but one waye therin; for that which is true onelye is, and the rest are not at all, yet in planting of religion thus much is needfull to be observed, that it be not sought forcebly to be impressed into them with terroure and sharpe penalties, as nowe is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildeness and gentleness,<sup>144</sup> soe as it may not be hated afore it be understood, and theyr Professors dispised and rejected. For this I knowe that the most of the Irish are so far from understanding of the popish religion as they are of the protestauntes profession; and yet doe they hate it though

<sup>143</sup> See de la Noue, *Discours*, p. 397: "En fin les choses passees ont demonstré que les Princes, qui par guerres ont voulu accompagner la vehemence des prestres, ont desfiguré leurs Estats, et diminué leur grandeur."

<sup>144</sup> Compare Harvey (*Works*, II, 141 f.): "Were none more scrupulous, then S. Paul, how easily, and gratically might divers Confutations bee reconciled, that now rage, like Civill Warres? The chieftest matter in question, is no article of beliefe, but a point of pollicy, or government: wherein a Judicial Equity being duely observed, what letteth but the particular Lawes, Ordinances, Injunctions, and whole Manner of Jurisdictions, may rest in the disposi-

unknownen, even for the very hatred which they have of the English and theyr government. Therefore it is expedient that some discreete ministers of theyr owne countrey men be first sent amongst them, which by theyr milde persuasions and instructions, as also by theyr sober life and conversation, may drawe them first to understand, and afterwarde to embrace, the doctrine of theyr salvation" (p. 679).

Note the similarity of the above quotations to the following from the fourth book of Bodin's *Republic*:—"Je ne parle point icy laquelle des religions est la meilleure, (combien qu'il n'y a qu'une religion, une verité, une loy divine publiee par la bouche de Dieu) mais si le Prince, qui aura certaine assurance de la vraye religion, veut y attirer ses sugets, divisez en sectes et factions, il ne faut pas à mon advis qu'il use de force, car plus la volonté des hommes est forcee plus elle est revesche: mais bien ensuivant et adherant à la vraye religion sans feinte ny dissimulation il tournera peut estre les cueurs et volonte des sugets à la sienne, sans violence, ny peine quelconque; en quoy faisant non seulement il evitera les emotions, troubles, et guerres civiles, ains aussi il acheminera les sugets devoyez au port de salut" (p. 478).

Furthermore, ~~we might note~~ the grounds upon which both Spenser and Bodin oppose the doctrine of communism. Bodin's idea of "harmonic discord" reappears unmistakably in Artegall's debate with the Giant (Book V, Canto II, Stanza 34 ff.); and that justice and the natural law justify the subordination of women to men is an opinion common to the English poet and the French publicist. It is perhaps worth while to place side by side the following passages from the *Faerie Queene* and the *Republic*:—

Such is the crueltie of women kynd,  
When they have shaken off the shamefast band,  
With which wise Nature did them strongly bynd,  
T'obay the heasts of mans well-ruling hand,  
That then all rule and reason they withstand,  
To purchase a licentious libertie.  
But vertuous women wisely understand,  
That they were borne to base humilitie,  
Unless the heavens them lift to lawfull soveraintie.  
(Book V, Canto V, Stanza 25.)

Before leaving the palace of Radigund Britomart changed  
all that forme of commonweale,

The liberty of women did repeale,  
Which they had long usurpt: and them restoring  
To mens subjection, did true Justice deale:  
That all they, as a Goddesse her adoring,  
Her wisdom did admire, and hearkned to her loring.  
(Book V, Canto VII., Stanza 42.)

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tion of Sovereaine Autoritie? Whose immediate, or mediate actes, are to be revered with Obedience, not countermanded with sedition, or controled with contention." The interest of Harvey's opinions to students of Spenser's "Puritanism" has already been remarked by Professor Tolman in *Modern Philology*, XV, 549 ff., "Spenser and Harvey and Puritanism."

Compare with these quotations the following from the Republic—"Il n'y a jamais eu loy ny coustume, qui ayt exempté la femme de l'obeissance, et non seulement de l'obeissance, ains aussi de la reverence qu'elle doit au mari" (*op. cit.*, p. 19); "il n'y a rien plus grand en ce monde, comme dit Euripide, ny plus necessaire pour la conservation des Republicques, que l'obeissance de la femme au mari;" (*op. cit.*, p. 19); "la loy de Dieu et la langue sainte, qui a nommé toutes choses selon sa vraye nature et propriété appelle le mari Bahal, c'est à dire, le seigneur et maistre, pour monstrier qu'à luy appartient de commander. Aussi les loix de tous les peuples, pour abaisser le cueur des femmes, et faire cognoistre aux hommes, qu'ils doivent passer les femmes en sagesse et vertu, ont ordonné, que l'honneur et splendeur de la femme, dependroit du mari" (*op. cit.*, p. 20); "celles, qui prennent si grand plaisir à commander aux maris effeminez, ressemblent à ceux, qui ayment mieux guider les aveugles, que de suivre les sages et clairvoyans" (*op. cit.*, p. 20).

Although Spenser preserves his poet's faith in the golden age, his method as an historian of the Irish people, their customs and laws is similar to that advocated by Bodin. His cautious use of historical sources reminds us of his French contemporary:—

*Eudox.* You doe very boldly, Irenaeus, adventure upon the historye of soe auncient times, and leane to confidently unto those Irish Chronicles which are most fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the originall of such a nation soe antique, as that noe monument remayneth of her beginning and first inhabiting there; specially having bene in those times allwayes without letters, but onely bare traditions of times and remembraunces of Bardes, which use to forge and falsifye every thing as they list, to please or displease any man.

To this objection, Irenaeus replies that he has checked up the Bards by referring to other sources:—

*Iren.* Truly I must confess I doe soe, but yet not soe absolutely as you suppose. I doe herin relye upon those Bards or Irish Chroniclers, though the Irish themselves, through theyr ignoraunce in matters of learning and deepe judgement doe most constantly beleve and avouch them, but unto them besides I add my owne reading; and out of them both together, with comparison of times, likewise of manners and customes, affinitye of woordes and names, propertyes of naturés and uses, resemblances of rytes and ceremonyes, monumentes of churches and tombes, and many other like circumstaunces, I doe gather a likelihood of trueth; not certaynly affirming anything, but by conferring of times, languages, monumentes, and such like, I doe hunte out a probabilitye of thinges, which I leave to your judgement to beleve or refuse. Nevertheless there be some very auncient authors which make mention of these thinges, and some moderne, which by comparing them with present times, experience, and theyr owne reason, doe open a window of great light unto the rest that is yet unscene.<sup>145</sup>

It is then Bodin's *assensio probabilis* that Spenser recognizes in granting that he is merely "hunting out a probability of things"; and he endorses the Frenchman's philological method in such phrases as "affinitye of wordes and names" and "conferring of languages." Later he argues that the

<sup>145</sup> *Globe Spenser*, 625 f.

people of Spain in part derive from the Gauls by citing what he considers Gaulish proper names—such as *Rhegni*, *Presamarit*, *Tamariti*, etc. Elsewhere the poet's philological interest is shown by his inquiry into the meaning and derivation of such words as *coygnye* and *kincogish*. One might add that he shares Bodin's distrust of oral tradition, as appears in the following words of Irenaeus: "neither is there any certayne hold to be taken of any antiquitye which is receaved by tradition, since all men be lyars and may lye when they will"<sup>148</sup> (p. 626).

From what has been said it seems to me clear that Spenser's interpretation of Lord Grey's character, answering to the Roman type of the judge merciful in temper but stern in the execution of justice; that his account of the proper relations of justice and mercy; that his advocacy of religious tolerance attended by his loyalty to a single religion; that his attack upon communism with his defense of "harmonic discord" in things economic; that his appeal to the law of God and the law of Nature as sanctioning the sovereign power of the Prince—in general his *politique spiritualiste* as contrasted with the *politique matérialiste* of Machiavelli; that his belief in the permanence of the contract between king and people and in Sovereignty based upon conquest; that his opposition to "women's rights" in the sixteenth century;—that all of these ideas or judgments make interesting and significant points of contact between the thought of Spenser and the speculative and empiric politic of *les politiques*. Furthermore, it should appear that the *Vene* regarded as an historical treatise is in general

<sup>148</sup> One or two other parallels between Spenser and Bodin may be noted. Irenaeus says (p. 767): "By the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall crime to devise or purpose the death of the King: the reason is, for that when such a purpose is effected, it should then be too late to devise therof, and should turne that common-weale to more hurt by such loss of theyr Prince, then such punishment of the malefactours." Bodin says (Book IV, Chapter 7, p. 465) that the punishment of a small number of conspirators may keep the great body of subjects to their duty; "sans user de gesnes, et tortures, en cherchant ce qu'on ne voudroit pas trouver: aussi ne faut-il pas dissimuler si le coupable est descouvert avoir conjuré contre la vie du souverain, ou mesme l'avoir voulu." "Noe lawes of man (according to the straight rule of right) are just," says Irenaeus, "but as in regard of the evils which they prevent, and the safety of the commonwealth which they provide for." Similarly Bodin in the *Methodus*, p. 9 writes:—"Jurisprudencia est ars tribuendi suum cuique, ad tuendam hominum societatem" (Compare Renz, *op. cit.*, p. 93). In connection with what is said in the *Vene* (pp. 791 and 830) about the activity of the Irish bards and priests in keeping alive sedition, and about the need of a wholesome activity on the part of the "Ministers of England" it might be worth while to call attention to Bodin's views in regard to the relation between eloquence and sedition in the Republic, Book IV, Chapter 7, p. 483:—"C'est donc un cousteau fort dangereux en la main d'un furieux homme, que l'eloquence en la bouche d'un harangueur mutin. Et neantmoins c'est un moyen à ceux qui en veulent bien user, de reduire les peuples de Barbarie à humanité, c'est le moyen de reformer les moeurs, corriger les loix, chastier les tyrans, bannir les vices, maintenir la vertu: et tout ainsi qu'on charme les aspics, les viperes, les serpens par certaines parolles, ainsi les Orateurs charment les plus sauvages, et cruels hommes par la douceur d'eloquence: comme disoit Platon. Et n'y a point de moyen plus grand d'apaiser les seditions et contenir les en l'obeissance des Princes, que d'avoir un sage et vertueux prescheur, par le moyen duquel on puisse fleschir et ployer doucement les cueurs des plus rebelles."

written in the scientific spirit which Bodin in advance of his age advocated. More particularly, Spenser's recognition of the unreliability of oral tradition; his emphasis upon the method of comparison and collation; his concession that the historian for all his care deals with probability, not certainty; his interest in the philological method of investigating racial origins; his acquaintance with the theory of milieu in what he calls the "genius of the soil" (p. 609); and his opinion in general that the laws of a people are important for an understanding of their history and racial characteristics bring his historical method into striking correspondence with that expounded and recommended in Bodin's *Methodus*.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>147</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that on at least one occasion English government was recommended to the Irish by another than Spenser with reference to principles expounded by Bodin. The French writer's concept of Harmonic Justice was extended in the last Chapter of the *Republic* to forms of the State: "Mais nous dirons en continuant que ce n'est pas assez de soutenir que la monarchie est le meilleur estat, et qui moins a d'incommoditez, si on ne dit Monarchie Royale: et ne suffit pas encores de dire que l'estat Royal est le plus excellent, si on ne montre aussi qu'il doit estre temperé par le gouvernement Aristocratique et populaire, c'est à dire par Justice harmonique, qui est composee de la justice distributive ou Geometrique, et commutative, on Arithmetique, lesquelles sont propres à l'estat Aristocratique, et Populaire." The idea of Harmonic Justice, the praise of Monarchy, the duty of the government to encourage virtue and suppress vice, the value of both clemency and severity are all dwelt upon in an oration delivered (May 14, 1586) by Justice Walshe, Speaker of the Commons in the Irish Parliament, during the deputyship of Sir John Perrot (*Calendar, Ireland, 1586-1588*, p. 55 ff.). The following passages are quoted from the oration: "Value of gratitude, Praise of Monarchy. If then the Kingly state be of all other the best, and that we see the same more firmly established with us at this present, then it hath been at any time since the conquest of this land, we have great cause to hope that we shall be imparted with the blessings which evermore do accompany the same. But when we shall see that the government of Her Majesty's laws does not only confirm that monarchy, but also that it draweth thereunto the best parts of the other two (aristocracy and democracy) to the universal comfort of all estates, what is there more of earthly felicity that can be required? In this Most High Court of Parliament are in meet proportion annexed the Sovereign Majesty of a Prince, the Honourable Assembly of Peers, as well of them whose wont is with sound persuasions to mollify men's minds, as also of others to whom, in God, their Prince and country's cause, no travail can seem loathsome or be too painful, and lastly a brotherly society of Commons, who are called to this Council as interested for the multitude, and hereby is wrought the most assurance that can be of holding the public wealth in that happy stay, when the Prince willeth only that is lawful, the Peers of all sorts have equal authority and none have voices but choice persons of the Commons. And herein is also seen a just poising of the three estates in such sort as the one seemeth to stand against the extremities of the other. . . . And where virtue is most exalted, and vice most suppressed, there are you to yield highest praise, and that (by the opinion of Mr. Fortescue; as Fortescue, sometime Lord Chancellor of England, writeth in his book, entitled, *De laudibus legum Angliae*) is performed by this government. And where the transgressors of law are punished most to the satisfaction of all men, and without opinion of cruelty, there least inconvenience will ensue that justice. And as Cicero said that the laws of the 12 tables did more direct men to live well than did all the works of the philosophers, so may I say by our laws that they do little less draw men to virtue and withdraw them from vice than do the persuasions of preachers; for that alas! Man's frailty is such, that the greater number will be sooner moved by the allurements and terrors of this world than by that is to be expected

It was then an ideal of sovereignty and justice which was familiar to Englishmen and which had received particular attention in the speculative politic of contemporary France that Spenser brought to bear upon his defense of Lord Grey. In the spirit of the policists he regarded the seditions and insurrections of the Irish chieftains and the Irish priests as capital offenses against the peace of a divinely ordered world, whose natural course was to the end that reason and the will of God should prevail. The rebels should be punished with severity, for *severitas* as distinguished from *crudelitas* was essential to justice. But lest Lord Grey should be charged with the vice of *crudelitas*, Spenser takes pains to remind us that severity is not inconsistent with *clementia* as distinguished from *misericordia*, and that the English deputy was never guilty of that atrocity of the mind which Seneca marks as the true antithesis of clemency. His business was a stern one but his heart was never hardened.<sup>148</sup>

This portrait of the righteous judge, dealing strict justice more in sorrow than in anger, the guardian under sovereignty of the ordered peace of the world, is to be found not only in the work of the French policists but in the championship by Bacon and the Anglican apologists of the twin ideals of political sovereignty and religious tolerance. These ideals, based as we have seen upon a political philosophy compounded of Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Christianity, were manifestly congenial with the philosophy of the *Faerie Queene*. In availing himself of the wisdom of the ancient world to which as a humanist he had fallen heir, in recognizing the kinship of Christ and Plato, which Ficino commemorated when he lit his twin tapers before the crucifix and the bust of the Greek philosopher, Spenser put himself in the spirit of a new reformation which tried to be as true to the teachings of humanism as it was to the precepts of Christ—the reformation of justice and tolerance arrayed against misrule and persecution whether Protestant or Catholic. It was a reformation to which as we have seen the scepticism of Montaigne paid its respects and to which Bacon and Hooker made substantial contribution. Its polity and philosophy were enlisted in the cause of nationalism in both England and France, and its institutional expression and embodiment we might recognize in the Church of England. Its mind was the mind of Richard Hooker and its spirit was the spirit of Shakespeare.

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in the world to come, and when some be (by this means) brought to the love of virtue, and vice is made hateful to them, then are they easily formed to the frame whereunto preachers desire to bring them. . . . It may not be denied but that Her Majesty hath with far more clemency than was to be expected by us, respited multitudes of them whom Her Highness's justice was to condemn, for as God gave her success over her rebellious subjects, so the fury of the rebellion being pacified Her Majesty was no less desirous to preserve her people than Scipio Africanus Major was to defend his Romans."

<sup>148</sup> Bodin says of Augustus, *République* III, Chapter 5, 331:—"Auguste faisoit bien autrement, car combien qu'il fust estimé fort entier, en droit en Justice, si est-ce qu'il ne condamnoit jamais à mort qu'en souspirant, comme dit Seneque."

## CHAPTER IV

## SPENSER AND MACHIAVELLI

I might here bring my study to a close were it not that Professor Greenlaw published several years ago in *Modern Philology*<sup>149</sup> an explanation of Spenser's defense of Lord Grey which is fundamentally different from mine. It is his opinion that the *Vene of the Present State of Ireland* defends the Lord Deputy's administration of Irish affairs according to the principles and precepts of the Machiavellian politic. That Machiavelli was an influence in and out of England during the sixteenth century no one would deny; but that Spenser, even though we credit him with a more intelligent understanding of Machiavelli than was common in his time, defended Lord Grey as an accomplished Machiavellian seems to me in the light of the idealism of the *Faerie Queene* a very doubtful contention. Furthermore, I hope that the preceding pages have made clear that the English poet was in sympathetic contact with a body of political speculation that was openly antagonistic to Machiavelli.

To support his contention that the *Vene* has "the distinction in Elizabethan literature of rightly interpreting Machiavellism," Professor Greenlaw argues that "in its general scheme, the *Vene* follows *Il Principe* very closely;" that the second division of the *Vene* shows "most directly the debt to Machiavelli;" that there are significant verbal parallels, similarities in structure and style, and a direct reference to Machiavelli with an illustration drawn from the *Discorsi*, besides other indications that Spenser knew this particular work; and that Spenser acknowledges that his plan is not original with him. Besides these arguments are to be noted the Machiavellian tactics of Elizabethan statesmen and what may of course be taken for granted, Spenser's knowledge of Machiavelli.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>149</sup> *Modern Philology*, VII, 187 ff.

<sup>150</sup> The "Italian's popularity with the young English students" is another matter. That his work should be well known and frequently discussed was in the nature of things. In this sense we might say that Bernhardt has been popular in similar circles during the last few years. That, on the other hand, his political doctrine was approved by Harvey, Sidney, or Spenser I cannot believe. The allusions to Machiavelli quoted by Mr. Greenlaw from Meyer's monograph (*Litterarhistorische Forschungen I*), when read in their context, appear to be wholly playful in spirit. Sidney writes, "I never could be induced to believe that Machiavelli was right about avoiding an excess of clemency, until I learned from my own experience what he has endeavoured with many arguments to prove. For I, with my usual vice of mercy, endured at your hands not only injustice, but blows and wounds; hoping that such gentleness would at last bend the most hardened obstinacy. But I am disappointed in my hopes, and seeing that my remedy, far from diminishing, even increases the malady, I shall use it no longer, but I shall substitute wholesome severity for this empty show (for so in truth it is) of clemency"



It is certainly misleading to say that "in its general scheme the *Vene* follows *Il Principe* very closely." Of *Il Principe* there are three main divisions, the first dealing with a classification of principalities and rules for winning and maintaining them (Chapters I-IX); the second, with an attack on the mercenary system (Chapters XII-XIV); the third with rules that should govern the conduct of the Prince (Chapters XV-XXV); the last chapter (XXLV) being in the nature of a peroration. The *Vene*, on the other hand, is in the main given to an examination of the social and political evils in Ireland under the main headings of (a) the laws, (b) the customs, and (c) the religion of the country. Although these are topics which Machiavelli considered in the third chapter of the *Prince*, the general scheme of the Italian's work is quite different from that which Spenser has followed. Machiavelli classifies kinds of governments; Spenser, the evils of Ireland. Nor can we attach much importance to what Professor Greenlaw calls Spenser's text—Machiavelli's "Ma quando si acquistano stati in una provincia disforme di lingua, di costumi et d'ordini, qui sono le difficulta, a qui bisogna avere gran fortuna e grande industria a tenerli." This may be paralleled particularly in the first chapter of the fifth book of Bodin's *Republic*, the topical heading of which is *Du Reiglement qu'il faut tenir pour accommoder la forme de Republique à la diversité des hommes et le moyen de cognoistre le naturel des peuples*. Spenser's "ripping up of ancient histories," which Mr. Greenlaw considers reminiscent of Machiavelli, was the method usually pursued in political writings of the time, conspicuously so in Bodin's *Republic*.<sup>151</sup> And in this connection attention might be drawn to the conventionality in sixteenth century treatises on politics of the figure which compares the ruler to a physician and his acts and laws to remedies,—a figure which appearing in both

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(Sidney to Languet, April 29, 1574; Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 60). To this Languet replies, May 13, 1574 (Bradley, 69 f.):—"I admire the candour with which you warn me to beware of you, for that is the meaning of your fierce threats. But there you do not follow the advice of your friend Machiavelli, unless, perhaps, it is fear that has extorted those big and sounding words, and you thought that so I might be deterred from my intentions." As for Harvey we may note the following: "Ferraria could scarcely brooke Manardus, a poysonous Physitian: Mantua hardly beare Pomponatius, a poysonous Philosopher: Florence more hardly tollerate Macchiavell, a poysonous politican: Venice most hardly endure Arretine, a poysonous ribald: had they lived in absolute Monarchies, they would have seemed utterly insupportable" (Works, II, 94). And again in criticism of Nashe: "It was nothing with him to Temporise *in genere* or *in specie*, according to Macchiavels groundes of fortunate successe in the world; that could so formally, and featly Personise *in individuo* (Works, II, 299). Nashe in *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (Works, II, 137) quotes Harvey as calling Perne, "an apostate, an hypocryte, a Machiavill, a cousner, a jugler, a letcher."

<sup>151</sup> See Bodin's *Methodus, Cap. tertium, De locis historiarum recte instituendis*, pp. 30, 31:—"Quod igitur viri docti facere solent in aliis artibus, ut memoriae consulant, idem quoque in historia faciendum iudico: id est, ut loci communes rerum memorabilium certo quodam ordine componantur, ut ex iis, velut e thesauris, ad actiones dirigendas exemplorum varietatem proferamus." Compare Robert Flint, *Historical Philosophy in France*, pp. 193, 195.

Spenser and Machiavelli Mr. Greenlaw regards as evidence of Machiavellian influence.<sup>122</sup> Nor when we remember that almost everybody quoted Machiavelli to his purpose, need we suppose that Spenser's approval of Machiavelli's opinion in regard to the power that should be delegated to governors gives support to the theory that the English poet approved in principal the Machiavellian politic.

The parallels which Mr. Greenlaw draws between the second division of the *Vue* and the first fourteen chapters of the Prince are in my judgment inconclusive because nearly all, if not all, the passages in question may be paralleled also in Bodin's *Republic*; because in some cases the similarity between Spenser and Machiavelli is not close enough to be significant; and because in still other cases the passages should be related to actual conditions in Ireland and to the military policy that was natural in the circumstances.

The first of Mr. Greenlaw's parallels I have already dealt with. The second pertaining to the necessity for strong remedies may be extended to Bodin's *Republic*; see above, page 44. Furthermore, Spenser needed no literary source for this detail of policy; he was simply approving the practise of the government. We may cite, for example, Sentleger to the Queen (*State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585* Preface, p. 85): "In this government it is thought good policy to make waste the five counties within this province, the corporate towns only excepted, holding it the only means to subdue and famish the traitors." For the need of promptness, which is to be sure

<sup>122</sup> De l'Hôpital, *Traité*, I, 350:—"Le mesme judgment se fait des officiers d'une ville, qui sont les vrais medecins du corps politique;" and *ibid.*, I, 15:—"Fault aussy par fois faire comme le bon chirurgien, qui veult crever ung apostume," etc. Further, D'Aubigné, *Histoire Universelle*, VIII, p. 25:—"Mais les cris des princesses de la Ligue tindrent bien leur partie à faire mettre aux Parisiens l'enseigne au vent contre le roi, qui apporta de foibles remèdes à si forte maladie;" Bodin, *Republique*, IV, Chapter 6, p. 463:—"Premierement nous poserons ceste maxime, que les factions, et partialitez sont dangereuses, et pernicieuses en toute sorte de Republique, et qu'il faut s'il est possible les prevenir par bon conseil: et si on n'y a pourveu auparavant qu'elles soient formees, qu'on cherche les moyens de les guarir: ou pour le moins employer tous les remedes convenables pour adoucir la maladie;" *ibid.*, p. 481:—"Mais tout ainsi que le bon medecin previent les maladies, et s'il advient qu'une partie soit affligee soudainement d'une douleur violente, il appaise le mal present: et cela fait il applique les remedes aux causes de la maladie: aussi le sage Prince doit prevenir tant qu'il luy est possible les seditions, et quand elles sont advenues, les appaiser à quelque prix que ce soit: et puis voir les causes des maladies plus esloignees des effects, et y appliquer les remedes couvenables;" *ibid.*, Book IV, Chapter 3, p. 418:—"Et tout ainis que les plus scavans Medecins aux accés les plus violents si les symptomes sont bons, ont plus d'esperance de la santé, que si l'accés est doux et languide: et au contraire, quand ils voyent l'homme au plus haut degre de santé qui peut estre, alors ils sont en plus grande crainte, qu'il ne tombe en extreme maladie, comme disoit Hippocrate: aussi le sage Politique voyant sa Republique travaille de tous costez, et presque accablee des ennemis, si d'ailleurs il apperçoit que les sages tiennent le gouvernement, que les sugets obeissent aux magistrats, et les magistrats aux loix, alors il prend courage, et promet bonne issue," etc.; *ibid.*, Book IV, Chapter 3, p. 419:—"Et jamais ne faut essayer les remedes violents, si la maladie n'est extreme, et qu'il n'y ait plus d'esperance."

in the case of such a situation as existed in Ireland a very obvious need, and which is harped upon in the dispatches, we may compare the following from the *Republic*: "Si une fois l'estincelle du feu de sedition est soufflée d'un vent impetueux, on n'y viendra jamais à temps. À quoi les gouverneurs et magistrats doivent tenir la main" (p. 467). Compare above, p. 45. Then Bodin agrees with Spenser and Machiavelli that "the imputation of cruelty is not to be feared" (see above, pp. 44 and 45), and that sharp punishment should be visited upon "the heades and principalls of any mischievous practize or rebellion," as appears in the following passage from the *Republic* (Book 4, Chapter 6, p. 465):—"Et si on voit qu'on ne puisse appaiser la faction par justice, et jugemens, le souverain y doit employer la force, pour l'estaindre du tout, par la punition de quelques uns des plus apparens: et mesmement des chefs de partie: et n'attendre pas qu'ils se soient tellement fortifiez, qu'on ne puisse leur faire teste." In this connection one might compare a passage from Andrew Trollope's letter to Walsyngham (1581), (*State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585, Preface, p. 84*):—"Every chief rebel's pardon is a hundred men's deaths." Compare further p. 45 above. For the idea of dispersing rebels and depriving them of their arms, Professor Greenlaw presents from the *Prince* the following parallel: "E per cosa si faccia o si provvegga, se non si disuniscono o dissipano gli abitatori, non si dimentica quel nome ne quelli ordini, ma subito in ogni accidente vi si ricorre (cap. v)." Here nothing is said about disarming, which is specifically mentioned in the following passage from the *Republic* (Book IV, Chapter 6, p. 480): "L'autre moyen est aussi d'oster les armes si on craint la sedition, qui est le plus ordinaire." As a parallel to the observation that "particular care must be taken to discipline the chiefs or nobles thoroughly," see the passage quoted earlier in this paragraph. For the plan of establishing colonies or plantations in Ireland, history not Italian literature furnishes the immediate source. If we need an historical citation, it might be furnished by Henry Wallop's letter to Walsyngham (*State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585, Preface, p. 82*), where the suggestion is made that the Irish should be put to the sword and colonists sent in their place. The need of caution in introducing new laws for the Irish is an easy inference from Bodin's general principle that new laws should be accommodated to the nature of the people to whom they apply.<sup>153</sup> Here Machiavelli's suggestion does not agree with Spenser's. The former recommends as one of three possible courses that the people be permitted to live under their own laws; the latter makes the rather obvious remark that it is not "convenient to change all the lawes and make newe." Spen-

<sup>153</sup> See, too, Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 13:—"Certaine it is that it is alwayes a doubtful and hasardous matter to meddle with the chaunging of the lawes and government which a man doth finde already established." The passage is quoted in Professor Padelford's suggestive article, "The Political, Economic, and Social Views of Spenser," *Journal of English and German Philology*, XIII, No. 3, p. 401.

ser's view is less in accord with that cited by Professor Greenlaw from Machiavelli than it is with the opinion of Bodin expressed in the third chapter of the fourth book of the *Republic*, which bears the title, *Que les changemens des republicques et des loix, ne se doivent faire tout à coup*. From this chapter I might quote the following (p. 49): "Et jamais ne font essayer les remedes violents, si la maladie n'est extreme, et qu'il n'y ait plus d'esperance. Ceste maxime a lieu en toute Republique, non seulement pour le changement de l'estat, ains aussi pour le changement des loix, des meurs, des coustumes: à quoi plusieurs n'ayans pris garde, ont ruiné de belles et grandes Republicques, soubz l'apast d'une bonne ordonnance qu'ils avoient empruntée d'une Republique du tout contraire à la leur: . . . la loy pour bonne qu'elle soit, ne vaut rien, si elle porte un mepris de soy-mesme: et au contraire la reverence de l'antiquité est si grande, qu'elle donne assez de force à la loy, pour se faire obeir de soy-mesmes sans Magistrats: au lieu que les edicts nouveaux, avec les peines y apposees, et tout le debvoir des officiers ne se peuvent entretenir, sinon avec bien grande difficulté: de sorte que le fruct qu'on doit recueillir d'un nouvel edit, n'est pas si grand que le dommage que tire apres soy le mepris des autres loix, pour la nouveauté d'une." One should read the whole chapter, because I have space here to quote only a short passage from a lengthy discussion of the matter.

It should be noted in the case just cited as in others, that much more space is given by Bodin than by Machiavelli to the point under consideration. For example, the fortification of towns, Mr. Greenlaw's last point of comparison with the *Prince*, is a subject recognized in the title of the fifth chapter of the fifth book of the *Republic*: *S'il est bon d'armer, et aguerrir les sugets, fortifier les villes, et entretenir la guerre*. I refer particularly to the passage on p. 583ff. which bears the marginal title, *Les inconveniens de n'avoir point de forteresse*. Referring to the defeat of Richard III, by Richmond, Bodin remarks on page 585: "ce qui n'est point advenu es pays fortifiez, ou il y a lieu de retraicte, pendant qu'on rallie les forces." After "ripping up of ancient historyes" he concludes: "Voila les raisons, qui peuvent servir pour monstrier, qu'il est besoin de fortifier les villes." Once more the point is considered at such length that it must have impressed itself upon the mind of any reader of the *Republic*. Nevertheless it might be well to glance again at the *Calendar of Irish Papers* for a possible Celtic source to compete with the French and Italian claimants. That English soldiers needed no publicist to teach them the value of fortified places, the following might remind us (Nicholas Malbie to Burleigh, 8 April, 1880; *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574-1585, Preface, p. 63): "This day I took order that the abbey of Buresowle aforesaid should be fortified and strengthened, and that all the castles of the country standing upon straits, should be warded and kept for her majesty, etc. . . . Mc Williams also, and his brother Richard McOlyverus Boork and the chief gentlemen of the country, having considered the great benefit and commodity which

might grow to the whole country, if a walled town were built and erected at Bures, made humble request, etc." Finally the single parallel cited by Professor Greenlaw from the *Discorsi*, pertaining to a grant of greater power to the deputy, can have little weight in the light of the standing complaints against the government and the Queen for their interference with the Irish campaigns.

I find it hard, too, to agree with Professor Greenlaw when he detects in the following passage an allusion to the *Principe*:—"I doe not thinke it convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the lawes and make newe, for that should breed a greate trouble and confusion." Surely we do not have to seek very far to find "Prince" used in the sense of sovereign even when the ruler is a woman. For example, in a letter from the Lords Justices to Walsyngham (*State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585*, Preface p. 20) there is the following passage:—"We received letters from Turlough Lynagh in very good and dutiful terms, and withal another from his wife, which they inclose. She protests against 'quidam susurrones (qui) vobis exposuerunt quod transivi in Scotiam, causa adducendi Scotos et extraneos contra *Majestatem Principis*.'" Again in the *Calendar of Irish Papers, 1574-1585*, p. 55:—"An oration pronounced by Justice Walshe, speaker of the Commons in the Irish Parliament at the dissolving therof. Value of Gratitude. Praise of Monarchy. . . . In this most High Court of Parliament are in meet proportion annexed the Sovereign Majesty of a Prince, the honourable Assembly of Peers, as well of them whose wont is with sound persuasion to mollify men's minds, as also of others to whom, in God, their Prince and country's cause, no travail can seem loathsome or be too painful" etc.

In criticizing Professor Greenlaw's theory, we should recognize that he is not the first to interpret the sixteenth century *politique spiritualiste* as Machiavellian. Sixteenth century Jesuits had done the same thing. Petrus Ribadeneira in his *Princeps Christianus* (1595) classified as disciples of Machiavelli those "politici, qui solo nominis Christiani obtentu Christum acriter insectantur;" and declared that although even heretics confessed some religion, "Politici et Machiavelli sectatores nullam religionem agnoscunt, verae falsaeque delectum ac discrimen tollunt, eam duntaxat probantes, quam politico statui utilem judicant. Religionem igitur haeretici ex parte, Politici omnino respuunt.—Nomine specieque exteriori catholicos eminentes, radicitus evulsam funditusque eversam catholicam fidem volunt."<sup>14</sup> F. von Bezold has explained so well the general situation with which we are here dealing that we may profitably quote him at length:—"In dieser seltsam gemischten Atmosphäre von Weihrauch und Blutgeruch, von ästhetischen Düften und okkultistischer

<sup>14</sup> Quoted by F. v. Bezold, "Jean Bodins Colloquium" etc., *Historische Zeitschrift*, 113, p. 308, Note 2.

Narkose, von Frivolität und Wissbegier, mussten wie von selbst "epikureische" oder "atheistische" Stimmungen Keime und Blüten treiben. Es bildete sich sozusagen ein Typus des Hofatheisten aus. Daneben und sehr oft, aber nicht immer im Zusammenhang mit dieser weltmännischen Denkmode griff gerade in Frankreich unter dem Eindruck der Religionskriege der "Politicismus" um sich, der mit seiner Unterordnung der Religion unter das Staatsinteresse von manchem Strenggläubigen für die allerfährlichste Schule der Gottesleugnung angesehen wurde. Mehr und mehr erhielt dabei Machiavelli als der wahre "Furst des Atheismus" den Vortritt. Aber man scheute sich nicht, auch Männer, wie den Kanzler L'Hôpital oder Bodin, deren ernster Patriotismus mit der verrufenen italienischen Gewissenlosigkeit nichts zu tun hatte, wegen ihrer Befürwortung der Toleranz mit dem gleichen Stempel zu versehen."<sup>158</sup>

If at this point we raise the question of Bodin's sources, we may freely concede, on the basis of the evidence that Chauviré has offered, that in many of the particulars noted and in others that do not come into consideration here the French publicist drew upon the works of Machiavelli, even though he nowhere acknowledges indebtedness to him. The *Republic* shows very prettily how a sixteenth century writer might incur large debts in the works of Machiavelli without winning "the distinction of rightly interpreting Machiavellism." Indeed on the basis of parallel passages Professor Greenlaw will find Bodin far more Machiavellian than Spenser. It is not only that in matters concerning the art of war and the conduct of government he naturally turned to the works of the great Italian; but he clearly shares with him a fully developed scientific interest in the state. However, over all that is empirical and practical in Bodin (and this element is large and important) there preside his piety and mysticism; so that he borrows not only from Aristotle and Machiavelli but from Plato, and Sir Thomas More, and de l'Hôpital. His genius, like that of Spenser, is eclectic; but like Spenser, too, he subordinates his practical politic to the higher claims of morality and religion. And for our special problem here we should emphasise not only that we find in Bodin the blend of mysticism and practical politics that the *Veue* and the *Legend of Justice* conjointly present, but that almost every, if not quite every, particular in Spenser that suggests Machiavelli may be found in the work of the openly and violently anti-Machiavellian Frenchman.

It is clear, I think, that any controversialist can quote Machiavelli to his purpose. This was true in the sixteenth century and it is true in the twentieth. We find in the comprehensive work of the Italian the most edifying as well as the most cynical precepts. Besides, his strictures upon Catholic oppression, his recognition of the value of religion to the state, and his concern in many ways for the preservation of the commonwealth establish points of surface contact between his work and that of the French

<sup>158</sup> *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 113, p. 308.

policists. It is not however in the recognition of such correspondences that we shall understand the relation between the champions of *realpolitik* and the exponents of the divinely ordered state. The difference is not in the material of their discourses but in their inspiration, their *weltanschauung*, in the emphasis and direction of their thought. Machiavelli reckons Moses with Cyrus, Romulus, and Theseus among those who by their courage and ability, and not by fortune, have risen to the rank of rulers, but he says "we may not discuss Moses, who was a mere executor of things ordained by God, yet he merits our admiration, if only for that grace which made him worthy to hold direct communion with the Almighty."<sup>156</sup> On the other hand, Hooker, de la Noue, and de l'Hôpital<sup>157</sup> by preference turned for guidance to the heroes of Old Testament story; and Bodin sanctified his shrewd and practical politic with a genuine piety and mysticism. Unlike the policists Machiavelli found the source of successful government in the self-reliant and organized valor of the prince, not in the divine law and the guiding hand of God. For Spenser and the policists the foundation of the state was virtue; for Machiavelli it was *virtu*.<sup>158</sup>

Virtu contro al furore  
Prendera l'arme, e fia il combatter corto;  
Che l'antico valore  
Negli Italici cuor non e ancor morto.

<sup>156</sup> *Il Principe*, Chapter 6.

<sup>157</sup> *Traité*, I, 137: "Je dis donc que l'histoire sacrée est ma seule et fidelle guide, mon vray but et mon étoile polaire, à laquelle je vise perpétuellement." Further, de la Noue, *Discours*, 20 f.: "Je cuide qu'il y aura des courtisans qui seront peu satisfaits de mes propos: Mesmes se moqueront de ce que je veux desmesler les affaires d'Estat par des maximes de Theologie: et auroient plus agreable que celles de Polybe, de Plutarque, et de Xenophon, fussent mises en avant, à fin qu'on jugeast par elles des accidents des Royaumes. J'eusse volontiers appuyé mon dire sur leurs opinions, qui sont tres-belles: mais pour n'estre point abusé, il m'a semblé que la voye que je prénois estoit meilleure: car encor que la sagesse de l'homme (qui lui est toutesfois donnes d'en haut) reluisse aux livres prophane, si est-ce qu'elle est fort vaine, en comparison de la Divine, qui apparait es Saintes Escritures."

<sup>158</sup> Compare Bluntschli, *Geschichte der neueren Staatswissenschaft*, p. 29: "Der Hugenottenmord hatte Frankreich weder Ruhe verschafft, noch die Einheit hergestellt. Nur um so heftiger war der konfessionell-politische Zwiespalt wieder ausgebrochen; die fanatische Wut der einen, die Rache der anderen waren noch nicht gesättigt. Die französische Nation war damals in einem ähnlichen selbstmörderischen Zerfleischungsprocesse begriffen wie die deutsche Nation ein halbes Jahrhundert später in ihrem dreissigjährigen Kriege. Die Autorität der Kirche und die Statsordnung schwankten auf dem untergrabenen Fundamente. In einer solchen Zeit sah sich Bodin nach den Rechtsgrundlagen der statlichen Macht um. Wenn es eine Rettung gab, so konnte sie seines Erachtens nur von da aus gefunden werden. Die Machiavellistische Klugheit reichte nicht aus. Eben diese rücksichtslose Wahl auch der schlechtesten, weil für den Augenblick nützlichen Mittel, zu welchem die Parteiführer allzugeneigt waren, hatten die Nation ins Verderben gestürzt. Mit sittlicher und patriotischer Entrüstung wendet sich daher Bodin gegen Machiavelli." Chauviré in his *Jean Bodin*, p. 271, says, "Le machiavélisme n'avait d'abord été pour nos Français que la théorie d'un fait préexistant, l'anarchie politique et morale; par un choc en retour, il aggravait maintenant

In the politic of Machiavelli tolerance of course found its place; and it is interesting to note in the religious literature of the sixteenth century that what one party regarded as Christian charity was interpreted by the other as Machiavellian duplicity. In the particular case it may indeed be hard to draw the line. "I have marked the state of this neutral government," writes Archbishop Parker to Lord Burghley; "I look for no other end than that is very likely. I have framed myself to be carried away by the floods, when they shall arise. This Machiavel Government is strange to me, for it bringeth forth strange fruits. As soon is the papist favored as is the true protestant."<sup>159</sup> A reply to this sort of attack one may find in John Whitgift's *Defense of the Answer to the Admonition*. One of his opponents had written:—"There is no other thing to be looked for than some speedy vengeance to light upon the whole land provide as well as the politic Machevils think they can, though God do his worst." To this Whitgift replies: "It would be known whom they mean by these 'politic Machevils;' for they envy all men of great authority, wit, and policy."<sup>160</sup> The opposition of the true churchmen to the Machiavellian philosophy of the state is explicit and emphatic enough whatever their critics might say. It is thus that Edwin Sandys expresses himself in one of his sermons:—"Good reason it is that as kings do reign and hold their power by him, so his will revealed in his word, should be the rule and direction of their government. If they think to establish their thrones better by their own wise and politic devices, they are greatly deceived. There is no policy, no wisdom, like the wisdom of God. The commonwealths which Aristotle and Plato have framed in their books, otherwise full of wisdom, yet compared with that city for whose sake and benefit the Lord doth watch, what are they but fancies of foolish men? As for Machiavel's invention they are but the dream of a brain sick person, founded upon the craft of man, and not upon godly wisdom, which only hath good effect."<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, a passage from Thomas Rogers' *Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England* musters as "the adversaries of the Anglicans those who prefer above the scriptures 1. their own inventions, as did the philosophers, whereof one said of Moses, that good man maketh a trim discourse, but proveth nothing; and the Grecians to whom the Gospel is foolishness; 2. their own imagina-

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cette anarchie, et multipliait, grâce à la louange dont il les entourait, les ruses ou les violences antisociales. D'effet il était devenu cause. Bodin le sentait; il voulait remonter à cette source morale des troubles: le machiavélisme passé dans les têtes, puis dans les moeurs françaises. C'est, pensait-il, la divergence des égoïsmes monstrueux développés par de telles doctrines qui dissout le faisceau social: substitutions à cette philosophie la piété, la justice, le dévouement de tous à l'intérêt commun, et les bonnes volontés reformées se chercheront de nouveau, et se réuniront dans une harmonieuse cité."

<sup>159</sup> *Parker Society*, XXVII, 391.

<sup>160</sup> *Works (Parker Society)*, Division 3, p. 508.

<sup>161</sup> *Parker Society*, XLVI, p. 153.



tions, as did the Manichees, David George, and do the Turks, and Family of Love; 3. or traditions as do the Papists, who more cruelly do punish the violaters of their own traditions and ordinances, than they do the breakers of God's commandments; 4. or statutes, edicts, judgments, proclamations, etc. proceeding from the brain of man; as Machiavel doth, and his scholars."<sup>102</sup>

To every good Protestant in the time of Spenser Machiavel and his scholars were associated particularly with the adherents of the Catholic cause. This was due in part to the terrorism and the intrigue with which the Guises promoted Catholic interests in France. When the Huguenot Coligny was on his way to Paris, he was "beset by letters which reminded him of the queen mother's crooked ways, and the detestable education of the king trained in every sort of violence and horrible sin; his Bible is Machiavelli; he has been prepared by the blood of beasts for the shedding of human blood; he has been persuaded that a prince is not bound to observe an edict extorted by his subjects."<sup>103</sup> I might cite too a declaration of one Henry Young on August 16, 1594 in relation to Jesuit plots in England (*C.S.P. Domestic Series*, vol. 3):—"England is governed by the Machiavellian policy of those who would be kings and whom it is time to cut off." Baudrillart is clearly correct in declaring in his volume *Bodin et son Temps* that Machiavellism among its leaders, fanaticism both exalted and miserable among the masses, was the true spirit of the Holy League.<sup>104</sup>

It should be conceded, however, that the word Machiavellian in the sixteenth century was a pretty general term of reproach that went, as Montaigne says, like a bird of passage from one party to another. To the bigot the tolerant were Machiavellian because they seemed to sacrifice principle to expediency. So Duke Casimir as reported in a letter from Daniel Rogers to Walsingham under date of October 5, 1577, said, "he would not trust the king of Navarre because of 'machivilliards' which were about him" (*State Papers, Foreign*, 1577-1578, p. 229). On the other hand, the Jesuits, as we have just remarked, bore a similar reproach because in the administration of the Society of Jesus they seemed to have put into practise that unscrupulous doctrine of force and efficiency of which Machiavelli is the most celebrated expounder. However variously the term might have been applied it was very generally one of reproach; so that it seems to me improbable that the poet of the *Faerie Queene*, whatever might have been his admiration of the *Prince*, the *Discorsi*, and the *History of Florence* (and who indeed can withhold admiration from the literary

<sup>102</sup> *Parker Society*, XLV, p. 79.

<sup>103</sup> Guizot, *Popular History of France*, vol. IV, p. 361.

<sup>104</sup> Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, p. 96. The Latin edition of the Anti-Machiavel, 1577, declares that the English are fortunate in not having been afflicted with Machiavellism:—"Vos vero o quam fortunatos cum tali Regina, tum quod pestilens Machiavellicae doctrinae afflatus in Angliam non penetravit." It will be remembered that it is the Duke D'Alençon to whom the French edition of 1576 was dedicated. Compare *English Historical Review*, IV, 17, Note.

achievement in these works?), would have based his defense of Lord Grey upon what must have been for him a largely discredited theory of the State. He was writing in the spirit of the most enlightened Anglican thought and of that closely related body of French speculation which was openly anti-Machiavellian. It is, indeed, against Machiavellian duplicity and violence in the persons of Archimago, Duessa, Dolon, Grantorto, that the heroes of the *Faerie Queene* fight the battles of God; and in the following stanza I think we have an explicit arraignment of Machiavellism:

O sacred hunger of ambitious mindes,  
And impotent desire of men to raine!  
Whom neither dread of God, that devils bindes,  
Nor lawes of men that common-weales containe,  
Nor bands of nature that wilde beastes restraine,  
Can keepe from outrage and from doing wrong,  
Where they may hope a kingdome to obtaine:  
No faith so firme, no trust can be so strong,  
No love so lasting then, that may endure long.  
F. Q. V, XII, St. 1.

For myself I can find no sharper antithesis than that between Spenser and Machiavelli. To the Machiavellian duplicity, Spenser opposes a confident reliance upon righteousness; to *virtu* he opposes virtue; to statecraft he opposes a philosophy of justice; and instead of resting his polity upon lessons of efficiency independently drawn from human disaster and success, he bases it squarely upon a philosophy of justice that derives from the teachings of Christ and the formulated wisdom of the ancient world. The genius of Spenser was, indeed, essentially spiritual; that of Machiavelli, scientific. The one sought by an astonishing effort of the synthetic imagination to weave a gorgeous tapestry of Christian thought and pagan morality, of mediaeval imagery and humanistic ideas, that would be a pattern of human conduct and of true courtesy. The other by a no less astonishing effort of the analytic faculty tried to draught from human experience a code manual of *realpolitik*. The one transmits an accumulated culture of the spirit; the other searches the human record for the secret of efficiency and the key of success.

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**YSOPET-AVIONNET: THE LATIN AND  
FRENCH TEXTS**

**EDITED BY  
KENNETH McKENZIE  
AND  
WILLIAM A. OLDFATHER**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
1919**





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## PREFATORY NOTE

Having for some years been engaged independently in the study of fable-literature, the present editors began in 1916 to prepare in collaboration a critical text of the Ysopet-Avionnet. Complete photographic reproductions of the six known manuscripts were obtained promptly, but the progress of the work has met with many interruptions. It seems best to delay the publication no longer, although further study might be given to the elucidation of the text—particularly in regard to the literary relations of the individual fables, and linguistic questions concerning the French version. Each editor is responsible for that portion of the text and apparatus criticus in the language of his field; the Introduction has been composed jointly. Thanks are due to Mrs. K. McKenzie for assistance in copying and collating the French text, to Miss Maude McLaughlin for her aid in collating the Latin text, and to Mr. John B. Titchener for help in reading the proof.

K. McK.  
W. A. O.

*University of Illinois, July 16, 1921.*



## INTRODUCTION

The text here published consists of a collection of Æsopic fables in Latin verse, accompanied by a fourteenth-century French translation. It is preserved in three closely related manuscripts of the fourteenth century, at Brussels (*B*), London (*L*) and Paris (*P*); these manuscripts are identical in the number and order of the fables, and present only comparatively insignificant textual variations. As is indicated by the title, the fables are divided into two parts; the first, beginning with a prologue and ending with an epilogue, contains sixty-four fables, most of which come from the collection widely known in the Middle Ages under the name Esopus, and now generally ascribed to Walter of England; the second part, also beginning with a prologue and ending with an epilogue, contains eighteen of the fables of Avianus together with an additional fable, called the nineteenth. The French translation, without the Latin original, is also contained in three fifteenth-century manuscripts in Paris (*a*, *b* and *c*); these differ among themselves, but have certain characteristics in common which distinguish them from the older group,—for instance, they include four of the Walter fables which are absent from *BLP*. While available in many editions from the fifteenth century on, these Latin fables have not hitherto, except in a fragmentary way, been printed in the text presented by our manuscripts. The French text, as noted below, was published in 1825 by A. C. M. Robert, but in an inconvenient form, without knowledge of the manuscripts except those in Paris, and with numerous errors and arbitrary emendations. Accordingly, a critical edition of both the Latin and the French will perhaps be found useful. The edition is arranged as in the manuscripts, each Latin fable being followed immediately by the French version, and is based primarily on *B*, the manuscript which presents the most satisfactory text. To the portion of the French text derived from Walter, and hence ascribed to Æsop, the name Ysopet I was given by Robert, who called the portion derived from Avianus by the illogical name Ysopet-Avionnet. This latter title we give to the whole work, designating the two parts by their appropriate names: Ysopet or Æsop, and Avionnet or Avianus.

The collection of fables ascribed by Hervieux<sup>1</sup> to Walter of England dates from the late twelfth century, and is preserved in more than one hundred manuscripts, and in numerous printed editions from 1473 on.<sup>2</sup> Its author has been given a variety of names—Salo Parmensis, Galfredus,

<sup>1</sup> Léopold Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, I<sup>2</sup>, 472 ff. (1893). Cf. J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Æsop*, London, 1889, I, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. C. Keidel, *Manual of Æsopic Fable Literature*, Baltimore, 1896, pp. 10 ff.; and Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 503–602 for MSS., 602–35 for editions.

Garicius, Ugobardus, etc. Before the researches of Hervieux (whose conclusions are probably but not certainly correct) it was frequently known as Anonymus Neveleti, having been included by Isaac Nevelet in his *Mythologia Æsopica* (Francoforti, 1610, pp. 486-530) with the title "Anonymi Fabulæ Æsopææ." Our MS. *B* has the following heading: *Compilatio Ysopi alani cum auimoneto* (sic) *cum quibusdam addicionibus et moralitatibus*. The folio which should contain this heading is lost in *L*; in *P* the word *alani* is changed to *alati*,<sup>3</sup> but this change is due to a mere error in copying. *B* has little authority for the original Latin text, and *P* still less, so that too much weight need not be given to the ascription; the additions are surely much later than the time of Alanus ab Insulis or Alain de Lille (died 1202). However, a thirteenth century MS. of these Latin fables makes the same ascription (Douai, no. 714): *Alanii assit principio maria*.<sup>4</sup> It doubtless arose from the fact that in some MS. the fables were preceded or followed by Alain's *Liber parabolarum*; this is the case in no. 8259 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in numerous early editions.<sup>5</sup> The evidence for Walter of England (Gualterus Anglicus) is far stronger. Convenient modern editions are those of Foerster<sup>6</sup> and Hervieux.<sup>7</sup>

Walter's fables are a versification of 58 fables (books I-III) of the Latin prose collection known by the name of Romulus,<sup>8</sup> which in turn was derived from the fables of Phaedrus. The original text of Walter probably included, in addition to the 58 fables from Romulus, at least two from other sources; in the manuscripts the number varies usually from 60 to 63. The text in our manuscripts *B L P* divides Walter no. 21 into two parts, which appear as nos. 19 and 59; it omits four of those usually found in Walter (nos. 48-50, 60), and adds five from other sources (nos. 47, 61-64). Thus the Ysopet portion of *B L P* contains 64 fables in Latin and French, of which 59 correspond to 58 of the fables of Walter. The four fables omitted in *B L P*

<sup>3</sup> Robert, *Fables inédites*, I, p. clxv, reads *alata*, and further states that Le Grand d'Aussy read *Alani*, ascribing the fables to Alain de Lille. Robert rejects this suggestion.

<sup>4</sup> Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 538; cf. p. 598, title given to same fables in MS. Ferrara 216. NB. 1, S. XIV: *Adsit principio virgo Maria meo*.

<sup>5</sup> Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 504, 607, 608, 610, etc. Alain's *Lib. par.* was translated into French, cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1178.

<sup>6</sup> W. Foerster, *Lyoner Ysopet, altfranzösische Übersetzung des XIII. Jahrh. mit dem kritischen Text des latein. Originals* (sog. Anon. Nev.), Heilbronn, 1882 (Altfranz. Bibl., 5), pp. 96-137.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 316-51.

<sup>8</sup> Published by H. Steinhöwel about 1480, with a German translation and with Walter's version; now available in a critical edition: G. Thiele, *Der lateinische Æsop des Romulus*, Heidelberg, 1910. Other editions by H. Oesterley, *Romulus*, Berlin, 1870, and Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 195-233. Steinhöwel's text, Latin and German, reprinted by H. Oesterley, Tübingen, 1873; this collection includes the four books of Romulus (80 fables), with 27 of the fables of Avianus, and others from various sources. Cf. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 329-431.

(Walter 48-50, 60) are, however, found in the French text in *a b c*. The table on p. 44 below, which exhibits the order of the fables in the several manuscripts and in the standard editions of Walter of England and of Avianus, makes all these statements clear, and also indicates the number of verses in the French text.

The collection of forty-two fables (preceded by a prose introductory epistle), which goes under the name of Avianus, was composed about the year 400 of our era.<sup>9</sup> Nothing is known of the author except that he was a friend of the distinguished grammarian, Theodosius Macrobius, to whom he dedicated his slight performance in the hope, most surprisingly gratified, of attaining literary immortality. The immediate source was probably a Latin prose version of Babrius, which Avianus versified with a copious employment of Vergilian diction. The labored and recondite expression and the use of the unsuitable elegiac distich show that the author had little feeling for what was appropriate to the style of the fable. The work owes its long popularity to the fact that it was introduced into the schools during the Carolingian epoch, probably by Alcuin himself, who seems to have written a commentary upon it, and from that time on to the end of the fifteenth century it was extensively employed for educational purposes, imitated, expanded, reduced, rendered in prose, translated, paraphrased, excerpted, and equipped with special introductions and commentaries.<sup>10</sup> Some eighty MSS. of the whole or some portions of the original work are still extant, and about thirty of versions, imitations, etc. Down even to the eighteenth century considerable attention was devoted to Avianus, as the long (but not quite complete) list of editions and translations compiled by Hervieux, *op. cit.*, III, 121-56, attests. With the change in the standards of taste, however, towards the close of that century, his work has ceased to evoke any but academic and antiquarian interest.

<sup>9</sup> This is determined from sources, syntax, prosody, the dedication to Theodosius (i.e., Macrobius; of course not the Emperor, although that has been asserted), and from the character of the prose rhythms employed in the epistle (P. von Winterfeld, *Rhein. Mus.* LXVII (1902), 167 f.).

<sup>10</sup> Upon Avianus in the Middle Ages see especially P. Rajna, *Estratti di una Raccolta di Favole*, in *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, I, 13-42; K. McKenzie, *Unpublished Manuscripts of Italian Bestiaries*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Am.*, XX (1905), 380-433; M. Manitius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter im Mittelalter*, in *Philologus* LI (1892), 533 ff.; *Analekten zur Schulgeschichte des Mittelalters*, in *Mitteil. der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, XVI (1906), 39; *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte mittellateinischer Schulaufgaben*, *ibid.*, 232 ff.; *Gesch. der lateinischen Lit. des Mittelalters*, 178, 412, 424, 472-4, 477, 489, 512, 574; W. A. Oldfather, *New MS. Material for the Study of Avianus*, in *Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XLII (1912), 105-21; M. Boas, *De Librorum Calonianorum Historia atque Compositione*, in *Mnemosyne* XLII (1914), 17 ff.; *Neue Calobruchstücke*, in *Philologus*, LXXIV (1917-18), 315 f.; and the collections of material in L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Vol. III, 1894, "Avianus et ses anciens imitateurs."

Notable editions are those by H. Cannegieter, 1737; K. Lachmann, 1845; W. Fröhner, 1862; E. Bährens, 1883; R. Ellis, 1887. Among critical works are especially to be noted the dissertation by O. Unrein, *De Aviani Aetate*, 1885, the article *Avianus* by O. Crusius in the *Pauly-Wissowsche Realencyclopädie*, II, 2374-8, and the excellent discussion by Martin Schanz in his *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, IV, 2 (1920), pp. 32-5. The third volume of Hervieux' *Les Fabulistes Latins* is devoted to Avianus (1894). It contains an elaborate but not always very discriminating introduction, a description of most of the MSS., editions and translations, a reprint of the text of the Trier MS. 1093, s. X (unfortunately neither the oldest, nor the best; but by all odds the handsomest codex), and similar material upon most of the imitations and modifications of the original Avianus.<sup>11</sup>

The author of the present collection chose but eighteen of the forty-two fables, preserving always the correct numerical order, but upon what principle the selection was made, does not appear.

#### OTHER OLD-FRENCH FABLES

A few words may be said as to the other medieval French fable-collections (omitting, however, the various Renart poems, and isolated fables, as well as some imported from the Orient). These collections all descend, at least in part, from Phaedrus through Romulus, with additions in some cases from medieval sources and from Avianus. The oldest is that of Marie de France, of the late 12th century, apparently a version of an English text now lost; it was edited in 1820 by Roquefort and in 1898 by Warnke.<sup>12</sup> From Walter of England, beside our text (called by Robert "Ysopet I"), come the Ysopet de Lyon (13th century, edited by W. Foerster in 1882) and Ysopet III de Paris (edited in 1909 by M. P. Brush<sup>13</sup>). Another collection in Latin verse of the twelfth century derived from Romulus is by Alexander Neckam (*Novus Æsopus*, 42 fables, edited by E. du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge*, Paris, 1854; and by Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>11</sup> Certain studies by Mr. Oldfather in the text tradition of Avianus and of his imitators, commentators and translators are nearly complete and may appear in the near future.

<sup>12</sup> B. de Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, Paris, 1820, 2 vols.; K. Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Halle, 1898. Fable no. 47 in our text, mentioned above as being absent from Walter, corresponds to no. 50 in Marie (Warnke ed.), on which see Warnke, *Die Quellen des Esope der Marie de France*, Halle, 1900. There are derivatives from Marie's fables in Latin and in Italian.

<sup>13</sup> *Ysopet III of Paris*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Am.*, XXIV, 494-546. This collection, contained in MS. no. 983 fonds français of the Bibliothèque Nationale, s. XV, consists of a prose version of 43 fables from Walter; the majority of the fables being accompanied by a couplet derived apparently from Ysopet I (this being contrary to the opinion of Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 536).



392-416); this is the original of two French versions, *Ysopet* II (edited by Robert, *op. cit.*) and *Ysopet de Chartres* (published in 1834 in an excessively rare edition by Duplessis, *Fables en vers du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*). A selection from Romulus was incorporated in two of his *Specula* by Vincent of Beauvais, and was translated into French with the rest of the *Speculum Historiale* by Jehan de Vignay early in the fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup> The *Æsop* of Heinrich Steinhöwel, already mentioned, was translated into French by Julien Machault, and this French version, in prose, printed in 1484, was the original of Caxton's *Æsop*,<sup>15</sup> and of other versions.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATIN TEXT TOGETHER WITH THE FRENCH TRANSLATION

The Latin text of *Ysopet-Avionnet*,<sup>16</sup> now published complete for the first time, is contained in three MSS. of approximately the same date and character. The first is in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique at Brussels, No. 11193, membr., s. XIV, ff. 134 (the last two blank).<sup>17</sup> This MS. we designate as *B*. It is written in a clear French hand, without glosses, but with occasional marginal indications, perhaps by the first hand, of the *Ad-dicio* (usually in the form *add<sup>o</sup>*), and rarely of the *Moralitas*, and contains 84 illustrations (see below). At the conclusion of the epilogue on f. 132 *b* the following entry has been made by a hand of the 15th cent.: *C'est le liure des fables de ysopet moralise en latin et en franchois Du il ya quatrevingts et trois histoires Le quel est a mons. Charles de Croy Comte De chimay*

<sup>14</sup> See G. E. Snively, *The Æsopic Fables in the Miroir Historial of Jehan de Vignay*, Baltimore, 1908; and *The Ysopet of Jehan de Vignay in Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott*, Baltimore, n. d., Vol. I, 347-74.

<sup>15</sup> Reprinted with an elaborate introduction and bibliography by Joseph Jacobs, *The Fables of Æsop as first printed by William Caxton in 1484 with those of Avian, etc.*, London, 1889, 2 vols.

<sup>16</sup> The work in general we call by this title which is recognized in the literature of the subject. For the separate parts we generally employ the designation *Æsop* and *Avianus* in referring to the Latin text; *Ys.* and *Av.* in referring to the French.

<sup>17</sup> The photographs of this MS. we owe to the kindness of Conservateur J. Van den Gheyn, S. J., who arranged with M. Pierre of Brussels to have those of the Avianus portion prepared in 1910, and to the officials of the Royal Library at Berlin, who prepared those of the *Æsop* portion in 1916, to all of whom we express our sincere thanks. We are also greatly indebted to Dr. T. Collijn of the Royal Library at Stockholm, who transmitted our request for the photographs to Berlin, and the photographs to us. Without his courteous and disinterested assistance it is doubtful if this publication could have been prepared at the present time. Especial recognition is also due to the officials of the Royal Library at Berlin and the provisional administration of Belgium, who although under the pressure of serious responsibilities, nevertheless found time to attend to a troublesome request for service of a purely academic character.

(signed, evidently by the Count himself) *Charles*.<sup>18</sup> The Latin proemium is on f. 1<sup>a</sup>, its French translation on ff. 1<sup>a</sup>-2<sup>a</sup>; the fables of Æsop occupy ff. 2<sup>a</sup>-102<sup>a</sup>; the epilogue to the Æsop ff. 102<sup>a</sup>-103<sup>b</sup>; the prologue to Avianus (Avionnet) ff. 103<sup>b</sup>-104<sup>b</sup>; the fables of Avianus (together with an additional fable at the end) ff. 104<sup>b</sup>-131<sup>a</sup>; the epilogue to the whole work ff. 131<sup>a</sup>-132<sup>b</sup>. The MS. was first examined by Léopold Hervieux.<sup>19</sup> He printed a short description of it in *Les Fabulistes Latins*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 582 f. and III, pp. 103 f., and used it for the text of the *Addiciones* to Æsop, published in Vol. II, pp. 352-65, five of the six additional fables of this collection,<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 365-70, the *Addiciones* to the 18 fables of Avianus (only occasional readings), Vol. III, pp. 72-6, and the French translation of the additional fable to Avianus (only occasional readings), *ibid.*, pp. 77 f.

The second MS. is in the Library of the British Museum, No. Add. MS. 33,781 (formerly Grenville No. XIII), membr., s. XIV, ff. 139 (including 6 paper leaves prefixed containing a letter from Francis Douce to Mr. Grenville under date (added later) of 28 March, 1816, and a description of the contents signed by G. B[urgess]).<sup>21</sup> This MS. we designate as *L*. The character of the writing is almost identical with that of *B*, and both MSS. undoubtedly were produced in the same *scriptorium* at about the same time. It likewise is free from glosses, and contains the indications *Moralitas* and *Addicio* like *B*, the latter, however, much less frequently in the margin than that MS. The first folio of the MS., which contained the Latin proemium and the French translation, is missing,<sup>22</sup> and the last 8 lines of the French translation, Quar com. . . . bonne nois, on f.

<sup>18</sup> This Count of Chimay must have been greatly interested in fable literature, for several of the MSS. which still exist were at one time in his library. See George C. Keidel: *The History of French Fable Manuscripts*, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1909, XXIV, 207 ff. Our three MSS. are described, pp. 212, 214. The transcription of this entry by Léopold Hervieux: *Les Fabulistes Latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, 5 vols., Paris, 1893 ff. (hereafter referred to simply as 'Hervieux,' references to vols. 1 and 2 being to the second edition unless otherwise stated), Vol. 1, p. 583, contains a few minor inaccuracies.

<sup>19</sup> Those who are familiar with M. Hervieux' work will not be surprised to learn that his copies and collations of this MS. abound in errors of several kinds, the great majority of which we have deemed fit to pass by in silence. It is a pity that a constitutional inaccuracy in detail and all-too-frequent negligence in method should have been allowed to disfigure a unique and truly monumental work, which, despite all its limitations, must long remain a useful repository of learning.

<sup>20</sup> These five fables are not found elsewhere in MSS. of Walter and constitute the original element in the present collection. They are nos. 47, 61, 62, 63, 64 of Æsop; the sixth is no. 19 of Avianus. For a discussion of them see below.

<sup>21</sup> Photographs of the portion of this MS. which contains Avianus were prepared by Mr. Donald Macbeth in 1910, of the remainder in 1916. Owing to the loss of the first folio the illustrations number only 83.

<sup>22</sup> Mr. Douce (page 2) thought that two pages at the beginning had been lost, but *B*, which has a format almost identical with *L*, shows that only one is missing.

2<sup>a</sup> (now numbered 7), have been partly erased, the following caption being written over them in a modern (18th cent.?) hand: *Sensuivent Les Fables Dysopet et Damonet* (l. d'Avionet) *Moralisées en Latin et en Romans*, to which has been added by a different, perhaps somewhat later hand, *Lan 1316*.<sup>23</sup> The Latin proemium was on f. 1<sup>a</sup>, its French translation on ff. 1<sup>a</sup> (or 1<sup>b</sup>)-2<sup>a</sup>; the fables of Æsop occupy ff. 7<sup>a</sup> (using the present numbering)-108<sup>a</sup>; the epilogue to the Æsop ff. 108<sup>a</sup>-109<sup>b</sup>; the prologue to Avianus ff. 109<sup>b</sup>-110<sup>a</sup>; the fables of Avianus (together with an additional fable at the end) ff. 110<sup>a</sup>-137<sup>a</sup>; the epilogue to the whole work ff. 137<sup>a</sup>-139<sup>a</sup>. This MS. was first utilized by Léopold Hervieux, who published a description of it, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 571-4, and III, pp. 98 f. He quotes occasional readings from it for the text of the five additional fables of this collection, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 365-70.

The third MS. is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, No. 1594 du fond français (older designations, on f. 1<sup>a</sup>, 842, and 7616—the latter being that of the old royal library),<sup>24</sup> membr., s. XIV, ff. 113. This MS. we designate as *P*. The character of the handwriting is very similar indeed to that of *B* and *L*, but is perhaps somewhat more elegant. There are no glosses, but the *Addicio* is generally entered in the margin in the form *add<sup>r</sup>*. The illustrations, which number 86 (the first folio having three instead of one, as *B*), are unusually fine, and will be discussed below.<sup>25</sup> On the verso of the fly leaf at the top is written in a hand of the late 14th or 15th century a note, which has been nearly effaced by the action of moisture, so that only the words *Compilacio Ysopi* are now clearly legible, and at the end what are apparently the numerals 346 which probably represent 1346, a conjectural date for the composition of the work, which, as will appear below, is not very far wrong. Lower down on the page in a much later hand appears the following: *A mon entree en la librairie du Roy Jay trouvé le present volume fort gasté comme il est a raison quil<sup>26</sup> estoit a lendroit dune fenestre mal joincte*. The MS. has, in fact, suffered seriously from dampness, so that a large part of it is badly mildewed, and some of it quite illegible. The text begins to be affected seriously with f. 23, and continues in that condition, with considerable variation in the extent of the damage suffered, to the end. In view of our belief, arguments for which will be presented later, that *P* is copied directly from *B*, we have not thought it

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of this date, see below.

<sup>24</sup> In the upper right hand corner of f. 1<sup>a</sup> is written in a modern hand MCCCXXXIII, probably a conjectural date for the composition of the work (see below).

<sup>25</sup> Photographs of the portion which contain Avianus were prepared by the firm P. Sauvanaud in 1910, of the remainder in 1916 by Catala frères. We are greatly indebted to the authorities of the library for their prompt attention to our request in that troublous time, and to Professor Charles H. Grandgent, who assisted us in making the necessary arrangements.

<sup>26</sup> This word was added later in a different ink.

worth while to indicate all the illegible or missing words and letters. Notice is taken of them only when silence upon this point would lead to a false inference as to *P*'s reading. In general, however, probably not more than 1% has actually been lost, and that in such a way that there can seldom be any great doubt as to the original reading. The Latin proemium occupies ff. 1<sup>a</sup> and 1<sup>b</sup>, its French translation, ff. 1<sup>b</sup> and 2<sup>a</sup>; the fables of Æsop, ff. 2<sup>a</sup>-87<sup>b</sup>; the epilogue to Æsop, ff. 87<sup>b</sup>-89<sup>a</sup>; the prologue to Avianus f. 89<sup>a</sup> and 89<sup>b</sup>; the fables of Avianus (together with an additional fable at the end), ff. 89<sup>b</sup>-112<sup>a</sup>; the epilogue to the whole work ff. 112<sup>a</sup>-113<sup>b</sup>.

This MS. was first examined by A. C. M. Robert, who gave a description of it in *Fables Inédites des XII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup>, et XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècles, et Fables de La Fontaine*, etc., 2 vols., Paris, 1825, vol. 1, pp. XL, CLXIV-CLXIX, published the French text of all the fables, the Latin text of those fables which have no counterpart in La Fontaine's work, and engravings (made by Paul Legrand) of 85 of the miniatures (omitting only that of the angels in an heraldic device with the lilies of France on f. 1<sup>a</sup>).<sup>27</sup> Robert's procedure is very seldom characterized by that scrupulous piety towards MS. tradition which present editorial technique requires. He emends with the utmost freedom, seldom so much as mentioning his deviation from the MS., introduces readings from the other codices that contain the French translation (see below) without any indication of their source, and makes additions or omissions at pleasure, generally neglecting to note the fact. For these reasons we shall report the readings of Robert's text merely as editorial emendations.<sup>28</sup> Hervieux also describes and discusses this MS., *op. cit.* I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 516-28, III, pp. 71-8, and publishes the Latin *Addicio* to the proemium, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 517, the French translation of the proemium, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 517 f., the French titles to Æsop, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 519 f., the epilogue to the Æsop, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 520-2, the prologue to the Avianus, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 522 f., the French titles of the same, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 523, the epilogue to the whole work, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 524-6, the Latin text of the five additional fables to Æsop, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 365-70, the *Addiciones* to the 18 fables of Avianus, III, pp. 72-6, the French translation of the additional fable to Avianus, III, pp. 77 f., and

<sup>27</sup> Robert's peculiar method of publication, which required that he present after each fable of La Fontaine, the other texts of its counterparts, results in scattering the French versions of Æsop and Avianus all through his two volumes. This is partly remedied by the index, vol. II, pp. 585-7, which arranges them in their correct order in the MS. The Latin text of the first additional fable to Æsop, No. 47 is published Vol. II, p. 475, the second, No. 61, Vol. II, pp. 40 f., the third, No. 62, Vol. I, pp. 99 f., the fourth, No. 63, Vol. II, p. 12, the fifth, No. 64, Vol. II, p. 489; that of the additional fable to Avianus, No. 19, Vol. II, p. 520.

<sup>28</sup> This has been done only for the Latin text. Robert's readings are disregarded for the French translation.

the Latin text of this same fable, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 426 (for some unexplained reason omitted in the 2nd ed.)

### THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FRENCH TRANSLATION ALONE

The three manuscripts<sup>29</sup> in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris which contain the French translation without the Latin text all date from the fifteenth century. They are briefly described by Robert, *op. cit.*, I, pp. clxiv-clxix, and more fully by Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 528-35; their history is traced by Keidel, *History of French Fable Manuscripts*, pp. 212-4, who gives the date of each one as "ab. 1450."

a. No. 1595 (formerly Regius 7616.3, still earlier Cangé 106), membr., ff. 38, written in a small, clear hand (not cursive, as Robert states), without any title either to the collection as a whole or to the separate fables. The prologue (ff. 1<sup>a</sup>-1<sup>b</sup>) is preceded by a miniature, which occupies the width of the page and shows a monk instructing *ex cathedra* three men who kneel before him. The fables, 57 in number, occupy ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-35<sup>b</sup>; the initial letter of each fable encloses a minute design representing the actors of the fable. The epilogue to Æsop, ff. 35<sup>a</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>, consists of verses 1-16, 43, 44 of our text, the last verse reading:

Sy conuient Esopet fenir.

It is followed by: *Amen. Explicit Esopus putat qui dicit ysopus.*<sup>30</sup> An unfinished poem, beginning (*A*) *u temp pascour que toutes riens sesgaye* occupies ff. 36<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>b</sup>; f. 38 is blank. This manuscript, which we call *a*, does not contain the *Avionnet*.<sup>31</sup>

b. No. 19123 (formerly no. 1622 and no. 2287, from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, to which it was bequeathed by the Dukes of Coislin in 1732), membr., ff. 152, written in double columns, with illuminated initials but no pictures. The fables occupy ff. 110<sup>a</sup>-133<sup>b</sup>; prologue to Ysopet, f. 110<sup>a</sup>; 59 fables of Ysopet, ff. 110<sup>a</sup>-127<sup>b</sup>; epilogue, ff. 127<sup>a</sup>-128<sup>a</sup>; prologue to Avionnet, f. 128<sup>a</sup>; 18 fables, ff. 128<sup>a</sup>-133<sup>a</sup>; the epilogue to Avionnet, 6 verses only, f. 133<sup>b</sup>. The collection and the separate fables have no titles.

c. No. 24310 (formerly 85, still earlier Collège de Navarre no. 356), membr., ff. 92, elegantly written with a title in red for each fable, and blue

<sup>29</sup> We have complete photographs of these texts, prepared by Catala frères in 1916 together with those of *P*—see note above.

<sup>30</sup> Hervieux, I, p. 530, suggests that *peccat* should be read instead of *putat*. Foerster, *Lyoner Ysopet*, pp. x, xlii, mentions a Latin MS. which has the line: *Explicit esopus peccat qui dicit ysopus*; see also Hervieux, I, pp. 554, 557.

<sup>31</sup> Contrary to the assertion of Keidel, *op. cit.*, p. 213, who states that he saw the MS. July 28, 1897.

and red initials at the beginning of each fable and of each moral. Above the titles of all the fables, space (equal to eight lines of text) has been left for the illustrations which were never added. The prologue to Ysopet, f. 2<sup>a</sup> (f. 1 being blank) has the heading: *Cy commence le livre de ysopet et de avionnet*, while at the top of the page is written: *Pro libraria Regalis collegii Campaniae alias Nauarrae*. There are 59 fables of Ysopet, ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-43<sup>b</sup>; the epilogue to Ys. (verses 1-16, 43, 44), with the heading *Cy commence avionnet*, is followed immediately by the prologue to Av. (verses 1-10) on ff. 43<sup>a</sup>-44<sup>a</sup>; fables of Av., ff. 44<sup>a</sup>-55<sup>a</sup>; epilogue (verses 1-6) immediately following Av. 18. Without any further prologue, or any break other than that which precedes every fable, there now follow (ff. 55<sup>a</sup>-90<sup>b</sup>) 49 of the fables of Marie de France, being those which differ in subject from the fables preceding. This manuscript, while agreeing absolutely with *b* in the number and order of the fables, sometimes exhibits great freedom in its readings, substituting words or whole verses or even several verses together for those common to all the other MSS. These differences are indicated in the *apparatus criticus*. Furthermore, although *c* is of approximately the same age as *a* and *b*, which do not differ greatly in their linguistic form from *B*, *L* and *P*, the orthography of *c* is frequently modernized to a certain extent. Its individual characteristics are doubtless to be ascribed to the copyist, who was not lacking in a certain independence in his procedure.

#### INTERRELATION OF THE MSS.—I. ORDER AND CONTENT

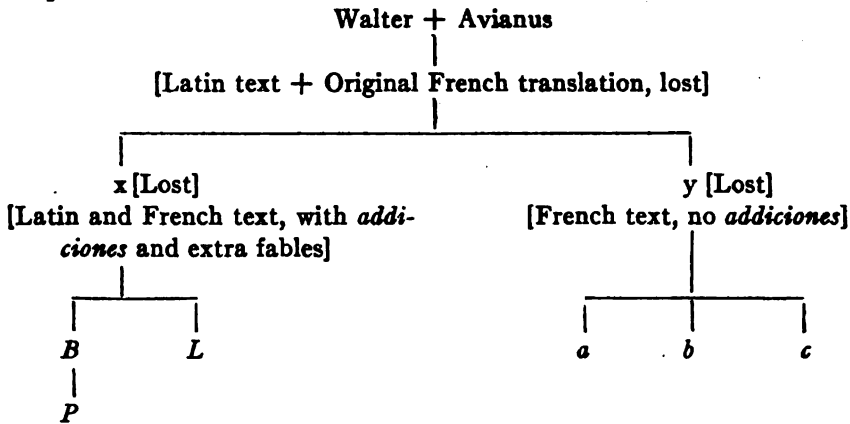
It will be observed from the table at the end of this Introduction that the fables of *B*, *L* and *P* are identical in number and order; also that *a*, *b*, and *c* are in similar agreement, except for the omission by *a* of nos. 40, 42, and the Avionnet.<sup>22</sup> In fables 1-18, *B L P* agree in number and order with those of the ordinary manuscripts and editions of Walter of England (*W*); *a b c* agree also, except for the displacement of no. 10. In 19-39 our six MSS. all agree, but the order is different in *W*. In 40-59, *a b c* agree with *W*, while the order is different in *B L P*. The Ysopet portion of *B L P* includes nine fables not found in *a b c*, five of them also absent from *W*; while *a b c* have four fables of *W* which are absent from *B L P*.<sup>23</sup> The

<sup>22</sup> Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 529, 533, states that *a* has 56 fables, lacking three; this error is due to the loss of four verses at the beginning of 10, so that it appears to be a part of the preceding fable unless one takes the trouble to read it.

<sup>23</sup> From these facts it was inferred by B. Herlet, *Studien über die sog. Ysopets*, Würzburg dissertation, 1889 (also in *Romanische Forschungen* IV), that the arrangement in *a b c* is nearer to that of the archetype than that of *B L P*. Herlet knew our MSS. only through the publications of Robert and Hervieux (1st ed.), so that, as he correctly says, he had a slender basis for inferences. Some of his observations, however, are useful, particularly his comparisons of different versions of certain fables.

Avionnet fables, absent from *a*, are identical in number and order in the other five manuscripts, so far as those derived from Avianus are concerned; but the nineteenth fable added in *B L P* and obviously medieval in origin, is not found in *a b c*.

The inferences that may be made as to the general relations between the manuscripts, on the basis of the number and order of the fables (as well as the comparative age of the groups *B L P* and *a b c* and the inclusion of the Latin original in the older group only), are borne out by a study of the text. In spite of the numerous individual readings in *c*, the three manuscripts of the group *a b c* frequently agree as against a different reading in the other group. Furthermore, in the original text of *W* the morals are concise, consisting usually of two, rarely of four verses; in *B L P* they are lengthened in both the Latin and the French text by *addiciones*, indicated as such. In *a b c* these additions do not appear. In one fable, *B L P* no. 37, a long addition appears in the body of the fable. It is hardly possible that the *addiciones* and the extra fables were in an ancestor of all six manuscripts and were then eliminated by the copyist of the immediate archetype of *a b c*, without leaving any trace. On the contrary, they must have been inserted, both in Latin and in French, in an ancestor of the group *B L P*, which then was not known to the writers of the group *a b c*.<sup>24</sup> All this may be made clear by a tree showing the relations of the six manuscripts.



We show elsewhere in this Introduction that *P* is probably a copy of *B*; but that of the pair *B L*, neither one can be a copy of the other. Similarly, of the group *a b c*, no one can be a copy of any one of the others, though

<sup>24</sup> Robert's theory, *op. cit.*, I, pp. clxiv ff., that *P* was the original, and that *c* was a copy of *P*, and *b* a copy of *c*, is of course preposterous; *b* is much closer to the original than *c*. Robert, it must be remembered, knew nothing of *B* and *L*.

quite possibly they are all copies from one manuscript now lost. Incidentally, these conclusions are supported by a study of the illustrations (see below).

## INTERRELATION OF THE MSS.—II. TEXT

Hervieux remarked that *B* and *L* resembled one another more closely than either resembled *P* (III, p. 103), adding that even if all three did not come from the same scribe, at least *B* and *L* might have been written by the same hand (I<sup>3</sup>, p. 582), and that *P* might be a copy of *L* (I<sup>3</sup> p. 574). Both of these conjectures are wrong, as we shall proceed to show.

To begin with *P* and *L*, it is clear that neither was copied from the other, because *P* contains the following Latin lines not in *L*<sup>36</sup>: Æsop 19<sup>17</sup> & 18; 38<sup>22</sup>; Av. 3<sup>tit</sup>; also the following words: Æsop 40<sup>8</sup> cur; 40<sup>12</sup> res; 43<sup>5</sup> cura; 52<sup>tit</sup> last two words; furthermore in Avianus<sup>36</sup> 31<sup>6</sup> *L* completes the pentameter falsely (from Ps.-Cato, *Dist.* I, 30, 2 *culpa redarguit ipsum*), while *P* (and *B*) have the correct reading *viciosa facit*. The same relation holds true of the French text; for example, Ys. 52. 77-8 and Av. 2. 16 are omitted by *L*.<sup>37</sup>

Again, *L* cannot have been copied from *P*, because *L* contains an even larger number of lines and words which are omitted by *P* than *P* does of lines and words omitted by *L*. Thus *L* contains the following lines in the Latin text which *P* omits: Æsop 17<sup>8</sup>; 25<sup>tit</sup> (two words omitted in *P*); 28<sup>8</sup>; 32<sup>tit</sup>; 38<sup>12</sup>; 40<sup>tit</sup>; 47<sup>8</sup>; 51<sup>8</sup> & 9; Avianus 17<sup>tit</sup>. Also the following words: Æsop 22<sup>12</sup>; cur detur; 41<sup>17</sup> a; 43<sup>8</sup> aue; 50<sup>1</sup> nec; 52<sup>12</sup> non; 52<sup>12</sup> set; 58<sup>18</sup> a; 58<sup>20</sup> consilium, Avianus 3<sup>12</sup> surgetet; 9<sup>7</sup> cespice ramos; 10<sup>4</sup> ex (e); 16<sup>12</sup> verso; 18<sup>20</sup> erit. The same relation holds true of the French text;<sup>38</sup> for example, Av. 6. 26; 10. 22; 16. 31; 18. 35; 19. 16; Epilogue 22.

It is perfectly clear from the evidence already adduced (and much more might have been added from a detailed comparison of variant readings had that been thought necessary), that *P* is not a copy of *L*, nor

<sup>36</sup> In all these data the presence or absence of the words *Moralitas* and *Addicio* is disregarded, because, as will appear later, these were in the margin of the archetype, and so very frequently failed to be entered, while to introduce them was a very simple matter for a watchful copyist even though he did not find them indicated in his original.

<sup>37</sup> In referring to Avianus we give the correct number of the fable in the complete edition of Avianus, in order to avoid confusion. Inasmuch as the order of the selections follows the same numerical order as the original, and the equivalent whole number is given, it will be easy to verify all such references. In referring to the French, however, we of course give the numbers as in our text here published.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. also Ys. 12. 38-9.

<sup>39</sup> Many omissions of single words could be mentioned in addition.



*L* a copy of *P*. It can also be shown that *P* and *L* are not derived directly from an original which was different from *B*. To begin with, the resemblances between *P* and *B* are so numerous and so striking that, as will appear below, we conjecture that *P* was copied directly from *B*. There are, however, a number of places in which *P* and *L* agree against *B*, and these require a closer scrutiny. It would be no less superfluous than tedious to list all of these here, since they are recorded in their proper place in the critical apparatus. They can best be summarized perhaps in the following manner. A very large number is composed of slight variations in spelling, which in the case of MSS. of this character and of this period have no significance; we refer to instances like *Æsop* 1<sup>st</sup> *pulcra B pulchra L P*; 26<sup>o</sup> and 35<sup>7</sup> *set B sed L P*; 30<sup>16</sup> *cautela B cautella L P* (changed to *cautela* later by *L*); 33<sup>8</sup> *cybum B cibum L P*; <sup>39</sup> etc. Still more numerous are the instances of perfectly simple emendations on the part of *P*, which even a very ignorant scribe was quite capable of making, like *Æsop* 1<sup>4</sup> *sor de B sorde L P*; 2<sup>1st</sup> *D. e B De L P*; 13<sup>9</sup> *que B quia L P*; 13<sup>10</sup> *obese B obesce L P*; 18<sup>18</sup> and 45<sup>7</sup> *uittoria B uictoria L P*; etc.<sup>40</sup> Of course none of these points towards a common original for *L* and *P*. In fact, of several score agreements, only two look even at first blush somewhat suspicious,<sup>41</sup> 52<sup>8</sup> *auara B* (correct) *auare L P*; and 61<sup>21</sup> *proficient B* (wrong) *proficiant L P*. As regards the second reading, it should be observed that one of the most marked characteristics of *P* is the confusion of *e* and *a*. Thus, to take the Latin text of Avianus alone, where most, if not all of the errors are listed, the placing of *a* for *e* or *e* for *a* (as in the case in point) occurs in 1<sup>1</sup> *deflanti*; 4<sup>8</sup> *discrucianda*; 4<sup>18</sup> *ualant*; 9<sup>11</sup> *cupians*; etc.<sup>42</sup> It is, therefore, clear, that in this one case *P* has simply stumbled upon the correct reading. As for *auare* (metrically as well as otherwise impossible) in 52<sup>8</sup>, we are justified in view of the evidence already cited in regarding this also, a certain error in any event, as merely another instance of *P*'s special failing, this time by mere coincidence shared with *L*.

The complete independence of *L* and *P* having been established, we shall next consider the relationship of *B* and *L*. These two excellent MSS., both written by intelligent scribes, naturally agree in a manner which is not surprising when one considers that both are but little removed in time from the archetype (see below). There are, however, not a few

<sup>39</sup> Further examples will be found in the *apparatus criticus* to the Latin text in *Æs.* 43<sup>o</sup>; 55<sup>12</sup>; 59<sup>11</sup>; 60<sup>o</sup>; *Av.* 15<sup>12</sup>; 16<sup>o</sup>; 25<sup>1</sup>; 25<sup>1</sup>, etc.

<sup>40</sup> Further examples will be found in the *apparatus criticus* to the Latin text in *Æs.* 32<sup>7</sup>; 43<sup>12</sup>; 46<sup>12</sup>; 58<sup>12</sup>; 61<sup>12</sup>; 63<sup>1</sup>; *Av.* 1<sup>12</sup>; 19<sup>o</sup>; 40<sup>17</sup>; etc.

<sup>41</sup> The absurd omission of *facientibus* in the title of *Æsop* 62 by *P* and *L* can be nothing more than a coincidence.

<sup>42</sup> Further examples of *a* for *e* will be found in 10<sup>o</sup>; 12<sup>4</sup>; 14<sup>8</sup>; 15<sup>2</sup>; 15<sup>2</sup>; 16<sup>12</sup>; 19<sup>12</sup>; 35<sup>2</sup>; 36<sup>2</sup>; *e* for *a* in 14<sup>8</sup>; 27<sup>2</sup>; 36<sup>2</sup>; both errors in one word, *captentam*; 22<sup>12</sup>. In the French text also *e* and *a* are frequently interchanged without any significance in the matter of MS. relation.

variations, which are of such a marked nature that they cannot be mere corrections of obvious errors, but, in whichever MS. they appear, show clearly that neither one was derived directly or even through an intermediary from the other. In the first place it is certain that *B* was not copied from *L*, because it contains a number of lines and words which *L* omits. These are identical with those which *P* contains as against *L* and have already been given above, so that they need not be repeated here. On the other hand, *L* does not contain a single line in the Latin text which is not also in *B*, good evidence of the superior care with which the latter was copied.<sup>43</sup> But *L* does contain five words in as many passages which *B* *P* do not contain. They are *Æsop* 16<sup>th</sup> non; 30<sup>th</sup> nutrito; 36<sup>3</sup> suis; 62<sup>th</sup> arte; Avianus 7<sup>5</sup> desunt. Now all of these readings are unexceptionable, satisfying sense and metre perfectly, and in the case of Avianus the reading desunt is that of all the other MSS. (more than seventy in number). A single one of these rather simple supplements, or even two, might be happy emendations, but, as an examination of *L*'s occasional attempts at emendation (discussed below) will make sufficiently clear, it is extremely improbable that each one of only five supplements should be unquestionably correct. A careful scrutiny of the several score variations between *B* and *L* will confirm the position that, while closely related, *L* cannot be a copy of *B*. Omitting mere variations in spelling and trifling blunders of penmanship, together with what might be regarded as very simple corrections like 19<sup>1</sup> ledere *L* ludere *B*, we have yet left a substantial residue of variants so marked as to make it impossible to suppose that *L* was following *B* and correcting occasional lapses. These instances are: 7<sup>8</sup> uel *L* (*correct*) nec *B*; 11<sup>1</sup> proteruo *L* pronderno *B*; 12<sup>10</sup> convivam *L* (*correct*) commuam > comnium *B*; 13<sup>17</sup> coniurat *L* (*correct*) conuincit *B*; 14<sup>th</sup> aquila *L* (*correct*) Cane (!) *B*; etc.<sup>44</sup> Now an occasional marked variant might be regarded as an emendation or a mere lapse, but so large a number of marked differences on the part of a MS. whose scribe, when he did try to emend, made such a mess of it (as will be shown below), compels one to the conclusion that *B* and *L* are independant copies of some other MS., and this conclusion is made certain by the fact that in the French text *L* contains three lines which were omitted by *B* (Ys. 12. end of 38 and beginning of 39; Av. 16.31; 18.35).

There remains but the consideration of the relation between *P* and *B*. In view of the relatively large number of omissions of words and lines in *P*, if for no other reason, it is clear that *B* is not a copy of *P*. On the other hand we are inclined to believe that *P* is copied directly from *B*, and that

<sup>43</sup> The French text of *L*, however, contains a few lines omitted by *B*; (see below).

<sup>44</sup> Other examples will be found in *Æs.* 18<sup>5</sup>; 19<sup>th</sup>; 19<sup>th</sup>; 22<sup>4</sup>; 22<sup>th</sup>; 27<sup>th</sup>; 29<sup>th</sup>; 33<sup>th</sup>; 38<sup>th</sup>; 39<sup>7</sup>; 40<sup>17</sup>; 40<sup>th</sup>; 42<sup>1</sup>; 42<sup>th</sup>; 43<sup>2</sup>; 45<sup>2</sup>; 46<sup>2</sup>; 46<sup>th</sup>; 49<sup>th</sup>, etc.; Av. 3<sup>1</sup>; 4<sup>th</sup>; 10<sup>2</sup>; 10<sup>th</sup>; 16<sup>th</sup>; 19<sup>7</sup>.

for these reasons.<sup>46</sup> In the first place, *P* does not contain a single line or word in the Latin text that is not also in *B*,<sup>46</sup> which, considering the bulk of the text, is almost inconceivable, if *P* was an independent copy even of the same original. In all five instances quoted above where *L* has words omitted by *B*, *P* has exactly the same lacunae. In the second place, no matter how bizarre or absurd the reading may occasionally be in *B*, *P* almost always reproduces it, sometimes making it even worse, partly by accident no doubt, but frequently by puerile attempts at emendations, only occasionally being successful in really correcting the most superficial errors, while more serious mistakes are never successfully attempted. Here are a few samples of *P*'s procedure: (a) Reproductions of absurd errors: *Æsop* 6<sup>13</sup> [in] repeated: 7<sup>8</sup> nec; 9<sup>1</sup> querula; 11<sup>8</sup> desideria; 12<sup>23</sup> sollicitus; 12<sup>26</sup> dittat; 13tit. nupe; 13<sup>13</sup> et; 15<sup>5</sup> pitteque; 16tit. non omitted; 16<sup>15</sup> numerabilis; 18<sup>13</sup> nittat; 30tit. angne and omits nutrito; 50<sup>17</sup> dimittere; 56<sup>24</sup> proterna; 58<sup>7</sup> pater; 58<sup>21</sup> curcis; 61<sup>3</sup> Dullus > Pullus *B* Dullus *P*; 61<sup>29</sup> ungeies; 61<sup>1</sup> mure; 64<sup>4</sup> colimus; *Avianus* 10<sup>6</sup> riduculum; 10<sup>13</sup> equeuene; 16<sup>14</sup> despais; 16<sup>17</sup> preceptis; 20<sup>16</sup> stulticius; 35<sup>11</sup> hirsurco, etc. (b) Further corruptions of an error in *B*, either as a mere slip, or as a puerile attempt at emendation, in either case, however, the reading of *P* being very probably a modification of the form in *B*: 6<sup>3</sup> ceruum *B* ceruum *P* (the last stroke deleted); 8<sup>4</sup> muinere *B* numere *P*; 11<sup>1</sup> proderno *B* proderuo *P*; 48<sup>5</sup> melo > molo *B* mollo *P*; 55<sup>1</sup> ania *B* ama *P*; 58<sup>15</sup> piscerua *B* piscerua > piscerna *P*; 63<sup>3</sup> ficus *B* fitus *P*; *Avianus* 4<sup>11</sup> cenes *B* senues *P*; 4<sup>14</sup> resedit *B* rescedit *P*; 27tit. subcilitate *B* subsilitate *P*; 35tit. siminerculiis *B* siminerculii *P*; 36<sup>6</sup> opata > opaca *B* optata *P*, etc. (c) Superficial emendations in *P*, which anyone with even the merest smattering of Latin could have made: *Æsop* 1<sup>4</sup> sor de *B* sorde *P*; 1<sup>10</sup> uoces *B* nocēs *P*; 1<sup>13</sup> moustrat *B* monstrat *P*; 2<sup>18</sup> tito *B* cito *P*; 13<sup>3</sup> que *B* quia *P*; 13<sup>10</sup> obese *B* obesse *P*; 26<sup>5</sup> libi *B* tibi *P*; 42<sup>27</sup> diurna *B* diuina *P*; 46<sup>16</sup> Amcupe *B* Aucupe *P*; *Avianus* 18<sup>17</sup> ne ne *B* ne ue *P* (for neue), etc. The more serious corruptions of *B* which were beyond *P*'s power to correct need not be listed here, as they appear on every page of the *apparatus criticus*.

The final and convincing argument that *P* is a direct copy of *B* is furnished by a list of those readings in *B* where *P*'s error is explicable only as a misunderstanding of the special form of writing in *B*: *Æsop* Prologue<sup>13</sup> nucleum *B* undeum *P* (the -cl- in *B* look very much like -d-); 2<sup>13</sup> uixi *B* inri *P* (the -x- in *B* looks like an -r-); 49<sup>3</sup> u'uex *B* (*i.e.* ueruex) uuex *P*; 56<sup>1</sup> Querere *B* Quocere *P* (-e- and the -r- in *B*, both imperfectly

<sup>46</sup> For additional evidence derived from the illustrations, see below.

<sup>47</sup> Except Ys. 12. 38-9, where *P* fabricated a verse to fill up a gap in *B* where parts of two verses had fallen out.

made, look not unlike -oc-); 57<sup>8</sup> f't *B* (i.e. fert—so written in *L*) ft' *P* (i.e. sunt); Avianus 9<sup>5</sup> uario *B* uano *P* (-ri- looks like -n-); 12<sup>13</sup> in *B* ut *P* (the upward flourish of the -n- in *B* makes the word look something like ut); 12<sup>13</sup> ridenti *B* uidenti *P* (-ri- looks not unlike u-); 18<sup>9</sup> fcis *B* (i.e. factis) fris *P* (the f- and the -c- being joined look like fr-); 18<sup>10</sup> nrā *B* (i.e. nostra) uiam *P* (the -n- looking like -u- and the stroke being over the -a- alone make the combination look like uia); 19<sup>5</sup> [the additional fable] stipl'atus *B* (i.e. stipulatus) stiplantus *P* (i.e. stipulantus) (a confusion of 'with', which in this style of writing often look somewhat similar). Numerous similar cases could be quoted from the French text if it were necessary in order to establish the relationship.

The evidence just presented we feel to be sufficient to show that *P* is a direct copy of *B*, and so for purposes of textual criticism worthless. In view, however, of the great difficulty of proving absolutely that one *MS.* is a direct copy of another, when there are no lacunae caused by actual holes in what is supposed to have been the original, we have thought best to quote the principal variants of *P* in the *apparatus criticus* and not suppress any evidence which might possibly lead others to reach a different conclusion. In the French text, however, merely orthographic variants are ordinarily disregarded, and it did not seem worth while to give all the mere errors of *P*.

We shall next consider briefly the special characteristics of the writing in the three MSS. *B* is written by a single hand throughout. Confusion of c and t, u and n, ui and ni with m, and the like are very frequent, but due for the most part to the general style of writing which prevailed at the time. *B* (and *P*) are also strongly inclined to separate the preposition from the other element in the compound, differing markedly from *L* in this. In the case of que all three MSS. separate it frequently from the preceding word, but *L* does this less often than the other two. Other words are sometimes wrongly divided in the MSS., but errors of that kind are common in this period.<sup>47</sup> *B* has been corrected frequently, and apparently at three different times, first by the first hand itself before *P* was copied, for not a few corrections also appear in *P*. Thus Æsop Prol.<sup>13</sup> absit>adsit (adsit *P*, and so for the other cases); 2<sup>14</sup> fulciter>fulsiter; 11<sup>7</sup> stollidus>stolidus; 12<sup>23</sup> rodi>redi; 18<sup>25</sup> cur>cui; 19<sup>8</sup> (something, now illegible)>dampna; 26<sup>10</sup> uellera>uellere; 40<sup>28</sup> reddit>redit; 49<sup>4</sup> fidus>fedus; 54<sup>7</sup> cum>cui; Avianus 25<sup>18</sup> habent>habet, etc.; second, by a contemporary hand of the same style, but probably after *P* was copied,

<sup>47</sup> A more or less carefully drawn hand with a long index finger pointing out the moral, or some verse of which the scribe happened to approve, is very frequent in the margin of *B*, but does not appear at all in the other MSS.

for a good many are not adopted by *P*, although they are plainly made: thus *Æsop* 10<sup>6</sup> re-diturus *B* (redditurus *P*); 14<sup>13</sup> laux > laus (laux *P*); 17<sup>13</sup> heras > herus *B* (heras *P*); 33<sup>7</sup> Hic > Hec *B* (Hic *P*); 40<sup>11</sup> tanso > tenso *B* (tanso *P*); *Avianus* 19<sup>11</sup> unt > unc (for nunc) *B* (unt *P*); 20<sup>16</sup> Stulticius > Stultius *B* (Stulticius *P*); 25<sup>1</sup> putet > putei (putet *P*), etc. Finally, a later hand, called *m.* 2, entered a few corrections, none of which, of course, appear in *P*. This hand is much coarser, and may belong to the fifteenth century, or even later. Its readings appear in the *apparatus criticus*.<sup>48</sup>

Although written in general with commendable care and faithfulness, there are not wanting indications that *B* occasionally attempted to correct his original, generally with disastrous results. Thus *Æsop* 12tit. De mure et rustico et urbano *B P* De mure rustico correctly *L*; 29<sup>3</sup> quanta *B P* canta *L* (for cauta); 34<sup>3</sup> imus *B P* inus *L* (for imis; *L* was more faithful to his original, while *B* tried to correct it); 35<sup>5</sup> Multa refers *B P* for Mula refert; *Avianus* 19<sup>7</sup> Pauperibus . . . loquamur *B P* for Puppi-bus . . . locamur: Pauperibus . . . locamur *L* (*B* in trying to correct one error makes another).

On the whole, however, *B* seems to be somewhat more careful and consistent than *L* (compare its very small list of omissions in the Latin text, none of which includes a whole line or couplet),<sup>49</sup> and has been taken as the standard MS. for the few cases where there is nothing to choose in sense between the readings of *B* and *L*, and in the spelling, especially of such words as sed (set), simia (symia) and the like, which are almost constantly varying.<sup>50</sup>

*P* is written in a single hand throughout, somewhat more elegant than those of the two other MSS. Each line is ended with a point, and occasionally a point is placed in the middle of the line, for no purpose, so far as can be ascertained, unless it be to mark a spot at which the writer stopped for a while, or else to gratify some aesthetic whim. Similar points occur very rarely indeed in *B* and *L*, likewise without any discoverable purpose. *P*'s knowledge of Latin was very scanty, and the MS. is disfigured by hundreds of the grossest errors. The commonest are the confusion of a and e (see above p. 21), the substitution of s or sc for c and vice versa (*Æsop* Prologue<sup>9</sup> prescium for precium; Prol.<sup>15</sup> nessimus for nescimus; 9<sup>3</sup> curcitat for cursitat; 11<sup>10</sup> ci for si; 13<sup>3</sup> sibus for cibus, etc.), and a confusion of est and et (*Æsop* 28<sup>9</sup> et for est; 42<sup>21</sup> estas for etas; 40<sup>34</sup> postest for

<sup>48</sup> The corrections of the 2nd hand are almost uniformly justified, but occasionally it made a slip, as *Æsop* 30<sup>9</sup> item *B* > iterum 2nd hand; 31<sup>5</sup> defedere *B* (for de federe) > defendere 2nd hand; 34<sup>10</sup> hic MSS. wrongly; then the 2nd hand illa > ille to secure grammatical concord.

<sup>49</sup> For the omission of lines in the French version see above.

<sup>50</sup> For a consideration of Hervieux's suggestion that *B* and *L* were written by the same scribe, see below under *L*.

potest, etc.). The scribe probably pronounced to himself the word he was going to write.

The relation of *P* to *B* has been adequately discussed above, where some of *P*'s characteristics were pointed out. It might be added that the Latin text of *P* is addicted to faulty division of words, seldom failing to separate the preposition from the rest of the compound, in addition to dividing simple words in a grotesque fashion. Occasionally French words and forms obtrude themselves, particularly in the titles and the word *moralitas*, which appears once in a while as *la moralite*. Instances of *P*'s correcting obvious slight blunders in *B* have been given above. In general the scribe did not try to make any meaning out of what he read, and so remained reasonably faithful, although writing the merest nonsense. Only rarely did he attempt a correction and then generally with disastrous results. Two or three instances may serve as examples: *Æsop* 31<sup>7</sup> *fater* *B* (for *fateri*) *facere* *P*; 41<sup>11</sup> *uie* > *uix* *B* *uite* *P*; 48<sup>8</sup> *plano* *B* *plano* > *plana* *P*.<sup>61</sup>

*L* is written by two hands, which resemble each other so closely, however, that it is a little difficult to point out just where the second hand begins. The first hand wrote as far as the 16th line of the French version of *Æsop* 36, f. 54<sup>a</sup>. The remainder of the MS. seems to have been written by a different hand, which shows but few characteristic features. At first it is smaller, more angular and crabbed, but soon increases in size until by f. 59 it is as large as the first hand. Marked differences in the forms of capital N, L, and S may be observed between these two hands. The abbreviation for *et* even at the beginning of a line appears only in the second part of this MS., the first instances occurring on f. 55<sup>a</sup>, 60<sup>a</sup>, 62<sup>a</sup>, 62<sup>b</sup> twice, 64<sup>a</sup>, 64<sup>b</sup>, 68<sup>a</sup>, 69<sup>b</sup>, etc.; also that for *cum* or *con* appears for the first time on f. 58<sup>a</sup>, then 66<sup>b</sup>, 89<sup>a</sup>, etc. Other abbreviations like that for *quod* (f. 69<sup>b</sup> twice, 70<sup>a</sup> thrice, 72<sup>a</sup>, etc.) are also characteristic of the second hand. The second hand was also much more careful about adding *Addicio*, which it omits only six times in all, writing it also for the additional fables 62 and 63 of *Æsop*, and 19 of *Avianus*, while the first hand never wrote it at all, except in *Æsop* 34 and 36, i.e. just before the second hand began. This change in practice is probably due to specific instructions. The second hand also changes the usage of the first hand with regard to the relative position of the titles and the illustrations. Whereas the first hand writes the title above the illustration, the second hand writes it below, except in *Æsop* 57 and *Avianus* 20, where there was a certain amount of space on the preceding page, but not quite enough for the illustration, so that it seemed almost necessary to put the title there,

<sup>61</sup> Robert's belief that *P* is the very MS. presented by the author to the Queen of France (*op. cit.*, I, p. clvi) is of course absurd, and has been amply refuted by Hervieux (*op. cit.*, I, p. 526).

and Avianus 4, where there is no room for the title at the bottom of the page under the illustration, and it is omitted entirely.<sup>22</sup>

As regards Hervieux's suggestion that *L* and *B* were written by the same hand, this is clearly impossible for the second hand of *L*, because the characteristic letters mentioned above, i.e. N, L, and S do not appear in these forms in *B*, and beside that the general style of writing is somewhat different. On the other hand, there are marked resemblances between *B* and the first hand of *L*. All letters are made in the same way by these two hands, with the single exception that the first hand of *L* in seven isolated places toward the beginning (within the first twelve fables) uses the rounded form of capital N, a style which never appears in *B*. Besides, the failure of *L*<sup>1</sup> to enter *Addicio* (except twice, as noted above), and the total absence of pointing hands, so characteristic of *B*, make us inclined to believe that three different hands were at work in these MSS. A glance is sufficient to convince anyone that *P* was written by yet a fourth scribe. The style has many slight points of divergence, most notable being a form of capital S, which occurs only once in the other two MSS., i.e. *L* f. 71<sup>b</sup>.

A late hand (15th or 16th century) has occasionally scribbled *flos* opposite some sententious verse, but this has no critical value, and no mention of it has been made in the *apparatus criticus*.

*L* is written in general with commendable fidelity and instances have been given above where it has preserved a correct or nearly correct reading when even *B* felt constrained to emend. But there are a few cases in which *L* also has yielded to the same temptation. In *Æsop* 1<sup>5</sup> *limus* has been changed to *finus* (the word used in line 1), but Foerster's<sup>23</sup> MSS. do not show it, and the variation in expression is probably to be accepted as intentional; in *Æsop* 11<sup>5</sup> *monet* of *L* is no doubt an emendation, but an unnecessary one, of *mouet* *B*, and the same is probably true of *mones* *L* for *mouens* *B* in 18<sup>5</sup>; in 17<sup>17</sup> *laudatio* of *L*, while tolerable, is not so good as *laudabile* of *B*; 19<sup>17-18</sup> are omitted by *L*, and do not appear in any of the oldest and best MSS. of Walter which Foerster used for his edition: *L* had some reason for doubting the genuineness of these verses, which may have been written in the margin of the archetype, but in view of the numerous *Addiciones* of this version in addition to the five new fables, we have no reason to doubt that they were added by the author of the work and *L* was hypercritical in rejecting them; in 21<sup>10</sup> *inspecta fine* *L* as against *inspecto fine* of *B* is doubtless a scholarly but needless emendation, as *finis fem.* is poetical and relatively rare in classical Latin; *scit* in 31<sup>14</sup> for *sit* *B* is an imperfect attempt at emending what must

<sup>22</sup> A closer scrutiny would doubtless disclose other points of dissimilarity between the two hands, but those just given are sufficient to prove the point.

<sup>23</sup> W. Foerster, *Lyoner Ysopet* (*Allfranzösische Bibliothek*, 5), Heilbronn, 1882.

have appeared to *L* as strange Latin; in 44<sup>2</sup> hic *L* is more likely an attempt to make sense out of hinc *B* than a false reading of huc which is the correct word here; in 46<sup>th</sup> ancipite is probably due to an effort to make a Latin word out of ancipitre *B*, whereas the correct word here is accipitre; in Avianus 3<sup>10</sup> the ending cum culpa redarguit ipsum is to be sure the form of the verse Ps-Cato, *Dist.* I, 30, 2, but it makes a hexameter here instead of the necessary pentameter; in 14<sup>10</sup> *B* wrote Ipsum et in risum, which is unmetrical, and *L*'s reading Ipsumque in risum is a respectable effort at emendation, although the correct reading is etiam; lurida *L* for liuida *B* may be an error, but is more likely an interpolation; in 16<sup>th</sup> *B* has conuertu, *L* writing conūtu (doubtless intended for conuentu), while quercu is wanted; in 16<sup>3</sup> abluens *L* in eras. is probably an interpolation, and the same is very likely true of recedit, likewise in an erasure, in 16<sup>4</sup>; in 35<sup>7</sup> the change of nichil (falsely written for uel) to in is a fairly creditable emendation, but as the correction was made by merely running a line through the last four letters, it may be due to the corrector and not to the first hand. Summing up these variants, one would infer that *L* was written by a more scholarly scribe than *B* and for that reason offers a somewhat less safe basis for constituting the text, because of the conclusive evidence that readings were more frequently tampered with than is the case in *B*.

A slightly later hand, which in the *apparatus criticus* is called second hand,<sup>44</sup> made a few corrections in *L*. These are more generally right than wrong, but are commonly only very simple emendations, which need not be enumerated here as they all appear in their proper place. The corrector worked, however, without the original before him, as is evident from one drastic example. In *Æsop* 51<sup>25</sup> *L* by confusion with verse 23 wrote Fulgida libertas uenditur auro. The corrector patched up a verse by adding pro nullo after libertas. His readings must therefore all be regarded as mere conjectures.

We are now in a position to draw some conclusions as to the character of the archetype of these MSS. In the first place the archetype was corrected, the new reading probably being placed above the other, so that it was mistaken occasionally for an indication of omitted letters. Thus in the superscription to the whole work *B* has auimoneto, an absurd form, which *P* further corrupts to ammoneto. The archetype must have had a<sup>u</sup>imoneto, and *B* made the mistake of introducing the correction before the letter which it was intended to replace. In *Æsop* 37<sup>2</sup> the MSS. have hic hoc falsely for simple hic. The archetype must have had <sup>hic</sup> ~~hoc~~.

<sup>44</sup> Each separate original hand of *L* is called "1st hand" in the *apparatus*, and the corrector "2nd hand," in order to avoid confusion.



In 38<sup>30</sup> the fact that *B* reads a *proposito* and *L* *proposito a* may likewise be due to the archetype having placed an omitted *a* over *proposito*. Similarly in Avianus 10<sup>13</sup> *B*'s absurd reading *equeuene* can only be a misunderstood correction of the archetype's *equeue*. Again in 20<sup>16</sup> *B*'s reading *Stulticius* is explicable only if the archetype had *Stulci<sup>u</sup>s*.

Again, the archetype certainly had glosses which were occasionally taken for corrections. The following certain cases from Avianus will serve as examples: 19<sup>17</sup> the MSS. have *Dicunt doctores quod rara est concordia forme*, where the unmetrical *est* is a gloss from the original. Again in 27<sup>6</sup> the MSS. have *addit* for *dedit*; *L*, which originally wrote *dedit*, erased it later and entered *addit* (which is metrically impossible) from a gloss. In 36<sup>1</sup> the unmetrical *indomita* for *intacta* must have crept in in the same way, and in 36<sup>21</sup> the similarly impossible *aliquid* for *quid*. There must be a great many such substitutions which cannot now be determined with any certainty, because the author of the whole version treated his original with great freedom, and freely substituted whole phrases as well as single synonyms or practical equivalents. As a result of this procedure no doubt a good many glosses are included in our text, because we have felt free to restore the original text only when the MS. reading is unmetrical or makes nonsense. An inferior reading which scans and construes has often been accepted, therefore, although it is probably true that a number of these are due not to the author but to a glossator.

Again the archetype contained numerous abbreviations, as is evident from the mistakes made occasionally in our MSS. in attempting to fill them out. Thus the abbreviation for *per* and *par* caused the error *Perturriunt* in Æsop 23<sup>9</sup> for *Parturiunt*; *perca* in 32<sup>3</sup> *B* (*L* has *pca*) for *parca*; *comparit* *B* in 52<sup>8</sup> (*comparit* > *comperit* *L* 2nd hand) for *comperit*; *reperans* in 52<sup>14</sup> for *reparans*; *perua* *L* in 53<sup>4</sup> for *parva*; *Sperserat* in Avianus 15<sup>8</sup> for *Sparserat*; *perte* *L* 20<sup>6</sup> for *parce*; *perdus* *L* in 40<sup>4</sup> for *pardus* etc. The abbreviation for *cum* or *con* probably occurred, as the error in the title of Avianus 16 *conuertu* *B* *conuentu* *L* for *quercu* would show. The copyists certainly mistook a poorly made *q* for this symbol, a thing which they would hardly have done, had not this abbreviation been employed elsewhere. The frequency with which *que* and *quem* appear for *quam* (Æsop 26<sup>12</sup>; Avianus 36<sup>12</sup>; 40<sup>12</sup> etc.) shows that abbreviations for these words were also employed. Other errors, which need not be enumerated here, show that the abbreviation for *n* or *m*, for *re* and for *bus* also were employed. In Avianus 19<sup>3</sup> the curious error of the MSS., *honor* for *haberi*, makes it plausible that this word was abbreviated likewise, probably as *hri*. As for the style of handwriting, such errors as *docuit* and *docet*, Æsop 31<sup>8-9</sup> for *decut* and *decet*, would indicate that *e* and *o* might easily be confused, and instances like *quanta* *B* *canta* *L* for *cauta* in Æsop 29<sup>3</sup>,

show that *u* and *n* closely resembled each other. These facts together establish the conclusion that the archetype was written in a style practically identical with that of the MSS. themselves, and probably sometime not long before the middle of the 14th century, a result which agrees perfectly with the internal evidence, as will be shown below. MSS. *B P* and *L*, it should be added, are to be dated by palaeographical indicia about the middle of the 14th century, probably within a few years of the composition of the version itself.<sup>55</sup>

The archetype of our MSS., however, in view of the large number of palpable errors which it contains, as well as the glosses, can hardly have been the original MS. of this collection of Latin fables and of the French translation, although it must have been written soon after the work was composed.

The extreme variability of the position of the words *Moralitas* and *Addicio*, which sometimes occupy a separate line, frequently appear a verse too soon or too late (but rarely more than one verse out of the way), and almost as often are omitted altogether, makes it clear that in the archetype these words were entered in the margin, and not always as exactly as might have been desired. Because of the very slight critical value of these notes we have not taken the trouble to indicate whether the words in question were abbreviated or not, and whether they are marginal or entered in the body of the text. We have printed them for the convenience of readers, just as we have added punctuation and set in the pentameter verse, as mere matters of editing.

Turning now to the French version, internal evidence would place its composition in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The first attempt to date the work was by an unknown scholar, probably of the 17th century, who wrote in the margin of *L*, f. 138<sup>a</sup> opposite verse 41 in the epilogue mentioning *Ma dame iehanne de borgoingne: feme de philips le long qui reignoit 1316*.<sup>56</sup> This was perhaps the same person who on f. 7<sup>a</sup> of this MS. dated the work in 1316 (see above), unless the latter entry has been simply transferred from this place. The second dating is contained in the mere numerals *MCCCXXXIII* in the upper right hand corner of *P* f. 1<sup>a</sup>. Robert, *op. cit.*, I, clxvi, 1, regards this as "fort ancienne," but to us the writing seems to belong to the 18th century.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Dr. Keidel, *op. cit.*, p. 212, would place the writing of *P* about 1325, *L* about 1345, and *B* about 1365. It seems to us, however, that even if *P* could not be proved to be a copy of *B*, it is the youngest of the three MSS. In any case, 1325 is too early a date.

<sup>56</sup> It is not absolutely certain that 1316 and not 1326 is written, but Douce and Hervieux read the date as 1316, and that is the date which was probably intended.

<sup>57</sup> Hervieux, *op. cit.*, P, p. 526, apparently followed by Keidel, *op. cit.*, p. 212, regards this as a mere "ancienne cote," which, however, in view of its singular appropriateness, seems very improbable, especially as it is written in a fashion that makes it far from prominent as compared with the other two classification numbers.

Robert was at first inclined to place the work about 1340, but later accepted the date 1333, partly on the strength of this note, and partly because he thought that there was no mention of any children of Bonne, wife of the Dauphin Jean, Duke of Normandy, to whom she bore seven children after their marriage in 1332.

The verses in the epilogue which furnish the evidence for fixing the date are as follows:

vv. 39-44:

En l'onneur de ma dame chiere  
La royne a très belle chiere,  
Ma dame Jehenne de Bourgoingne,  
Ou n'a ne mante ne vergoingne,  
Fille du duc d'icelle terre,  
Ceste matiere ai volu querre.

and

vv. 77-86:

L'ainsné fil du bon roi de France  
Qui est de justice balance,  
Ma dame Bonne sa compaignie  
Qui de bonté porte l'ensaigne  
Ne samble pas estre rimé  
Qui n'est chèrement exprimé  
De sa belle succession  
De ses enfans, pour qui prion,  
Que Jhesu Cris le roi de gloire  
Avoir les vuille en sa memoire.

It is clear that the author of the note in *L* set the year 1316 somewhat arbitrarily, as that was the date of the accession to the throne of Philip V ("le long"), who had a wife Jeanne of Burgundy. The date 1333 is probably due to the erroneous belief (shared by Robert) that none of the children of Bonne of Luxembourg were mentioned, and Bonne was married in 1332. Neither of these dates accordingly is satisfactory. Before Robert had published his work, Francis Douce in a letter to Lord Grenville (dated, probably by the recipient,<sup>58</sup> 28 March, 1816), to be found in the front of *L*, had applied a better method. He observed from the mention of "Madame Bonne" as wife of "l'ainsné fils du bon roy de France," who could be none other than Bonne of Luxembourg, married to Jean, Duke of Normandy (afterwards King Jean le Bon, 1350-64), in May 1332, that the Queen Jeanne referred to must have been Jeanne of

<sup>58</sup> See H. L. D. Ward: *Catalogue of Romances etc. in the British Museum*, London, 1893, v. II, p. 336.

Burgundy,<sup>60</sup> wife of Philip VI, 1328–50. Verse 84 of the epilogue was taken by Robert (and perhaps his anonymous predecessor) as a prayer for the birth of children, by Francis Douce and others,<sup>61</sup> as a prayer for their preservation. Accepting the latter interpretation as correct, the epilogue cannot have been composed earlier than the birth of the second child to Bonne, which seems to have occurred on July 23, 1339,<sup>62</sup> so that this year is the *terminus post quem*. The *terminus ante quem* would be the death of Queen Jeanne or of Bonne. There is some uncertainty as to which died first, since various dates in 1348 and 1349 are given for the death of each,<sup>63</sup> but taking 1348, in which year it seems very likely that at least one of them died, and probably both, we can place the composition of the epilogue, and so presumably of the whole work, between 1339 and 1348. That it was nearer the latter than the former year, as Francis Douce thought, we see no reason to believe, as at any time after 1339 the plural “enfants” would have been appropriate.

In regard to the author of this version nothing is known.<sup>64</sup> It may be that a woman composed the Addiciones, following the well-known example

<sup>60</sup> This Queen Jeanne was a patroness of learning, to whom not a few works were dedicated. See A. Coville in Lavissee's *Histoire de France*, v. IV, 1, p. 399, and Ernest Renan, *Histoire Litt. de France*, v. XXIV, p. 167.

<sup>61</sup> J. T. Payne and H. Foss: *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, London 1842, v. I, p. 8, who quote a part of Douce's letter (the reference is taken from Hervieux), and H. L. D. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 336. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, v. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 572 (who, however, failed to observe that the editors of the *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana* were quoting from Douce, and conjectures that they were following Robert), does not express himself on this point, regarding the consideration of a more precise date as “une discussion . . . oiseuse.”

<sup>62</sup> The *Chronique Normande du XIV siècle* ed. Molinier, 1882, p. 96, says that Jean and Bonne had four sons and three daughters, and that the oldest daughter married Charles de Navarre. The eldest son, later Charles V, was born Jan. 21, 1337, the second, Louis of Anjou, later Louis I of Naples, July 23, 1339. The date of birth of the eldest daughter Jeanne is not given, but she was eight years old when she married Charles of Navarre in 1351 (Cath. Bearne: *Lives and Times of Early Valois Queens*, London, 1899, p. 180), 1352 (Martin: *Hist. de France*, v. 5, p. 128), or 1353 (Woodward and Cates: *Encycl. of Chronol.*, under Charles II of Navarre; A. Coville, *op. cit.*, p. 93, does not give the date). Taking the earliest date, 1351, Jeanne de France could not have been born before 1343, so that Louis of Anjou was the second child.

<sup>63</sup> Jeanne de Bourgogne died Sept. 11, 1349 (*Les grandes Chroniques*, ed. P. Paris, v. V, p. 490), or Dec 12, 1348 (U. Chevalier: *Rep. ces sources hist. du moyen âge*, s. v.; and by implication, A. Coville, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 88), or Aug. 11, 1348 (Cath. Bearne, *op. cit.*, p. 153). Bonne of Luxembourg died Sept. 11, 1349 (*Les grandes Chroniques* etc., p. 490; U. Chevalier, *op. cit.*, s. v.), or else 1348 (as implied by A. Coville, *op. cit.*, p. 88, and by the general belief that Jean II, who married Blanche de Navarre in Jan. 1349, had originally selected her to be the wife of his recently widowed son, but succumbed to her charms himself, and married her only a month after the death of his first Queen). Anselme de Sainte Marie: *Histoire généalogique et chronique de la maison royale de France*, has not been accessible.

<sup>64</sup> Mr. Douce's suggestion (p. 3<sup>b</sup>) that the prologue might show the author's name in an acrostic is unfortunately not borne out by the text of B. We cannot find any trace of an acrostic either in the Latin Proemium or in the French translation of it.

of Marie de France. In *Æsop* 12<sup>25-26</sup> the *Addicio* runs as follows:

Nolo saginatum uitulum perfusa timore;  
Non volo mellitos plena timore cibos.

It is certainly noteworthy that the author speaking in the first person uses feminine forms; masculine forms would have required a complete recasting of the verse. Again one should note that two fables of rather doubtful moral tone, which are in *Walter*, 48 *The Ephesian Widow*, and 49 *Thais*, are omitted in *B*, *L* and *P*, and their place taken by new ones, of unimpeachable respectability. This might be due to the fact that the collection was adapted for the benefit of the ladies of the Court, but would be even more natural if the writer were herself a woman. In *a*, *b*, and *c*, however, the two fables of *Walter* just mentioned are included, with two others omitted by *B*, *L*, and *P*; but *a*, *b*, and *c* do not have the additions which are found both in Latin and in French in *B L P*.

On the other hand in the only other passage in the *Addiciones* where the author speaks in the first person, the masculine is used, *i.e.* *Æsop* 33<sup>16</sup>:

Ut michi gratus eris, sic tibi gratus ero.

This might be due to parallelism, or the common way in which the masculine was employed even by women, or finally because of metrical necessity, since the feminine form would spoil the verse. Certainly the original author was religiously inclined, as the pious tone of the prologue evidences, not to mention the religious coloring of many of the morals and additions.<sup>64</sup> It seems clear that the original intention of the author of the *Addiciones* was to have the collection close with *Avianus* 40. The *Addicio* here is exceptionally long, and expresses the sentiments appropriate to the conclusion of a work which had begun with an invocation to the Virgin. The wretched 19th fable is medieval in origin and an obvious interpolation (not in *b*, *c*). In the light of all the evidence, and especially the fact that in the Epilogue to *Ysopet* v. 15 *a*, *b* and *c* read *gens layes* instead of *dames*, omitting vv. 17-42, and in the Epilogue to *Avionnet* *b* and *c* (*a* is incomplete) omit everything after v. 6, it is clear that we have the compositions of at least three authors before us; first, 'the original work' (as represented by *a*, *b* and *c*), written by a monk (represented in the illustration to the prologue); second, 'the present work', characterized by the omission of several fables, but enlarged by *Addiciones* both Latin and French, composed probably by a woman, between 1339-1348; third an interpolation like *Av. XIX*, and perhaps a few others, especially in the digressions.

<sup>64</sup> From the epilogue to *Æsop*, v. 17 ff. Mr. Douce (f. 3<sup>b</sup>) felt certain that the author was not an ecclesiastic, but this is one of the *Addiciones* only.

The enlarger seems to have been a denizen of Burgandy, or at least living there when this work was composed. In the epilogue, l. 43, Madame Jeanne of Burgundy is called *fille du duc d' icelle terre* (so *B* and *L*: *P* falsely, *roy<sup>es</sup>*), which ought to mean that the author was in Burgundy when she wrote. On the other hand in the same epilogue, ll. 75-6, she calls the Dauphin, Jean Duke of Normandy, *Mon seigneur . . . . Le Duc*, an expression which led Robert, *op. cit.*, p. clxvi, to suggest that the author was a Norman, but which cannot be pressed in view of the more definite statement in the passage first quoted. Any Duke would be a "seigneur" to the enlarger of our work, and Jean was the son of Queen Jeanne, for whom the work was written. Of the author of the original work nothing whatever is known. No definite evidence that this particular collection was used at a later period exists, to our knowledge, but it is possible that the phrase used in the title prefixed to the table of contents of a Brit. Mus. French MS. of *Exemples moraux* from the XVth Cent. "cest assauoir des fables de Esopet et de Auianet," MS. Harl. 4403, f. 1, (see J. H. Herbert: *Cat. of Romances*, Vol. III, 1910, p. 718) recalls, in this special combination, our work. Mr. Herbert, however, in the samples given, pp. 719 f., cites none from Avianus, and in a letter which he had the kindness to send in answer to an inquiry, expresses a decided doubt if the author of these excerpts ever saw or used any text or translation of Avianus.<sup>66</sup>

The translator has considerably expanded the original, without, however, adding many new motifs to the narratives of the fables themselves. Many allusions to society and literature are brought in, and many proverbial sayings. Chess is referred to (e.g., Ys. 42.84; 52.66), and many legal terms and usages are introduced (e.g., Ys. 16.6; 31. 2-17; 41.60; and especially the long passage in Ys. 37, which is omitted in *a*, *b* and *c* and is therefore one of the additions). In Ys. 48, which concerns the serpent and the file, a long story which has nothing to do with the fable, except that it likewise concerns a file, is added. Finally, several of the animals are called by the names which they bear in the beast-epic; see lists of proper names below, p. 259.

<sup>66</sup> Compare H. L. D. Ward: *Cat. of Romances*, etc., v. 2, p. 342.

<sup>67</sup> Mr. Burgess (f. 5<sup>b</sup> of *MS. L*) calls attention to the fact that a similar French translation of Ps.-Cato's *Disticha* and the *Edogues* of Theodulus (works very closely related to Avianus), MS. Harl. 1008, was also dedicated "reginae cuidam." It may be of course that this is a work of the same author, but in the absence of definite information it would be rash to do more than merely suggest the possibility.

## THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Perhaps the most striking feature of these MSS. is the elaborate series of illustrations which precede in each case the text of the Latin fable. The close resemblance in the three MSS. makes it certain that the scribes (or illustrators) are following with reasonable fidelity a copy, which was no doubt one of the features of the original work that was expected by the author to commend it to the favorable attention of the ladies of the court. In the light of the results obtained by Thiele in his study of the Ademar Æsop and other illustrated MSS.,<sup>67</sup> one naturally looks for some traces of ancient, that is classical, designs in dress, architecture and equipment. But these fail completely. Every feature of dress, architecture, utensils, and equipment is thoroughly medieval, Jupiter and the Athenians being quite as medieval as the rest, so that although we may be inclined to grant Thiele's contention, based as it is upon a minute study of several parallel series of fable pictures, that the type and general design of these drawings derives from a work of the second or third century, it is clear that the artist of the particular designs which the three MSS. of the present work reproduce, eliminated whatever detail was strange to him, and modernized with complete independence and consistency.<sup>68</sup>

One cannot be certain on the question whether the illustrations were made by the scribes of the MSS. or not. On the whole it seems not improbable that they were. Those of *P* are incomparably more elegant than the ones of *B* and *L*, just as the handwriting of *P* is somewhat finer than that of these other MSS., and it is obvious that a different hand produced them. If a special illustrator had been employed to fill in the pictures, it is difficult to imagine that several illustrators would have been available in the same scriptorium, and that in each case the character of the writing and the drawing in the several MSS. would have been so similar. If, then, we may assume that the scribe and the artist were the same individual, we should expect to find the same relationship exist-

<sup>67</sup> Thiele's conclusions, especially with reference to the illustrations of the present work, which he knew only from M. Robert's publication, may be found in his dissertation, *De antiquorum libris pictis*, Marburg, 1897, pp. 39 f.; *Der illustrierte lateinische Æsop in der Handschrift des Ademar*, Leiden, 1905, p. 26; *Der lateinische Æsop des Romulus*, etc., Heidelberg, 1910, pp. CXXXI ff. His principal results are admitted, although with some reservations on minor points, by G. Swarzenski, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1908, 431 f.

<sup>68</sup> In addition to the already known illustrated prose Æsop-Avianus of Trier, No. 1108, s. XIV, which will be published before long, there are indications in another MS., Munich, Cgm. 50 C, s. XV, that its original, now lost, was illustrated. After 22 of the 42 fables of Avianus is entered the caption *deficit pictura*, after 7 there is no note, and after 13 there are Arabic numerals apparently referring to pages or the number of the illustration. A comparison of the numbers noted shows that the original was neither our text, the Trier MS., nor Steinhöwel.

ing between the three sets of illustrations which obtains for the texts. A careful comparison of the pictures tends to substantiate the hypothesis.

To begin with *B* and *P*. We shall list and discuss the significant features in which *B* and *P* agree against *L*. *Æsop* 2 the wolf faces r. in *B* and *P*, l. in *L*; 3 *L* omits the *miluus*; 4 the judge raises his r. hand in *B* and *P*, his l. in *L*; 6 the title in the MSS. runs *De cane capra iuuenca et leone*, but the text has an *ouis* in place of the *canis*. *B* and *P* picture *ouis*, *canis*, *capra* and *iuuenca*, while *L* correctly represents only *ouis*, *capra* and *iuuenca*, despite the *canis* in the title. It is clear that here *B* and *P* have interpolated a *canis* into the picture to agree with the error in the title<sup>66</sup> (it seems very unlikely that this very bold interpolation would have arisen independently in two MSS.); 7 *B* and *P* have five figures, *L* seven; 12 *B* and *P* represent a tankard (but in different positions), *L* a cup; 16 a dog biting the lion in the back is interpolated by *B* and *P*, not in *L*; 17 in *B* and *P* the master caresses the dog with his l. hand, in *L* he feeds the dog; 18 *B* and *P* show four mice and the lion with both forefeet on the ground, *L* five mice and the lion with r. forefoot raised; 21 *B* and *P* show five doves in the nest, *L* six doves; 24 *B* and *P* picture the *miluus* on the left with her l. foot upraised, *L* with both on the ground; 31 *B* and *P* show the wolf on the ground, *L* on a bench; 33 *B* and *P* represent both scenes in the fable with two foxes and two cranes, *L* combines into one scene with only one figure of each animal; 34 in *B* and *P* the king of birds (inferred but not specifically mentioned in the fable) has no crown, in *L* a crown; *B* has seven additional birds on the ground and *P* six, but *L* five on the ground (one an owl) and three in the air, one of which appeals to the king of birds; 37 in *B* and *P* the fox has his tail upraised and his l. paw, the *simia* faces r. with a rod in its left hand, and the hare has its r. paw upraised, in *L* the fox's tail is outstretched, both forefeet are on the *simia*'s bench, the *simia* faces l. without a rod, and the hare has both forefeet on the ground; 40 *B* and *P* show an armed man and no tree, *L* a tree but no man; 44 in *B* and *P* the deer is on the l., and a hunter and dog (the latter very differently represented, to be sure) are shown, *L* has no hunter nor dog, and the deer r.; 47 *L* has no tree; 48 *L* adds a forge to the blacksmith's outfit; 49 *B* and *P* represent the shepherd with a hat, and a staff in his r. hand, *L* without a hat, and the staff in his l.; 53 *B* and *P* have the *simia* l. and the fox r., reversed in *L* where two trees are added; 55 in *B* and *P* only the head of the deer is shown, in *L* part of the body as well; 57 *B* has three sheep and *P* five, *L* has none; 58 *B* and *P* have two horses and three partridges, *L* no horses (but baggage on the ground) and four partridges; 59 the town is a more important feature in *B* and *P* than in

<sup>66</sup> A similar error in *Æsop* 14, where *B* and *P* read *cane* instead of *aquila*, did not, however, lead to interpolation. An interpolated dog appears also in *Æsop* 16 *B* and *P* (not *L*).



*L*; 60 *L* adds two trees; 62 *B* and *P* have the cat standing to the l. and one tree, *L* the cat squatting to the r. and two trees; 63 *B* and *P* have one mouse in the open and one partly inside a hole, a cock in the center, and a fireplace, *L* has the mice each partly inside a hole, no cock, and a house-roof over the whole scene; 64 *B* and *P* represent heaven conventionally by a curtain in the upper left hand corner, *L* omits; Avianus 3 *B* and *P* have both *cancris* facing left, *L* face to face; 4 *B* and *P* represent the traveler once only, *L* twice; 9 *B* and *P* add bushes to the scene; 10 the *calvus* has his whole audience in front of him, while the wig lies on the ground in *B* and *P*, he is in the midst of the group in *L*, and one knight is picking up the wig; 14 in *B* and *P* the *simia* leads her young, in *L* she carries it in her arms; 16 *B* and *P* show the oak erect, *L* overturned; 20 *L* adds a jug and two swimming fish; 25 *B* and *P* represent the thief as facing r. while the boy behind him is stealing his clothes, *L* shows the thief facing l. towards the boy, and the clothes on the opposite side of the well from the latter; 35 the hunter has a stick and is accompanied with a dog in *B* and *P*, he has a shield and spear but no dog in *L*; add. fable (19) *L* adds a house out of which the *minimus* comes running.

Against this very long list of striking resemblances between *B* and *P* against *L*, can be set only a very few resemblances between *P* and *L* as against *B*. They are: Æsop 7 *P* represents ladies and courtiers exclusively, *L* one knight and one lady, with five peasants, *B* five peasants; 20 *P* and *L* represent the sow with tusks (!), and the l. paw of the wolf upraised, while *B*'s sow is normal and the wolf stands on all fours; 26 *P* and *L* show the wolf standing with his l. paw raised and the lamb under a tree, *B* shows the wolf squatting with both forepaws on the ground, the lamb in a house (!); 29 *P* and *L* picture the young goat with horns, *B* without; 31 the wolf's r. paw is upraised in *P* and *L*, the l. in *B*; 44 *P* and *L* have two trees, *B* three; 51 *P* and *L* show the wolf with his l. paw upraised, *B* on all fours; in Avianus *P* and *L* never agree against *B*. As regards Æsop 7 *P* and *L* have probably hit on the same very natural idea in an attempt to produce variety; in 20 the sow with tusks is a natural error, while the upraised paw of the wolf is an easily added improvement because the wolf is speaking; in 26 *B* was quite astray in putting the lamb in a house, and *P* corrects the mistake; the addition of horns for the young goat is something that might occur to any copyist; the variation in 31 is trifling and is no doubt accidental, as is also that in 44; in 51 the representation of *P* and *L* is another easy improvement on *B* because the wolf is speaking. We regard it therefore as highly probable that the illustrator of *P* was following *B* rather than *L*; at all events his original was *B* or a MS. more closely resembling *B* than *L*.

As for *B* and *L*, they agree in a number of slight details against *P* which it seems scarcely worth while to enumerate here, because all three illustrators, as will appear below, exercise a good deal of freedom in reproducing their originals.<sup>70</sup> As in the case of the text, the archetype would have to be reconstructed, if that were possible, from the evidence of these two MSS. alone. The most striking resemblances are first, the filling up of the background with a diaper pattern, in which several different designs are employed. Those coincide in only a very few instances, which is what we would expect where there are more than eighty illustrations, and the number of different patterns is comparatively small. This feature is due no doubt to the inferior ability of the illustrators who tried to make up in clever geometrical design what they lacked in powers of delineation. Much of *P*'s finer work would have been spoiled by any such extraneous element in the composition. *B* and *L* agree also in representing very definite types of trees (see below) in extremely crude outlines; while *P*'s trees, though very naturalistic, can seldom be identified with any particular species. Again, the tails of many animals in *B* and *L* extend beyond the limits of the picture, owing to the much larger scale to which their clumsiness forced these illustrators to have recourse, while *P*'s small and delicately formed figures never cross the margin. *B* and *L* also prefer a wavy ground, while *P* uses a horizontal surface. Finally, in drawing the lion, *B* and *L* follow the type of the heraldic device, showing especially a very long tail in a double curve over the back, with considerable conventional ornamentation in the center. *P*'s lion type rejects the conventional treatment of the tail and gives the lion an essentially human physiognomy. The purpose was no doubt to express dignity and elevation of character, but the net result is generally ludicrous.

Only a slight amount of text-critical value, as one might expect, is possessed by the illustrations. The interpolation of a dog in *Æsop* 6 to agree with the error in the title, *cane* for *oue*, has been discussed above. In *Æsop* 14 the title runs *De aquila (cane B P!) et testudine*. The text however describes a snail (*cornua longa latens*), and the illustration represents a snail, while the French version has *de la limace* in the title, and

<sup>70</sup> The best example perhaps for such freedom, although this is an extreme instance, is in the battle of the birds and the quadrupeds, *Æsop* 45. Here the text mentions only the bat and the eagle, and free rein might well be given to the imagination. *B* represents seven birds in the air among which are two characteristic birds of prey, while the rest are indistinguishable, and on the ground a lion, a bear, an ass, a wolf (or dog), a bat, an ox, a fox and a hare. *P* has six birds, one of which is an eagle, and another a crane, and on the ground a lion (? part of this figure is lost), a bat, a bear, a stag, and a fox. *L* shows seven birds, two of which are birds of prey, and on the ground a lion, a fox, a dog, a boar, a bat and a horse. In general, however, the variations are very slight, and in some fables, there are none at all, in any significant feature.

speaks of *un limas* in the second verse. The error is an old one without doubt. Walter had the same title and text, clearly misunderstanding Phaedrus 2, 6 which relates to a tortoise. That Walter was not alone in this error appears from the old German interlinear gloss (10th cent.) in the Trier MS. of Avianus (*T* in Ellis' Ed.) which reads *snegal* for *testudo*, and the Latin marginal gloss, *limax*. The same gloss on *testudo* appears in the Avianus MS. at Besançon No. 534, of the thirteenth century. In the north Italian version from the thirteenth century, MS. Ambros. N168, fol. 41<sup>b</sup>, the title runs, *de limazia et aquila*.<sup>71</sup> In Vat. Ott. 3025, s. XV, *testudo* is glossed with *limax*, and the same appears in Mun. cgm. 3974, s. XV; Prag. 546, s. XV; Krakau 2195, s. XV (with the addition *ille vermis*); Par. 8048, s. XIII; Par. 15160, s. XV; Erfurt Quart. 21, s. XIV ex.; Stuttgart 34, s. XV; Wolfenbüttel, 37.34 Aug., s. XV; Leyden Lips. 51, s. XIV. In Krakau 2460, s. XV, the gloss is *talīs vermis*; in Maihingen 635, s. XV the gloss is *concha, schneck*; in Mun. 609, s. XV, *lima* (sic); Mun. 18910, s. XV, *limax, schneck*. Similarly in the illustrated prose Æsop and Avianus, Trier 1108, s. XIV, the eagle is represented as carrying a snail, and a snail is likewise pictured in Steinhöwel and in the illustrated MS. at Munich, 5337, s. XV (see Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. CXL). Finally the 14th century German prose version of Avianus, Wolfenbüttel 81.16 Aug., speaks of *der Snekk* and *dem Snekkn*. Just when this confusion between *testudo* and *limax* or *cochlea* arose, we cannot say, but certainly between the second and the tenth centuries,<sup>72</sup> and it extended over France, Italy and Germany, so that it must have been general. Accordingly we have not changed *testudine* in the title, which without doubt correctly reproduces the archetype.

In 16, describing the assault of the *asellus* upon the aged lion, the MSS. read *frontem fronte sigillat*, an absurd variation on *calce* of the MSS. used by Foerster. One would be inclined to regard *fronte* as a scribe's error, were it not that the illustrations represent the *asellus* pawing with both forefeet the face of the lion. This is surely a counsel born of desperation,

<sup>71</sup> P. Rajna notes what he calls the substitution of *limasia* for *testuggine*, *Giorn. di Filol. Rom.*, 1878, I, p. 23, but offers no explanation. Unfortunately the old French translation of Avianus (s. 12/13) in the York MS. of Marie de France, K. Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Halle, 1898, pp. 341 ff., omits Avianus 2 in his selections.

<sup>72</sup> The 'Romulus' versions which can be traced back as far as that (Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. X f.) treat certainly of a tortoise (No. XVII in Thiele). For the correct zoological observation behind this tale, see G. Thiele: *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klass. Alt.*, 1908, XXI, 319 f. For the whole history of this fable, see V. Puntoni; *La Favola esopica dell' aquila e della testuggine*, Bologna, 1912; cf. McKenzie in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Am.*, XXI, 266, 278 (1906); B. Herlet, *Studien über die sog. Ysopets*, pp. 9-13, who remarks upon the uncertainty produced in Odo de Ceritonia (Hervieux, II, 628), and regards the expression *cornua fracta* in Romulus as the cause of the confusion between the tortoise and the snail.

for nothing could be less natural, but it unquestionably fortifies *fronte* as the reading of the text which the original artists were striving to illustrate.

Just what induced the designer to represent the wolf in *Æsop* 43 as living in a well furnished house, it is difficult to conjecture, in view of the distinct expression that he was *in antro*, l. 15. Possibly the artist did not understand the word, or read the text carelessly. Similar carelessness probably caused the *perdices* in 58 to be placed in a tree top (the artist was obviously a poor naturalist), although the text correctly speaks of the *perdix* as starting *a dumo*, l. 11.

In Avianus 16 the MSS. read *conuertu* or *conuentu* (see above p. 29), but the emendation to *quercu* is easy not only from the mention of this tree in the text, but also because all the illustrators were at pains to represent an oak leaf of the white oak type, this being one of the very few places in *P* where the illustrator of this particular MS. tried to present a specific tree. On the other hand the scribes clearly did not know what an *abies* was, for *B* draws a poplar, *P* as usual, a tree of an indefinite, but deciduous type, and *L* a tree with a large oval leaf, perhaps a laurel.

Lastly, in Avianus 40 we are justified in amending *ursam* to *pardum* against the MSS. not only because the fable is unquestionably about a leopard, but also because the artists, though drawing a bear, have covered it over with prominent spots, clearly following a marked feature of the original. Ignorance of a leopard's true shape probably caused the illustrator to draw something like a bear, and the similarity induced a copyist to change the title in order to bring it into supposed accord with the picture.<sup>73</sup> Since the French text of *B L P* has *ourse*, while in lines 3-5 indicating that "others say" the animal is one resembling the panther, the confusion must go back to the archetype of these three MSS.; *c* has *orpeau*, and omits lines 3-8. This error, like that in *Æsop* 6 (already treated, in which a dog was interpolated from the erroneous title) where the final form involves two errors, one depending upon the other, makes it probable that *B* at least (*L* did not interpolate the dog) was not made directly from the original, but from a rather faulty copy of it, a conclusion which agrees with that already reached above from a consideration of the numerous errors in the text.

We have reproduced, directly from the rotary prints (hence white on black), and on a somewhat reduced scale,<sup>74</sup> the complete series of illus-

<sup>73</sup> The bear in Avianus 9 also is spotted, but not so markedly as here. This may be a reflex from 40, however. The bear of *Æsop* 45, in *P* only, has a perfectly smooth coat, that being obviously the way the illustrator of this MS. would represent a bear when not hampered by fidelity to an original.

<sup>74</sup> The difference in scale between the illustrations of the different MSS. (and in the case of *P* within the limits of the same MS.) is due to the fact that the prints were produced by

trations which appear in *P*, together with a few characteristic selections from the series in *B* and *L*, especially those which have been discussed above. They are intrinsically of interest, and may have some value for purposes of the comparative study of fable tradition. In any case, since they have been used already to some extent on the basis of M. Robert's unsatisfactory reproductions, it seemed necessary to present them here exactly as they are.

#### RELATION TO THE GENERAL TEXT TRADITION OF WALTER AND AVIANUS

It remains but to consider the relation of the MSS. of Walter and Avianus used by the writer of the archetype to the other existing MSS. of these two authors. Since the comparison is simpler in the case of Avianus, we may begin there. It is clear that the MS. used was a complete one, partly because no trace appears among the very numerous MSS. of Avianus of any such series of selections, and partly because, in the prologue to the Avianus, the author distinctly says that he was abbreviating a larger work.

15 Ne prende pas toute le hystoire,  
Car seroit trop longue memoire;  
Et ce le fais pour breuïté, etc.

.....

20 Ne plaist mie longue escripture, etc.

So also in the epilogue:

4 De ce livret ci ou j'é mis  
Ce que me samble qui bon est,  
De Ysopet et d'Avionnet.

The character of the extremely numerous errors points to a minuscule archetype, probably no older than the thirteenth century, when abbreviations of all kinds became extremely common. The prologue shows no acquaintance with the introductory epistle, which the MSS. down to the 12th century have (and but one thereafter, the beautiful Dijon Codex of the early 13th), nor with any form of the various introductory glosses, which professed to convey some intelligence regarding the author. The titles moreover are different from those of any other MS. or family of MSS. of Avianus.<sup>76</sup> Finally the spurious epimythia point clearly to the 13th

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different photographers at different times. It did not seem worth while to take the trouble to reduce all to the same scale.

century, for in each case the *Addicio* of our work is preceded by the common epimythium current in MSS. of this period. Thus the epimythia of 10 are not contained in any MS. earlier than the thirteenth century,<sup>76</sup> and the same holds true of 11<sup>77</sup>, 12<sup>78</sup>, 14<sup>79</sup>, 15<sup>80</sup>, 19<sup>81</sup> (here vv. 17 and 18 which appear in two or three 13th cent. MSS. and a few of later date are not in our work), [20, vv. 19 and 20, not in our work, are found in two 13th cent. MSS., and about a score of later date], 25.<sup>82</sup>

It thus appears that the source of these common epimythia cannot possibly be any single MS. earlier than the 13th century, unless it be Vat. 1663. This can be ruled out, however, very easily, partly because, in our opinion, the dating of the catalogue ("*s. XII ex. XIII in.*") is somewhat too early, as the writing resembles that of the 13th cent. much more than that of the 12th, although it cannot be later than the early 13th cent.; and partly because the inversion of the couplets in no. 14 makes it probable that this particular MS. was not directly the source of the archetype of our work.

As to the classification of the original MS. of Avianus among those which have been preserved, it is difficult to give a very exact statement, because although upwards of eighty MSS. (that is all but two or three of those which are known to exist) have been completely collated, their precise interrelations have not yet been determined. A cursory examination of peculiar readings, however, is sufficient to show that it belonged to the second or interpolated group, a conclusion which we had already reached from general characteristics (see above). To determine its closest relations among these, forty-five characteristic readings (omitting mere variations of spelling) which are common to our text with other MSS. varying from one to twenty-six in number, were selected. Only one MS., Wolfenbüttel 185 Helmst., s. XV, agrees in as many as thirteen among these forty-

<sup>76</sup> Of course in conventional titles like *De Sole et Borea* of 4, the same heading appears elsewhere occasionally, but in none of the characteristic titles like *De Rustica Lupum decipiente* of 1, does any other MS. show identical phrasing. In 20, Darmstadt 2780, s. XV, has the same title *De piscatore pisciculum capiente*, but this is certainly a coincidence as there is no other agreement with this MS., but very wide divergence elsewhere in characteristic titles.

<sup>77</sup> Except Prag. 1625 of the 12th century, which contains a very few of the verses that became common in the next century (here the Prag. MS. has only vv. 15 and 16, not 13 and 14), and Vat. 1663.

<sup>78</sup> Except Prag. 1625, and Vat. 1663, s. XII-XIII.

<sup>79</sup> Except Oxford B. N. Rawl., s. XI-XII, which contains, however, only vv. 13 and 14, not 15 and 16, and Vat. 1663.

<sup>80</sup> Except Vat. 1663, where the order of the couplets is reversed.

<sup>81</sup> Except Prag. 1625, Oxford Auct. F. 2.14, s. XII, Vat. 1663.

<sup>82</sup> Except Prag. 1625, Vat. 1663.

<sup>83</sup> Except Prag. 1625, Vat. 1663.

five readings; the next in order, Krakau 2195, s. XV, agreeing only in ten. The number, moreover, of unique readings in this text is extraordinarily large, so it is clear that no existing MS. of Avianus is closely enough related to our group to be able to throw any significant light upon the origin of its archetype.

In the case of the Æsop or Walter portion of our work, the material upon which a classification of the archetype of our text must be made is much more restricted. Upwards of one hundred MSS. of this work are listed by Hervieux, but only a few are as yet known in sufficient detail to enable us to make a comparison. They are *H* Paris, Bibl. Nat. 14381, s. XIII, reproduced by Hervieux, *op. cit.*, vol. II<sup>3</sup>, pp. 316 ff., *P* Paris, Bibl. Nat. 15135, s. XIII, II 8509<sup>a</sup>, s. XIII-XIV, *G* Wolfenbüttel 87.5 s. XIII, *V* Wien 303, s. XIII-XIV (so Foerster), *L* Lyon 57, s. XIII-XIV, and *A* Lyon 650, s. XV, whose readings are given by Foerster in the standard text edition. In addition the texts of the Steinhöwel (*S*) and the Bipontine (*B*) editions may be used, the first being based upon an excellent MS. and the second being a good representative of the vulgate. The results of a detailed comparison for the first part of the work failed so signally to establish a close relationship between our text and any other MS., that it was not carried beyond the tenth fable. They may be summarized as follows: In the prologue and the first ten fables among 24 characteristic readings of our work which appear also in one or more MSS., *G* agrees in 14 instances, *IAS* in 13, *BL* in 11, *V* in 9, *H* in 8, *P*<sup>2</sup> in 3, and *P* in 2. About the only conclusion which this evidence would justify, is that the archetype of our work belonged to Foerster's later group, *GIIAVL*, as opposed to *P*, and probably derived from a relatively early member of that group. Two of the agreements with *H*, however, are so striking (*Prol.* 12, *Ut*, and *5<sup>1</sup> Dum*), being against all other MSS., that we must assume a crossline of interpolation with this tradition, although the total number of agreements is not large. In a text of this date, prepared for popular use, and strongly subject in any case to extensive interpolations, one can hardly expect any more definite results.<sup>83</sup>

#### PRINCIPLES FOLLOWED IN CONSTITUTING THE TEXT

In preparing the Latin text, ordinary editorial usage in punctuation, capitalization, and inseting of the pentameter has been followed. The spelling has not been corrected to classical usage. When the MSS. disagree in spelling, preference has been given to *B*, if its form was at all

<sup>83</sup> It might be added that a comparison of the order of fables as given in the table drawn up by Foerster, pp. XVI ff. yields no more definite result, since no other MS. or text has anything resembling the chaotic arrangement of the fables after No. 18, which characterizes the present work.

common at that period. Hardly any attempt has been made to emend the erratic prosody exhibited by the Latin text. If a line makes tolerable sense and contains the proper number of syllables, the MS. reading has been allowed to stand, except when a slight and obvious emendation distinctly improves the verse. All variants of any significance whatever have been recorded. In cases of doubt it has seemed preferable to err on the side of inclusion, since it is always easier for another to disregard than to supply or improvise.

In editing the French text, the reading of *B*, even when inconsistent or less satisfactory than that of other MSS., has been allowed to stand; the few exceptions (corrections of obvious errors) being indicated in the notes. The variants of *L* and *P* are given where they modify the meaning and are not simply orthographical variations. Variants of *a*, *b* and *c* are given where it seems possible that they may preserve the original version, or where they are of particular interest; occasionally they may suggest the proper interpretation where the text of *B L P* is obscure. Metrically the French text is usually correct, or is easily made so by omissions or additions suggested by the variants. It has not been thought worth while to give the variants of the text as published by Robert. Ordinary editorial usage is followed in the punctuation, capitalization, and use of accents.

**COMPARATIVE TABLE OF FABLES IN THE AESOP AND AVIANUS (SIX MANUSCRIPTS) AND IN WALTER OF ENGLAND WITH NUMBER OF VERSES IN THE FRENCH TEXT**

Title of Fable	No. of verses in <i>B L P</i>	<i>BLP</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bc</i>	<i>W</i>
"Ci commence . . . " . . . . .	34	Pr	Pr	Pr	Pr
Cock and Precious Stone. . . .	28 <sup>v</sup>	1	1	1	1
Wolf and Lamb in Stream . .	28	2	2	2	2
Frog and Mouse. . . . .	38	3	3	3	3
*Dog and Sheep. . . . .	32	4	4	4	4
Dog and Shadow. . . . .	24	5	10	10	5
Lion's Share. . . . .	34	6	5	5	6
Marriage of the Sun. . . . .	30	7	6	6	7
Wolf and Crane. . . . .	36	8	7	7	8
Two Bitches. . . . .	32	9	8	8	9
Man and Ungrateful Serpent	26	10	9	9	10
Ass and Boar. . . . .	26	11	11	11	11
Town Mouse and Country Mouse. . . . .	84 <sup>v</sup>	12	12	12	12



Title	Verses	<i>B L P</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bc</i>	<i>W</i>
Eagle and Fox.....	36	13	13	13	13
Eagle and Snail (Tortoise)..	34	14	14	14	14
Fox and Crow.....	40✓	15	15	15	15
Lion Sick.....	52	16	16	16	16
Ass and Lap-dog.....	64	17	17	17	17
✕ Lion and Mouse.....	62✓	18	18	18	18
Frogs Desiring King.....	44	19	19	19	21
Wolf and Sow.....	28	20	20	20	24
Doves, Kite and Hawk....	26	21	21	21	22
Dog and Thief.....	38	22	22	22	23
Mountain and Mouse.....	30	23	23	23	25
Sick Kite and Mother....	40	24	24	24	19
✓ Swallow and Birds.....	52✓	25	25	25	20
Wolf and Lamb in House..	48	26	26	26	26
Dog in Old Age.....	50	27	27	27	27
Hares and Frogs.....	52	28	28	28	28
Goat and Wolf.....	36	29	29	29	29
Man with Ax and Serpent..	38	30	30	30	30
Stag, Sheep and Wolf.....	28	31	31	31	31
Fly and Bald Man.....	30	32	32	32	32
Fox and Stork.....	46	33	33	33	33
Crow and Borrowed Feath- ers.....	58	34	34	34	35
Mule and Fly.....	30	35	35	35	36
Fly and Ant.....	90	36	36	36	37
Ape, Fox and Hare (Wolf)..	72	37	37	37	38
Man and Weasel.....	38	38	38	38	39
Frog and Ox.....	54	39	39	39	40
Shepherd and Grateful Lion	78	40	..	40	41
Horse and Lion.....	60	41	40	41	42
Horse and Ass.....	122	42	..	42	43
Fox and Wolf.....	80	43	43	45	46
Stag and Antlers.....	60	44	44	46	47
Bat, Beasts and Birds.....	48	45	41	43	44
Nightingale and Hawk.....	46	46	42	44	45
Wolf and Sheep.....	34	47	..	..	..
Serpent and File.....	92	48	48	50	51
Battle of Wolves and Sheep.	42	49	49	51	52
Ax and Forest.....	32	50	50	52	53
Wolf and Dog.....	78	51	51	53	54
Belly and Members.....	88	52	52	54	55

Title	Verses	<i>B L P</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bc</i>	<i>W</i>
Ape and Fox.....	44	53	53	55	56
Merchant and Ass.....	36	54	54	56	57
Stag in Stable.....	78	55	55	57	58
Hawk and Capon.....	46	56	..	..	61
Wolf, Shepherd and Dog...	34	57	..	..	62
Butler, Jew and King.....	82	58	56	58	59
People of Athens.....	52	59	..	..	(part of 21)
Wolf and Mask.....	42	60	..	..	34
Sparrow-hawk and Dove...	164	61	..	..	..
< Council of Mice.....	40	62	..	..	..
Mouse, Cock and Cat.....	28	63	..	..	..
Woman and Cow.....	66	64	..	..	..
"Or vous ai conté . . . "	84	Ep	Ep	Ep	..

No. of  
verses in  
*a*

65. Ephesian Widow (re-marries).....	80	..	45	47	48
66. Woman and Young Man (Thais).....	36	..	46	48	49
67. Father and Son.....	46	..	47	49	50
68. Citizen and Soldier....	198	..	57	59	60

Title	No. of verses	<i>B L P</i> Av.	<i>bc</i> Av.	Avianus
"Or vous ai des fables apprises . . . "	30	Pr	Pr	..
Nurse and Wolf.....	38	Av. 1	Av. 1	1
Two Crabs.....	30	2	2	3
Sun and Wind.....	36	3	3	4
Companions and Bear.....	52	4	4	9
Knight and Wig.....	26	5	5	10
Peasant and Treasure.....	34	6	6	12
Jupiter and Ape.....	40	7	7	14
Peacock and Crane.....	44	8	8	15
Oak and Reed.....	50	9	9	16
Four Bulls and Lion.....	58	10	10	18
Fir-tree and Bush.....	38	11	11	19

Fisherman and Fish.....	30	12	12	20
Covetous Man and Envious Man...	40	13	13	22
Boy and Robber.....	30	14	14	25
Crow Drinking.....	24	15	15	27
Ape and its Young.....	38	16	16	35
Old Ox and Young Bull.....	50	17	17	36
Fox and Bear.....	72	18	18	40
Minstrel and Priest.....	54	19	..	..
"Or est tamps que je doie enten- dre . . . ".....	86	Ep	Ep	..
Total verses of French text of <i>B L P</i> —Ysopet.....				3,324
"                    "—Avionnet.....				900
Total verses of French text of four additional fables of <i>a b c</i> .....				360
Total verses of French Text.....				4,584

## SIGLA

*B* = Brussels, 11193.

*L* = London, Add. MSS. 33781.

*P* = Paris, 1594 du fond français.

*a* = Paris, 1595 du fond français.

*b* = Paris, 19123 du fond français.

*c* = Paris, 24310 du fond français.

*om.* = omitted.

> = changed into.

Note. In the French text the indication of where the Addition begins in *B L P* is not printed here; it always coincides with the verses indicated in the footnotes as being omitted from *a b c*.

# COMPILATIO YSOPI ALANI CVM AVIONETO CVM QVIBVSDAM ADDICIONIBVS ET MORALITATIBVS

## <PROLOGVS>

- Vt iuuet et prosit, conatur pagina presens;  
Dulcius arrident seria mixta iocis.  
Ortulus iste parit fructum cum flore, fauorem  
Flos et fructus emunt; hic nitet, iste sapit.  
5 Si fructus plus flore placet, fructum lege, si flos  
Plus fructu, florem, si duo, carpe duo.  
Ne michi torpentem sopiret inhercia sensum,  
In quo peruigilet, mens mea mouit opus.  
Vt messis precium de uili surgat agello,  
10 Verbulum sicca, deus, implue rore tuo.  
Moralitas  
Verborum leuitas morum fert pondus honestum,  
Vt nucleum celat arida testa bonum.

## <Addicio>

- Vt loquar uberius adsit michi Virgo Maria,  
Suppleat eclipsim Filius ipse suus.  
15 Cum nescimus enim perplexi quid faciamus,  
Auxilium mittunt celitus ista duo.

## CI COMMENCE LA COMPILATION DE YSOPET AVIONNET

- Ce livret que cy vous recite  
Plaist a ouïr et si profite;  
Et pour ce que plus delitables  
Soit, y a maintes beles fables.  
5 A ce qu'oiseuse ne peresce  
Mon sen n' endorme ne ne blesce,

volens.

Title. *L* is missing from the beginning through v. 26 of the French transl. of the prologue. *alani* > *alati* *P. Robert*, p. clxx, reads *alata*, *M. Le Grand d'Aussy*, in an unpublished note in *Robert*, p. clxx, n. 2, *Alani*. This seems to indicate that the work of Walter was ascribed by the author of this note to *Alanus*, no doubt the well known *Alanus ab Insulis*. See introd. p. 10. *auimoneto* *B ammoneto* > *auimoneto* *P. Robert*, l. c., read

*Avionneto*, *Hervieux*, I, 516, *auinioneto*, both wrongly. The archetype probably had *ui amoneto*.

8. *nouit* *B P. opas* *P*.  
12. *undeum* *P*.  
13. *absit* > *adsit* *B (adsit P)*.  
14. *eclisim* *B P corr. Hervieux*.

1. prologue lost in *L* except 27-34, of which traces remain.

- Me vail traveillier et pener  
 D'un petit jardin ahener  
 Ou chascuns porra, si me samble,  
 10 Cuillir et fruit et fleur ensamble;  
 Fleur que a oir est delitables,  
 Fruis qu'en est fais est profitables.  
 Qui la fleur plaira, la fleur prengne,  
 Et qui le fruit, le fruit retiegne.  
 15 Qui voudra le fruit et la fleur,  
 Prengne les deus, c'est le meilleur.  
 Et pour ce que seche est ma terre,  
 Au jardin vail faire requerre  
 Dieu qui tout puet et scet et voit  
 20 Que de sa rousee m'envoit,  
 Qui le jardinet par sa grace  
 Flourir et fructifier face;  
 Pour ce qui soit plus essauciés  
 Je joins mes mains devos au ciel,  
 25 Que supplient tout mon deffaut  
 Le mere et le fil qui ne faut;  
 Quar com ne savons que façon  
 Et convient que par tout traçon  
 Des ciels envoient le subside;  
 30 La mere et le fil nous aide.  
 En maint biau dit qui semble fable  
 Ha maint biau mot et bon notable.  
 J'ai oy dire mainte fois:  
 Sous seche cruse est bonne nois.

## I. DE GALLO ET IASPIDE

### (Illustration)

Dum rigido fodit ore fimum, dum queritat escam,

Dum stupet inuenta iaspide gallus ait:

'Res uili preciosa loco natiue decoris,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 8. acheuer <i>a</i> , aheuer <i>b</i> , escheuer <i>c</i> . | 29. De cieulx envoie <i>P</i> .   |
| 9. <i>se P</i> .  | 30. mere et filz <i>P</i> .   |
| 10. Et fleur et fruit cuillir ensamble <i>P</i> .           | 31. E main <i>P</i> .   |
| 12. est fais et <i>P</i> .                                  | 32. mot et anotable <i>P</i> ; bien notable <i>a c</i> ,<br>delittable <i>b</i> . |
| 23-30. <i>om. a b c</i> .                                   | 34. coque <i>c</i> , cruche <i>a</i> ; a bonne <i>a b c</i> .                     |
| 23. quil <i>P</i> ; essauciez <i>P</i> .                    |   |
| 24. ciez <i>P</i> .   |   |
| 25. suppliant <i>P</i> .                                    |   |
| 27. faison <i>P</i> .                                       | 2. iuuenta <i>L</i> .   |
| 28. trason <i>P</i> .                                       | 3. decorus <i>P</i> .   |

- Hac in sorde iaces, nil michi messis habes.  
 5 Si tibi nunc esset qui debuit esse repertor,  
 Quem limus sepelit, uiueret arte nitor.  
 Nec tibi conuenio, nec tu michi; nec tibi prosum,  
 Nec michi tu prodes; plus amo cara minus.'

## Moralitas

- Tu gallo stolidum, tu iaspide dona sophie  
 10 Pulcra notes: stolido nil sapit ista seges.

## Addicio

Stultorum numerus infinitus solet esse;  
 Stultus stulticiam monstrat ubique suam.  
 Longe satis melior solet esse status sapientum  
 Quam fatui; stolidis non solet esse status.

## 1. Du coc et de l'esmerande.

- Un coc en un fumier estoit;  
 Du bec bechoit, des piés gratoit,  
 Comme pour sa viande querre,  
 Tant que une precieuse pierre  
 5 Et mout riche a trouvé ou fiens.  
 Cil a cui il n'en fu a riens  
 Dit: Riche pierre, mal es assise—  
 Comme cil qui point ne la prise—  
 A moi ne pues tu faire preu;  
 10 Trop es herbegiee en or lieu.  
 Se li trouvierres aqui deust,  
 Si com je t'ai trouuee t' eust,  
 Mieux fust ta grant biauté vehue  
 Et ta grant bonté cogueüe.  
 15 Tu ne m' affiers ne je a toi;  
 Je ne te vuil, ne tu vues moy.—  
 La moralité.  
 Iceste pierre senefie  
 Sagesce, et le coch la folie.  
 Sens et folie, se me samble,

4. iacet&gt;iaces L.

6. arce MSS. uictor P.

10. Pulchra L. uoces B noces LP. sages P.

12. stulticiam B P. moustrat BL.

7-8. In a b c 7 follows 8; reading in a b:  
Dist con cilz qui riens ne la prise Riche pierre

mal y es assise.

10. ort L P.

11. Celi qui auoir te deust a, Celi  
trouueres qui deust b (c).

14. biaüte P.

19. ce L.

- 20 Ne s'accordent pas bien ensamble.  
 L'en dit que le nombre infenit  
 Sus les fos point ne se fenit.  
 Le fol demonstre sa folie  
 Partout la ou vet en oye.
- 25 La condicton des gens saiges  
 Tourjours amende leurs coraiges.  
 Le fol se mue com la lune;  
 N'est en li fermetés aucune.

## II. DE LVPO ET AGNO

### (Illustration)

- Est lupus, est agnus, sitit hic, sitit ille; fluentem  
 Limite non equo querit uterque uiam.  
 In summo bibit amne lupus, bibit agnus in ymo.  
 Hunc timor impugnat uerba mouente lupo:
- 5 'Rupisti potumque michi riuoque decorem.'  
 Agnus utrumque negat se ratione tuens:  
 'Nec tibi nec riuo nocui; nam prona supinum  
 Nescit iter, nec adhuc unda nitore caret.'  
 Sic iterum tonat ore lupus: 'Michi dampna minaris?'
- 10 'Non minor,' agnus ait. Cui lupus: 'Ymmo facis.  
 Fecit idem tuus ante pater sex mensibus actis;  
 Cum bene patris, crimine patris obi.'  
 Agnus ad hec: 'Tanto non uixi tempore.' Predo  
 Sic tonat: 'An loqueris, fuscifer?', huncque uorat.
- Moralitas
- 15 Sic nocet innocuo nocuus, causamque nocendi  
 Inuenit: hic regnant qualibet urbe lupi.
- Addicio
- Non causam facit ut causam, predoque uorator  
 Causam pretendit, ut cito latro uoret;  
 Quique nocere cupit, hic argumenta nocendi
- 20 Querit et obumbrat melle uenena suo.

21-28. *om. a b c.*

3. *anne MSS.*

4. *mouente > mouente L.*

7. *iuro P.*

12. *patrisas MSS.*

13. *inri P.*

14. *fulcifer MSS (-ter > -fer B).*

16. *hic om. L add m. 2.*

18. *tito B.*



## 2. Du loup qui mit sus a l'aigniel qui troubloit le ruissel.

- Un loup et un aigniau enmainne  
 Soif pour boire a une fontainne,  
 Le loup amont, l'aigniau aval.  
 Cis qui ne panse fors a mal  
 5 Rudement a dit a l'aigniel:  
 L'iaue troubles, garde ta pel,  
 Et nuis a boire, di le moi.—  
 Cils qui a peeur et esmoi  
 Dit que il n'y a de riens netü,  
 10 Combien que ait du ruissel betü;  
 Ne puet yaue monter arriere,  
 Noncques pour ce n'an fu mains clere.  
 —Comment, me menaces tu doncques?—  
 Dit l'aigniau: Sire, non fais oncques.—  
 15 Si feis, dit le loup, par Saint Pere,  
 Tout autel fist iadis ton pere.  
 Pour li morras, a li retrais.—  
 Cils qui ne quiert fors bien et pais  
 Ni puet trouver pais ni acorde  
 20 Que le desloial ne le morde;  
 Morir le convient sens raison.  
 La moralité.  
 Tout aussin fait le mauvais hom.  
 Achoison sens cause pourchace,  
 Comment au preudomme mesface.  
 25 Qui vuet faire division  
 De ami tost quiert occasion,  
 Met sus a son ami la raige,  
 Si con nous tesmoigne le saige.

## III. DE MVRE ET RANA

(Illustration)

Muris iter rumpente lacu uenit obuia muri  
 Rana loquax et opem pacta nocere cupit.

1. a maine P.  
 4. ne om. B P.  
 5. alaigniau P.  
 6. piau P.  
 14. ligniau B P.  
 19. puent P; acort P.  
 20. mort P.  
 22. ainsi P.

- 25-28. om. a b c.  
 25. veult P.  
 26. aschoison P.  
 28. com P.

1. rumpenter P.  
 2. loquar P loquarem > loquax et L. pac-  
 tera P.

- Omne genus pestis superat mens dissona uerbis;  
Obsontes animos florida lingua polit.
- 5 Rana sibi murem uerbis confederat: audet  
Nectere fune pedem, rumpere fraude fidem.  
Pes cohit ergo pedi, sed mens a mente recedit.  
Ecce natant; trahitur ille, set illa trahit.  
Mergitur ut murem secum demergat; amico
- 10 Naufragium faciens naufragat ipsa fides.  
Rana studet mergi, set mus emergit et obstat  
Naufragio; uires subtrahit ipse timor.  
Miluus adest, miserumque truci rapit ungue duellum;  
Hic iacet, ambo iacent, uiscera tracta fluunt.  
Moralitas
- 15 Sic pereant qui se prodesse fatentur et obsunt;  
Discat in auctorem pena redire suum.  
Addicio
- Incidit in foueam quam fecerat insidiator;  
In laqueum fraudator cadit ipse suum.  
In proiectorem proiectus dat lapis ictum,
- 20 Quando uenenosa prosilit ille manu.

### 3. De la raine qui conchie la souris.

- Une souris mout se doloit  
Pour une yaue que passer devoit,  
Quant la grenoille avant se mist  
Qui par la passer la promist;
- 5 A la souris promet aye,  
Si la voudroit avoir trahie.  
Ne s'en prent garde la souris;  
Pour ce est ce trop grans peris  
Quant la bouche au cuer ne s'acorde;
- 10 Tels a pensee vis et orde  
Qui mout a douce la parole.  
Celle qui tient l'autre pour fole  
Parmi le pié la lie bien

4. obsontes ? L.  
7. set L.  
8. nattent P. trahiciitur ? L. trahit>  
trahit P.  
9. Mercitur P.  
11. ab stat P.  
16. Distat . . . actorem MSS.

- tit. grenoille P.  
2. Dun fleuve que passer vouloit a b c.  
3. g of grenoille *crased* L, renouille a,  
rayne b, grenouille c.  
4. a la passer a b c.  
8. grant P.  
10. vils L, vil P.  
13. lia P.

- A un petit filet au sien;  
 15 Or sont les piés liés ensamble,  
 Mès les cuers divers, ce me samble.  
 Or noe la grenouille avant  
 Et la souris la va sievant;  
 Mais souvent se plonge la rainne,  
 20 De la souris noier se painne.  
 Au mieux que puet se contretient,  
 De celle grever ne se tient.  
 Quant que l'un sache, l'autre tire.  
 Sus euls vient qui la chose empire,  
 25 Un escouffle de fain morant  
 Qui tantost les va devourant.  
 La moralité.  
 Perir puisse il en tel guise  
 Qui de aidier fait par faintise  
 Semblant, et veut nuiseur estre;  
 30 Bara doit conchier son mestre.  
 En texte trouvons et en glose  
 Que cils qui fait pour mal la fosse  
 Y chiet maintes fois en ses las,  
 Cils qui de maufaire n'est las.  
 35 La pierre refiert yceli  
 Qui ferir li est abeli;  
 Autre par sa grant tricherie,  
 Car sur li revient sa boidie.

## IV. DE CANE ET OVE

(Illustration)

- In causam canis urget ouem, sedet arbiter, audit.  
 Reddat ouis panem uult canis, illa negat.  
 Pro cane stat miluus, stat uulpes, stat lupus; instant  
 Panem, quem pepigit reddere, reddat ouis.  
 5 Reddere non debet, nec habet quod reddere possit.  
 Et tamen ut reddat, arbiter instat ei.

17. *g of grenouille erased L*, renouille *a*,  
 renouille *b*, naige la renouille *c*.

18. *sivant L*.

26. *La moralite follows 27 in B L P*.

27. *telle guisse P*.

29. *uecust L*, *veult P*; *bareteur estre c*.

31-38. *om. a b c*.

32. *chose P*.

34. *de om. B*.

4. *reddit B*. oins *P*.

6. *redat > reddat P*.

Ergo suum, licet instet hyems, peruendit amictum,  
Et boream patitur uellere nuda suo.

Moralitas

Sepe fidem falso mendicat inhercia teste,  
10 Sepe dolet pietas criminis arte capi.

<Addicio>

Sepe solent homines mentiri; gloria testis  
Mendacis causam sepe lucratur hero.  
Falsidicus testis est undique pessima pestis;  
Non falso teste res magis ulla nocet.

4. Le plet du chien et de la brebis.

Le chien fist l'oeille semondre  
Et dit qu'elle li doit respondre  
De un pain que presté li avoit.  
L'oeille qui rien n'en savoit

5 Entame le plait en nient,  
Et dit qu'elle ne li doit nient.  
Le chien amainne pour sa part  
L'escoufle, le loup et Renart,  
Qui tesmoignent certainement

10 Que le chien de noient ne ment;  
Mais il se mentent par la gueule.  
L'oeille qui est toute seule  
Et ne se puet pas bien deffendre,  
Si dit qu'elle n'a de quoi rendre.

15 Le juge qui vers le plus fort  
Se tient, soit a droit soit a tort,  
A rendre le pain li commande.  
Celle qui n' a dont elle rende,  
Tout viegne yver en sa saison

20 Convient que vende sa toison.  
Par faus tesmoings mains jugement,  
Ce voit l'en avenir souvent.

La moralité.

Faus tesmoing par sa fausse foy  
Grieve a autrui et dampne soy.

7. praeuendit MSS. (>peruendit B).

11. menturi P.

12. Mendatis B L Mandatis P. corr Hervieux. lucratus ero B P (-tis P) Hervieux.

13. Falsiditus MSS. (corr P). pecima P.

10. niant P.

12. treetoute P.

21. mais L P; va nue au vent a b, je vous couuent c.

24. Gene maint autre et dampne par foy a, Grieve maint autre et dampne soy b c.

- 25 Dieux repreuve faus tesmongnaige,  
 Ainssi le dit la sainte paige.  
 Nuns ne doit faus tesmoings prier  
 Ne en faus tesmoings lui fier.  
 Li uns dit: Puis que j'é la preuve,  
 30 Je gaingnie sans ce que m' en meuve;  
 Puis que de prouver ne me doubte  
 Boire leur donrré bonne goute.

## V. DE CANE TRANSEVNTE AQVAM

(*Illustration*)

Dum canis ore gerit carnem, caro porrigit umbram,  
 Vmbra coheret aquis, has canis urget aquas.  
 Spem carnis plus carne capit, plus fenore signum  
 Fenoris; os operit, sic caro spesque perit.

<Moralitas>

- 5 Non igitur debent pro uanis certa relinqui;  
 Non sua siquis auct, mox caret ipse suis.

<Addicio>

- Qui totum cupit, hic totum amittere debet;  
 Inter scamna duo corruiat anus humo.  
 Ambito cupidus, habito prorsusque carebit;  
 10 Ad duo qui satagit nil sapienter agit.

### 5. Du chien qui passoit l'iane et tenoit une piece de char.

Le chien passoit une yaue a no,  
 En sa geule un fromaige mo,  
 Autre dient que ce yere chars;  
 De ce n'avoit esté eschars.

- 5 Au fons si en regarda l'ombre,  
 Et convoitise qui l'encombre  
 Li dist que c'est autre fromaige.  
 Lors ne fist pas le chien que saige;

25-32. *om. a b c.*

3. caput *P.* moralitas *after l. 6 MSS.*

5. pio *P.* addicio *after l. 8 MSS.*

7. cipit *P.*

8. Inte *P.* scamna *B L scanua P.*

9. quarebit *P.*

10. sat agit *Hervieux.*

*tit. de fourmage P.*

3-5. Ou chair si en regarda l'ombre (*rest om.*) *a b,* En leaue regarda son ombre *c.*

- La gueule ouvri pour l' autre aerdre.  
 10 Qui tout convoite tout doit perdre;  
 Le sien laissa pour nient prendre.  
 La moralité.  
 Par ce compte povés entendre  
 Qu'au certain se fait bon tenir.  
 Dou sien puet bien mesavenir  
 15 A celui qui a chier l'autrui,  
 Ainssi comme il fist a cestui.  
 Tout pert cils qui l'autrui convoite;  
 Ceste raissons est assés droite.  
 L' exemple de ce nous apelle  
 20 La vielle chei de la celle  
 Qui sus deus selles veut seoir;  
 A terre se pot tost veoir.  
 Qui fait deus choses tout ensamble  
 Tres bien ne les fait, ce me samble.

## VI. DE <OVE>, CAPRA, IUVENCA ET LEONE

(*Illustration*)

- Vt ratione pari fortune numera sumant,  
 Sumunt fedus ouis, capra, iuuenca, leo.  
 Ceruus adest, ceruum rapiunt; leo sic ait: 'Heres  
 Prime partis ero, nam michi primus honos.  
 5 Et michi defendat partem uis prima secundam,  
 Et michi dat maior tercia iura labor,  
 Et pars quarta meum, nisi sit mea, rumpit amorem.'  
 Publica solus habet fortior, yma premens.  
 Moralitas  
 Ne fortem societ fragilis uult pagina presens;  
 10 Nam fragili fidus nesciet esse potens.  
 Addicio  
 Si socium queris simili sociare memento;  
 Non magnis satrapis possumus esse pares.

16-24. *om. a b c.*

16. Aussin *B* Ainsi *L* Ainssi *P*.

17. Tout pert qui trestout convoite *L*.

21. vost *L* veult *P*.

VI tit. De cane capra *etc. MSS.*

1. patri *P*.

2. iuuenta *P*.

3. ceruum *B P (corr. P)*. rapuit *B P*.

4. parcis *B L*.

5. defendat *MSS*.

7. sit *om. P*.

9. sortem > fortem *P*. pagi *P*.

10. fragilis *L*.

12. possimus *MSS. corr. Hervicus*.

Non bene conueniunt, nec in una sede morantur  
Maiestas et amor; non bene nutrit herum.

6. Comment la brebis, la chievre, la genice et le lion  
s'entreaccompaignierent.

- Mout a grant piece que l'en dit  
Que compaignie Dieu la fit;  
Mès d' une que vous vail ci mettre  
Ne se dut oncques entremettre,  
5 Entre la chievre et la genice  
Et la brebis qui tant est nice;  
Prindrent au lion alience  
Et compaignie par fiance;  
Foy a porter s' entrepmitrent.  
10 Un jour avint qu'un grant cerf pristrent;  
Quant vint a faire les parties,  
Paroles y qt departies.  
Le lion dit qu'il yert seigneur  
De la premiere par honneur:  
15 Et pour ce que ma force est grainde,  
Me doit la secunde remaindre;  
Si vail, ce vous fais assavoir,  
Pour mon travail la tierce avoir;  
Et qui me veera la quarte,  
20 Il convient que amour departe.—  
Ainssi veut choisir et eslire  
Que nuls ne li osa desdire.  
La moralité.  
Cils qui a plus fort s'accompaigne  
De soi, bien est drois qu'il s'en plaingne.  
25 A peïnes voit l'en homme fort  
Qui au foible loiauté port.  
Se tu vuels avoir compaignon  
Ne pren n'orgueilleus ne gaignon,  
Ne t'accompaigne a grans satrapes;  
30 Il auront le fruit, tu les grapes.  
Ferme amour et grant seignourie  
Estre ensemble ne sieulent mie.

13. in in B P. morentur P.

5. le chien P.

7. aliance L P.

15. par ce que sa a; graindre P a.

16. Lui doit sa force remaindre a.

21. uuet L, vueult P.

27-34. om. a b.

De seigneur amour heritaige  
N'est pas bien; convient autre gaige.

## VII. DE FEMINA ET FVRE NVBENTIBVS

(*Illustration*)

- Femina dum nubit furi, uicinia gaudet;  
Vir bonus et prudens talia uerba mouet:  
'Sol pepigit sponsam; Iouis aurem terra querellis  
Percutit et causam, cur foret egra, dedit.
- 5 "Sole necor solo; quid erit, si creuerit alter?  
Quid patiar? Quid aget tanta caloris hyemps?"'  
Moralitas  
Hic prohibet sermo letum prebere fauorem,  
Qui male fecerunt, uel male facta parant.  
Addicio  
Non decet impune factum laudare malorum,  
10 Et laudare nimis facta serena nocet.  
Fallit enim uicium specie uirtutis et umbra;  
Quod latet apparens non putes esse bonum.

### 7. D'une femme qui se maria a un larron.

- Une femme si prent baron  
Et se marie a un larron.  
Tuit li voisin grant joie en font,  
Mais il ne se vent que il font;
- 5 Ce dit un preudon qu'en encontre,  
Un bel exemple de ce montre.  
Li soulaus femme fiança.  
A Dieu se plaint fort et tança  
La terre, dit: Je suis perdue!
- 10 Uns soulaus seulement me tue,  
Uns soulaus seulement me grieve;  
Que feré je se un autre lieve?  
Se uns autres naist, arse sui toute;  
Pour ce, de ces noces me doubte.—
- 15 Ainsi dit le preudomme saige:

2. monet MSS.

3. pepit P.

4. erga P.

6. coloris P.

8. nec B P.

9. La terre et dist a b c.



- Ne devés de ce mariaige  
 Faire tel joie ne tel feste,  
 Quar il vous en sordra moleste,  
 Et vous en pourra bien mal prendre  
 20 Se cils lierres un autre engendre.—  
 Qui mal fait ne qui mal doit faire,  
 Il ne doit a nul homme plaire.  
 La moralité.  
 Ne se doit l'en trop fort joer  
 Pour mauvès, ne euls trop loer.  
 25 L'en cuide tel chose estrê bonne  
 Ou n'a que de apparence bonne.  
 Vices faignent estre vertus  
 Pour decevoir les malostrus.  
 Tout ce qui est en apparence  
 30 N' est bon, mès y a decevance.

## VIII. DE LVPO ET GRVE

(Illustration)

- Arta lupum cruciat uia gutturis osse retento;  
 Mendicat medicam multa daturus opem.  
 Grus promissa petit, de faucibus osse repulso;  
 Cui lupus: 'An uiuis munere tuta meo?  
 5 Nonne tuum potui morsu prescindere collum?  
 Ergo tibi munus sit tua uita meum.'  
 Moralitas  
 Nil prodest prodesse malis; mens praua malorum  
 Immemor accepti non timet esse boni.  
 Addicio  
 Dulcia sunt porrecta malis falerata uenena;  
 10 Nil dulcessit eis omnis amara quies.  
 Munera post sumpta malus in gratitudine torpet,  
 Immemor oblatis dum solet esse boni.

18. soudra P.

23-30. om. a b c.

2. Mediat P. imedicam &gt; med- B.

4. Qui P. unus L. muinere B.

5. precindere P.

7. om. prodesse P.

8. accepti P.

9. sont P. falera falera ta P.

11. ingratitudine B L corr. P.

## 8. Comment la grue garist le loup.

- Li louns menja trop gloutement,  
 Si fu malades durement;  
 Car en la gorge li areste  
 Uns os qui li fist grant moleste.
- 5 S'envoia par toute la terre  
 Phisiciens et mires querre.  
 De Montpellier estoit venue  
 Madame Hauteve la grue,  
 Qui de phisque avoit licence.
- 10 Si fist certaine convenance  
 Combien au loup devoit couster  
 Se cel os li povoit oster;  
 Et li louns li promet et jure  
 Li bien paier de celle cure;
- 15 Mais de tant fu elle po saige  
 Qu'elle n'en prist un po de gaige.  
 Au loup a fait ouvrir la bouche;  
 Son bec boute ens tant qu'elle touche  
 A l'os, si que a li le tire.
- 20 Le loup n'a plus mestier de mire.  
 Celle voelt avoir sa promesse;  
 Li louns li dist: Fole maistresse,  
 Gardés de que vous me sivés;  
 N'est ce par moy que vous vivés?
- 25 Ne vous poi je mordre, cheitive,  
 Et devourer trestoute vive?  
 Esparnay vous par ma franchise,  
 Et ce pour loier vous souffise.—  
 La moralité.
- Bien faire a mauvès riens ne vaut;
- 30 Tost l'oublie, et ne li en chaut.  
 Qui doucer baille a ennemi  
 Si le tendra il pour venin.  
 Le mauvais prent tout en despit,  
 Pour ce n'aura l'autre respit;

1. menga troup *P*.  
 2. Sen fu *L*, Si fust *P*.  
 4. Un hos *P*.  
 6. Phisiens et mires guerre *P*.  
 8. autre cure la grue *a*, haulte cure la  
 grue *b*, la tres noble grue *c*.  
 9. science *c*.

19. a soi *L*.  
 21. uuet *L*, veult *P*.  
 23. quoi *L*, quoy *P a b c*; mesieues *L*,  
 messieues *P*, mesuyues *b*, me suiuez *c*.  
 24. Nesse *P*.  
 31-36. *om. a b c*.  
 31. douceur *L P*.

- 35 Don que face n'a en memoire,  
Ne quiert que vanité et gloire.

## IX. DE DVABVS CANICVLIS

(*Illustration*)

- De partu querulam uerborum nectare plenam  
Pro cane mota canis suscipit ede canem.  
Hec abit, illa manet; hec cursitat, illa quiescit;  
Hinc tamen a partu rumpitur illa quies.  
5 Illa redit reddique sibi sua tecta precatur;  
Osserat hec aurem, nec minus aure domum.  
Plus prece posse minas putat, hec plus bella duobus;  
Nescit posse minas plus prece, bella minis.  
Cum dolor hanc armet, plus matrem filius armet;  
10 Cedit solo gregi, iustaque causa perit.  
Moralitas  
Non satis est tutum mellitis credere uerbis;  
Ex hoc melle solet pestis amara sequi.  
Addicio  
Fistula dulce canit, alitem cum decipit auceps;  
Seducunt multos uerba polita uiros;  
15 Sirenici cantus, falerata melodia, stultos;  
Hos circonueniunt et quibus ista placent.

### 9. De deus chienes.

- Une chiene povre et truande  
Prie a une autre et demande  
Que pour Dieu li prest son hosté  
Tant que si flanc et si costé  
5 De ses chiens fussent delivré;

35. quen faice *L.*

IX tit. duobus *P.*

1. querula *B* (-ula in *eras.*) *P.* plena *B.*

3. habit *P.*

5. redi reddit *P.*

7. poece *L.* puta *P.*

8. minus *MSS.*

11. et *P.*

13. alicem *B P.* anceps *MSS. corr. Hervieux.*

15. Cirenici *B P Hervieux* Cyrenici *L.*

16. circonueniunt *P Hervieux.*

*tit.* De deux cheures *c.*

1. et *om. L;* Une poure chieure *c.*

3. oste *L,* hostel *P a b.*

5. chaiaux soient *a,* faons soient *b,*  
cheureaulx soient *c.*

- Et la sotte l'ostel li livré,  
 Si s'en va ailleurs pourchassier;  
 Bon loisir a d'aler chassier.  
 Tant a venu, tant a alé
- 10 Que l'autre lisse a chaellé.  
 A son lieu vient et si demande  
 Que celle son ostel li rende.  
 Celle li fait la sourde oreille  
 Et ferme bien l'uis, et veroille;
- 15 Et celle dehors la menace,  
 Pour ce cuide que issir l'en face,  
 Mais d'illuec ne l'en puet chassier  
 Par prier ne par manessier.  
 L'une de douleur se courrouce,
- 20 Et l'autre s'enhardie et grouce  
 Qui se sent avecques ses chiens.  
 L'autre voit que ne li vaut riens,  
 Et qu'elle est seule; si s'en vet.  
 Bien voit qu'elle a perdu son plet.  
 La moralité.
- 25 Qui croit paroles doucereuses  
 Souvent les treuve venimeuses.  
 Le dous chant deçoit l'oiseillon,  
 L'enfançonnet, le papeillon.  
 Quant plus doucement la serainne
- 30 Chante, a li les nageurs amainne;  
 Aucune fois les faut morir  
 Quant l'en ne les puet secourir.

## X. DE COLVBRO ET RVSTICO

(*Illustration*)

Dum niue canet humus, glacies dum cepit aquarum  
 Cursus, et in colubrum turbida seuit hyemps,

6. le tel *P*; *this verse om. b.*

10. lice *P a*, chieure *c.*

14. toureille *a.*

17. chacier *L.*

18. manacier *L*, menassier *P.*

21. Quelle se sent avec ses cheureaux *c.*

22. Lautre voudroit bien estre a meaulx *c.*

23. va *c.*

24. que lostel perdu a *c.*

27-32. *om. a b c (see note on next fable).*

31. maurir *P.*

32. le puet *B.*

X tit. calubro *P.*

1. uiue *L.*

2. seuit (-eu- in *eras.*) *B.*

Hunc uidet, hunc reficit hominis clemencia; uentum  
Temperat huic tecto, temperat igne gelu.

5 Ores erit uirus coluber, sic toxicat edem.

Hospes ait colubro: 'Non rediturus abi.'

Non exit coluber nec uult exire, set heret  
Amplectensque uirum sibila dira mouet.

#### Moralitas

Reddere gaudet homo nequam pro melle uenenum,

10 Pro fructu penam, pro pietate dolum.

#### Addicio

Mus in pera suum dominum non reddit amicum,

Ignis et in gremio nutrit amara uiro.

Dum gremio serpente sinu latitante maligno

Gaudet herus simplex, tristia speret herus.

#### 10. Du vilain qui herberja le serpent.

En yver quant gelee prent  
Un vilain trouva un serpent  
De froidure ainsi comme morte.

Li vilains la prent, si l'emporte

5 Pour le aisier en son osté,  
Com cil qui en ot grant pitié.

Si l'aissa au mieux que il pot,  
Et celle grant mestier en ot.

Dou froit la garde et dou vent;

10 Mès l'en rent mal pour bien souvent.

Quant le serpent fu en bon point,  
De mal faire ne se faint point;

Son venin gita ça et la,

Adonc le vilain l'apela:

15 Issiés, dit il, fors de ceans.—

Mès de l'issir est il neans.

6. rediturus B (>rediturus) P.

7. egit MSS.

8. monet P.

10. fectu P.

11. impera MSS. (>uipera B Hervieux).  
*Herlet, op. cit., p. 27, observes that the idea expressed in this and the following verse appears also in Odo de Ceritonia (Hervieux, II, 636).*

13. latitente P.

14. symplex B P.

1-4. om. a.

4. le prent P; avec soy lemporte b c.

5. (following without break after verse 26 of preceding fable) Ly sire par grant amitie a; hostel b; verse inserted after 5 Avec soy le emporta cel b.

6. pitie P a b c; ot om. a; verse inserted after 6 Et en auoit ausi grant amitie b.

12. this verse written in margin B.

16. Mais de son aler cest neans c.

Vers li se trait et si le mort  
Tant que son hoste a laissié mort.

La moralité.

Ainsi rendent li mauvès tuit

20 Mal pour bien et painne pour fruit.

Une souris qu'est en escharpe

Le bien dedens menjue et harpe;

Et le feu qui est ou giron

Art et destruit tout environ.

25 Le serpent qu'est en sain cachiés

Fait au seigneur mout de meschiefs.

## XI. DE APRO ET ASELO

(*Illustration*)

Audet asellus aprum risu temptare proteruo,

Audet inhers forti dicere: 'Frater, aue.'

Vibrat aper pro dente caput, nam uerba superbit

Reddere, sed dentem uix tenet ira trucem.

5 Tunc aper ista mouet: 'Vilem dens nobilis escam

Spernit; desidia tutus es ipse tua.'

Moralitas

Non debet stolidus ledi prudencia risu,

Nec stolidus doctum debet adire iocis.

Addicio

Non facienda iocosa reor prelua magno;

10 Feliciter si uis ludere, luda pari.

Ludus non extat nisi ludere sponte scienti;

In culpa ludus noxius esse solet.

### 11. De l'asne qui salua le sangler.

L'asne au senglier un ris rua

Par gabois et le salua,

21-26. *om. a b c.*

22. charpe *P.*

25. sachiez *P.*

26. meschies *L.*, meshiez *P.*

XI tit. assello *MSS.*

1. assellus *L.* proderno *B* proderuo *P*  
proceruo > proteruo *L.*

3. capud *L.*

5. monet *L.* dans *MSS.*

6. Speruit *P L.* desideria *B P.*

7. stollido > stolido *B.*

8. stollidus > stolidus *B.*

9. faciendi *B P.*

10. ci *P.*

12. sollet *P.*

- Et li dit: Frere, Dieux te gart.—  
 Le sangler un felon regart  
 5 Li gieta, et bien po s'en faut  
 Que le sanglier l'asne n'assaut;  
 Mès sens l'en destourne et arreste,  
 Car le sangler est noble beste,  
 Si ne se daigne a l'asne prendre,  
 10 Qui li samble que il soit mendre  
 Et vils beste au regart de lui;  
 Por ce ne li veut faire ennuy.  
 La moralité.  
 Par ce flabel pourras savoir  
 Saige ne se doit esmouvoir  
 15 Pour chose que li fols li die,  
 Et le fol refait grant folie  
 Quant de parole joue au saige;  
 Tost li en puet venir domaige.  
 Nuls ne doit si haut encroer  
 20 Soy qu'a plus fort de soy jouer,  
 S'efforçoit mès a son semblable,  
 Ce nous enseigne ceste fable.  
 Il n'est jeus que a bon joueur,  
 De li n'aura ja l'en peeur.  
 25 Quant le jeu est bien devisié  
 Li joueur sont assegrisié.

## XII. DE MVRE RVSTICO ET VRBANO

(Illustration)

- Rusticus urbanum murem mus suscipit, edem  
 Commodat et mensam, mensaque mente minor.  
 In mensa tenui satis est immensa uoluntas;  
 Nobilitat uiles frons generosa dapes.  
 5 Facto fine cibis urbano rusticus heret;  
 Urbani socius tendit in urbis opes.  
 Ecce penum subeunt, inseruit amicus amico;

7. destourbe L.  
 13. fablel L, flabe P, fable a.  
 19-26. om. a b c.  
 19. Nuns P.  
 20. Soy a P.  
 23. Il nest nest B (second nest lightly cancelled).

24. De lui naura nen ia P.  
 XII tit. et rustico B est rustico P.  
 1. rubanum P. edem > ede B.  
 3. immensa tenui P in mensa uoluntas L  
 immensam u-P.

- Inuigilant mense, fercula mensa gerit.  
 Emendat conditque cibos clemencia uultus,  
 10 Conuiuiam saciat plus dape frontis honor.  
 Ecce sere clauis inmurmurat, hostia latrant,  
 Ambo timent, fugiunt longe, nec ambo latent.  
 Hic latet, hic latebras cursu mendicat inepto;  
 — Assuitur muro reptile muris onus.  
 15 Blanda penu clauso parcit fortuna timori,  
 Ille tamen febrit, teste timore tremit.  
 Exit qui latuit, timidum sic blandit amicum:  
 'Gaude, carpe cibos, hec sapit esca fauum.'  
 Fatur qui timuit: 'Latet hoc in melle uenenum,  
 20 Fellitumque metu non puto dulce bonum.  
 Quam timor obumbrat non est segura uoluptas;  
 Non est sollicito dulcis in ore cybus.  
 Rodere malo fabam quam cura perpete rodi;  
 Degenerare cibos cura diurna facit.  
 25 Hiis opibus gaude, qui gaudes turbine mentis,  
 Pauperiem ditat pax opulenta michi.  
 Hec bona solus habe que sunt tibi dulcia soli,  
 Dat precium dapibus uita quieta meis.'  
 Finit uerba, redit, preponit tuta timendis,  
 30 Et quia summa timet, tucius yma petit.  
 Moralitas  
 Pauperies, si leta uenit, tutissima res est;  
 Tristior immensas pauperat usus opes.  
 Addicio  
 Est melior panis michi letificata bucella,  
 Quam cum tristicia sumere lance dapes.  
 35 Nolo saginatum uitulum perfusa timore;  
 Non uolo mellitos plena timore cibos.

10. *Comminam B P* (> *conuiuiam B*).11. *muirmurat B* *murmurat P*.15. *partu MSS*.16. *febris MSS*.17. *timuit MSS*.19. *hec P*.20. *Fellicum L*.21. *uoluptas B P*.22. *solicitus B P*.23. *Nos here P. peperte P. redi MSS.*  
(> *rodi B L*).24. *cibo P*.26. *dittat B P*.27. *que sunt > quesunt L*.32. *immensis MSS*. 34 *lauce B L*.36. *melitos P*.



## 12. De la souris de bonne vile et de vilaige.

- Une povre souris champetre  
 Mainne avec soy en son povre estre  
 Une souris de cité nee,  
 Si l'ot semonse a la disnee;  
 5 Tel viande ot appareillié  
 Comme elle pot, mès plus fu lié  
 Que la viande ne demontre;  
 Car se po y a, a l'encontre  
 Y est la bonne volenté.  
 10 Se de viande n'a plenté,  
 La bonne chiere et la courtoise  
 Que celle fait a la bourgoise  
 Vaut bien autant, ce m'est avis;  
 Car mengier ne puet estre vils  
 15 Qui est donnés a belle chiere.  
 Aise furent en tel maniere  
 Que n'orent a tout le mengier  
 Peour ne noise ne dangier.  
 Et quant de l'aler fu saison,  
 20 Celle semont en sa maison  
 L'autre souris pour festoier,  
 De ce la vuet forment proier;  
 Celle bonnement li octroie.  
 La bourgoise li fait grant joie,  
 25 Qui a li aaisier mout pense.  
 Ou en celier ou en despense  
 Fist la dame mettre la table,  
 Mout li a fait chiere amiable.  
 A la table se sont assises,  
 30 Mès ne sé ou furent tant prises  
 De viandes comme il y a.  
 Celle mout semont et pria

12. ville et de celle de P.

3. Autre souris a la disnee a.

4. lost P; *this verse om.* a.

5. apparilee P, appareilee a b.

6. plus liee P.

8. Mais se P.

9. Y est bonne la volente a b c.

10. viandes L.

14. vis L, viz P.

15. donne L P; bonne P.

16. furent furent P.

19. daler fust P.

22. volt L, veult forment prier P; Que en son hostel la veult veoir a b c.

25. asaier P.

26. Que en selier P.

27. Fist dame P.

30. sce L, sai P, scay a b, say c.

31. Des P b.

- S'otesse qu'elle fust a aise;  
 A faire chose qui li plaise  
 35 Met toute sa cure et sa painne.  
 Estes vous que dyables amainne  
 Le clacelier qui les clés porte,  
 Si commence a ouvrir la porte.  
 Quant elles ouvrir les oyrent  
 40 L'une ça, l'autre la fouirent.  
 Si scet la dame son recet,  
 Mès l'autre ne scet ou el vet;  
 Aus ongles s'aert a un mur,  
 Sachiés que n'est pas asseür.  
 45 Retourna s'en le clacelier  
 Bientost et ferma son celier.  
 La souris qui au mur se tint  
 Des fievres tramble, et l'autre vint  
 Qui bien avoit esté reposté;  
 50 Si prist asseürer son hoste,  
 Si li a dit: Amie chiere,  
 Mengiés et faites bonne chiere;  
 C'est aussi douls com miel en ree.—  
 Celle qui point asseüree  
 55 N'est encores, dit: En ce miel  
 Gist et tapit venin et fiel.  
 Nuls biens n'est bons ou peeur gist.  
 Delis que peeur en oblit  
 N'est pas delis parfaitement.  
 60 Pour ce vous di certainement  
 Plus ain mes feves, douce suer,  
 Asseür et a pais de mon cuer  
 Que de viandes habundance,  
 Et fusse toujours en doutance  
 65 Et en peeur et en pensee;  
 Mès vous a qui tiex chose agree  
 Prenés a vous ceste planté;

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 37. clarselier <i>P</i> , bouteillier <i>c</i> .  | 51. Si a dist <i>P</i> .  |
| 38-9. la porte. . ouvrir <i>om. B</i> .   | 53. In <i>B</i> this line, the last <i>om f. 15b</i> , is repeated as the first line of <i>f. 16a</i> . |
| 39. Et celles qui tantost loient <i>P</i> , Quant celles lui ouvrir oyrent <i>a (b c)</i> . | 54. point nest assuree <i>P</i> .   |
| 43. ongles sa en un <i>P</i> ; fiert <i>a</i> , se prent <i>c</i> .                         | 57. doux <i>a</i> , bons <i>om. b c</i> .   |
| 44. nest mie <i>P</i> .   | 58. ennublist <i>a</i> , enoublist <i>b</i> , en humblist <i>c</i> .                                    |
| 45. bouteillier <i>c</i> .  | 61. ains <i>L c</i> , aymes <i>a</i> , ayme <i>b</i> .  |
| 47. a mur <i>P</i> .  | 62. mon <i>om. a b c</i> .  |
| 50. prist a asurer <i>P</i> .   | 65. en ( <i>before pensee</i> ) <i>om. P</i> .  |

- Pais fait riche ma povreté.—  
 Plus ne dit; vet s'en a l'osté.  
 70 Riens ne prise envers seurté,  
 Et pour ce que crient haute chose  
 Se tient seule et en bas enclose.  
 La moralité.  
 Povreté qu'en prent liement  
 Est grant richesse ensemment.  
 75 Di je povreté grant richesse  
 Qui estuet despendre en tritesse.  
 Mieux vaut du pain un bon morsel  
 Que mengier de un gras pourcel,  
 Estre tristement receüs,  
 80 Combien qu'en fust tres bien peüs.  
 Ne voudroie d'un gras veau  
 Et peur heüsse en un preau.  
 Je ne sauroie miel amer,  
 De peeur eusse cuer amer. | ?

## XIII. DE VVLPE ET AQVILA

(Illustration)

- Dum uulpes aquilam pro rapta prole perungit  
 Melle precum, predam reddere nescit aus.  
 Preda gemit nidique timet cibus esse gulosi,  
 Sed redimit natos utilis arte parens.  
 5 Arboreum zonat stipulis et uimine truncum,  
 In stipulam docto dirigit ore facem.  
 In pullas aquile coniurat copia fumi;  
 Hanc tamen et uulpem preuida placat aus.  
 Moralitas  
 Non sit qui studeat, quia maior, obesse minori,  
 10 Cum bene maiori possit obesse minor.

68. pais *om.* P.  
 69. lostel P.  
 72. seul et embas P, teint sa hrue en bas a,  
 tient seure en bas b, tient seurte bas c.  
 76. tristresse L.  
 77-84. *om.* a b c.  
 81. vaudroie B.  
 82. paour P.

- XIII tit. uupe et aquilla B P.  
 1. aquillam > aquilam B.  
 3. sibus . . . gullosi P.  
 4. redtim > redimit L m. 2.  
 5. truncum P.  
 7. Impulos P. conuincit B. conuintit P.  
 8. prenida B pre nida P.  
 10. obese B.

## Addicio

Victor et a uicto superari sepe uidetur;  
 Maiorem pauper sincopat arte sua.  
 Ledere fas est huic qui possit raro iuuare;  
 Ledere qui nequeat condere pauca potest.

## 13. De Renart et de l'aigle.

L'aigle qui est roy des oisiaus  
 Embla un de ses renardiaus  
 A Renart pour ses aigliaus pestre.  
 Renart qui dolent en dut estre  
 5 Mout li pria, mout li requist  
 Que son renardiau li rendist.  
 Oncques l'aigle ne li vost rendre.  
 Renart pot oïr et entendre  
 Que son fils pres de mort estoit  
 10 Se consoil en li ne metoit;  
 Et bien vit que force n'avoit  
 Ne pooir, s'engin ne savoit  
 Comment se vengast dou meffet.  
 Sous l'aubre ou l'aigle ot son ni fet  
 15 Buche vert et chaume assambla,  
 Si ne sai ge se il l'embla.  
 Mout y sot bien le feu bouter;  
 La fumee prist a monter  
 Jusques aus aigliaus qui ou ni furent;  
 20 A bien petit que mort ne furent.  
 Li aigles voit que ses aigliaus  
 Estaignent, soit li lai ou biaux;  
 Sa proie li convient laisser,  
 Autrement ne s'en puet passer.  
 La moralité.  
 25 Par cest flaviau povés entendre  
 Que li grans puet bien nuire au mendre,

11. et *add. L.*13. et *B P.*14. concede *P.**tit.* Du *L.* De laigle et de renart *P.*1. est *written above B*, *om. P.*2. un des *P a.*3. aigles paistre *P*, oiseaulx *a*, oyscaus *c.*12. Ne pour art se *a*, Et paour se *b.*14. ny *L a c*, nid *b.*20. mors *P.*22. il *P*, lui *c*, *om. a.*24. nen puet *P.*25. cest fable *a*, cest fabel *b*, ce flabel *c.*

- Et li mendres puet nuire au grant,  
 Si comme avés oy ci devant.  
 A la fois li victorieus  
 30 Du vaincu rechiet es lieus,  
 Et le petit par son engin  
 Abat le grant de son engin.  
 Aucune fois cils puet bien nuire  
 Qui a aidier ne se puet duire.  
 35 Bien puet po qui ne puet blecier;  
 Tel nuit qui ne puet adrecier.

## XIV. DE AQVILA ET TESTVDINE

(Illustration)

- Pes aquile, predo testudinis, aera findit;  
 Hanc sua concha tegit, cornua longa latent.  
 Hoc monitu cornix aquilam premunit: 'Ineptum  
 Fere onus, ac fiet utile, crede michi.  
 5 Quod geris in concha, cibus est; tibi subripit illum  
 Concha cibus, concham frange cibusque cadet.  
 Vt concham lanies, pro uiribus utere sensu;  
 Hanc si celsa cadet saxea franget humus.'  
 Moralitas  
 De se tutus homo submersus turbine lingue  
 10 Corruit et fortes ista procella rapit.  
 Addicio  
 Credulus esse nimis non debet iure peritus;  
 Lingua loquax nimia credulitate capit.  
 Omni spiritui non est laus credere passim;  
 Credulus, ut fuerit, imputet esse sibi.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 27. meindre <i>P.</i>                                 | 3. aquila <i>P.</i>                                  |
| 29-36. om. a b c.                                     | 6. cybum <i>B P.</i>                                 |
| 31. de <i>L.</i>                                      | 7. lames <i>MSS.</i>                                 |
| 32. par <i>L.</i>                                     | 8. cadet > cadat <i>B.</i> unius <i>P.</i>           |
| 33. Aucunes fois tel puet <i>P.</i>                   | 12. linga <i>B P.</i> loquar <i>P.</i> loquaux > lo- |
| 34. a om. <i>P.</i>                                   | quax <i>L.</i>                                       |
| 36. aidier <i>P.</i>                                  | 13. laux <i>MSS. corr. B m. 2.</i>                   |
| XIV tit. cane <i>B P.</i> testitudine <i>MSS. ob-</i> | 14. imput <i>L.</i>                                  |
| <i>viously for limace; see introd. pp. 38-9.</i>      |  |

## 14. De l'aigle et de la limace.

- Li aigles ala en pourchas;  
 Ce jour ne prist fors un limas.  
 Li limas crient que cil li nuise,  
 Tost se boute dedens sa cruise.
- 5 A l'aigle dit lors la cornile:  
 Ce que vous en ceste coquille  
 Portés, ne vous vault une poire;  
 Mais se vous me voliés croire,  
 Il vous vaudroit aucune chose,
- 10 Qu'il a dedens viande enclose,  
 Mès la coquille la vous tost.  
 Brisiés la, si charra tantost;  
 Engin convient a la brisier,  
 Bien le vous saurai devisier.
- 15 Lessés la a terre cheoir,  
 Apertement pourrés veoir  
 Que sus les pierres brisera;  
 Ja elle si fort ne sera  
 Pour quoi elle chee de haut.—
- 20 Li aigles, qui croire la vaut,  
 Lesse cheoir sa proie a terre;  
 Autre puet pourchassier et querre,  
 Ceste viande a il perdue;  
 La cornille s'en est petie.
- La moralité.
- 25 Male langue par sa parole  
 Tout le monde engine et afole.  
 L'en ne doit mie tantost croire  
 Que chascune chose soit voire,  
 Car par trop grant credulité
- 30 Chiet l'en en grant necessité.  
 Oy dire va par la vile;  
 Qui trestout croist, forment s'avile.  
 A celi doit l'en imputer  
 Qui creance fait abuter.

1. aigle enla *P*.  
 2. print *P* *b*, prinst *a c*.  
 3. crie *P*.  
 9. vaudra *P*.  
 12. cherra *L a b c*.

14. la *B*.  
 17. Qui *B*.  
 26. engingne *L*, engigne *a b*.  
 27-34. *om. a b c*.  
 29. gredulite *L*.

## XV. DE VVLPE ET CORVO

*(Illustration)*

- Vulpe gerente famem coruum gerit arbor et escam  
 Ore gerens coruus uulpe loquente silet:  
 'Corue decore decens, superas splendore parentes;  
 Si cantu placeas, plus aue quaque places.'  
 5 Credit auis, picteque placent prelua lingua;  
 Dum canit ut placeat, caseus ore cadit.  
 Hoc fruitur uulpes, insurgunt tedia coruo;  
 Asperat inmodico dampna dolore pudor.  
 Moralitas  
 Fellitum patitur risum, quem mollit inanis  
 10 Gloria; uera parit tedia falsus honor.  
 Addicio  
 Hoc faciunt stulti quos gloria uexat inanis;  
 Insanire malos gloria magna facit.  
 Qui nimis apparens cupit est inglorius ipse;  
 Vertitur in storiā gloria dicta frequens.

## 15. Du renart et du corbel.

- Sire Tiercelin le corbiau,  
 Qui cuide estre avenant et biau,  
 Tenoit en son bech un fromage.  
 Renart qui a fait maint dommaige,  
 5 Parmi le bois chantant couroit  
 Com cil qui de grant fain mouroit.  
 Le fromage li vit tenir,  
 Bien scet qu'il n'i puet avenir  
 Se n'est par art et par engin:  
 10 Ha, dit Renart, biau Tiercelin,  
 Qui si estes enparentés,

XV tit. corua P.

1. cornum P.
2. cornus L.
4. queque > quaque L.
5. pitteque B P.
8. inmodico MSS.
9. Fellicium B L Fellicum P.
11. quod L. uexa P.
12. fecit P.
13. aparens P.

14. Verstitur P.

1. thiercelin L, thielin a, thiecelin b, thiesselins c.
3. bec Pa b c; fromage L, fourmage P.
4. Regnart a b c.
5. Chantant parmi les bois P.
9. par engin ou par art P.
10. thielin a, thiecelin b, thiesselins c.

- Dommaiges iert que ne chantés  
 Aussi bien com fist vostre pere.  
 Se aussi chantissiez, par Saint Pere,  
 15 Je cuit qu'en tout le bois n'eüst  
 Oisel qui tant a tous pleüst.—  
 Le corbiau qui pas n'aperçoit  
 Que Renart l'engingne et deçoit,  
 Et qui par son chant plaie cuide,  
 20 En chanter met si grant estude  
 Que son fromage li chei.  
 Renart ne fu pas esbai,  
 Qui son chant mout petit pris;  
 Le fromaige tantost pris a,  
 25 Si le menja trestout Renart;  
 Oncques Tiercelin n'i ot part.  
 Mout en fu dolent le corbiau  
 Et de honte li croist son diau.  
 La moralité.  
 Qui vaine gloire quiert et chace,  
 30 Sa perte et sa honte pourchace.  
 Fausse honneur, ce povés entendre,  
 Maint grant anuy souvent engendre.  
 Les fols qui quierent vaine gloire  
 Si vuelent assés de honte boire;  
 35 Gloire les met hors de leur sen.  
 Plus saige tien dame Hersen,  
 Qui vuit sa coloingne filer;  
 Pour ce ne la doi aviler.  
 Qui vuet estre trop apparent  
 40 De faintise n'aura garent.

## XVI. DE LEONE ANNOSO QVI NON FECIT AMICOS

(*Illustration*)

Irretit miserum grauitas annosa leonem,

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 12. est <i>L a b c.</i>   | 29. croit et chasc <i>P.</i>          |
| 14. chantiez <i>b c</i> ; <i>verse om. a.</i>   | 33-40. <i>om. a b c.</i>              |
| 15. cuide <i>P</i> ; que tout <i>B.</i>   | 34. Sieulent <i>L.</i>                |
| 19. cuide plaie <i>P.</i>   | 35. san <i>P.</i>                     |
| 21. chai <i>L</i> , chay <i>a b c.</i>  | 36. tieng <i>L</i> ; hersan <i>P.</i> |
| 26. thielin <i>a</i> , thieselins <i>c</i> ; De celui ne fist<br>nulle pars <i>b.</i> | 37. uuet sa quelloigne <i>L.</i>      |
| 28. La ( <i>before moralite</i> ) <i>om. B.</i>                                       | 38. dois <i>L.</i>                    |
|   | XVI tit. non <i>om. B P.</i>          |



- Inglaciat corpus corque senile gelu.  
 Instat aper, pensat ueteri pro uulnere uulnus;  
 Frontis eum telo taurus utroque fodit.  
 5 Seuit assellus inners et frontem fronte sigillat;  
 Hec solo gemitu uindicat acta leo:  
 'Omnia que uici, me uincunt omnia, dormit  
 Vis mea, dormit honor, dormit honoris onus.  
 Cui nocui, nocet ipse michi, multisque peperci,  
 10 Qui mihi non parcunt, pro pietate nocent.'  
 Moralitas  
 Hunc timeat casum qui se non fulcit amico,  
 Nec dare uult felix, quam miser optat opem.  
 Addicio  
 Mammona laudatur que doctos querit amicos;  
 Caros fortuna prospera nulla probat.  
 15 Cum fueris felix omnes numerabis amicos;  
 Tempora cum fuerint aspera, solus eris.  
 Soluit amicicias, cum delectabile regnat;  
 Cum semel inualuit utile, tollit eas.  
 Pascit amicicias paucas et nutrit honestum;  
 20 Exulat et uix comparet honestus amor.

### 16. Du lion qui chei en viellesce.

- Li lions qui force et noblesce  
 Ot jadis, chei en viellesce,  
 Si que li faillent tuit li membre.  
 Li sanglers a cui bien il membre  
 5 Que li fist jadis li lions,  
 Li fait recompensations,  
 C'est assavoir plaie pour plaie.  
 Li toriaux point ne li souplaie,  
 Le hurte des cornes si fort  
 10 Que il y met tout son effort.  
 Neis l'asne plain de peresce  
 De ses piés le fiert et blesce.

2. seuile MSS.  
 3. ueterit P.  
 4. tello > telo L.  
 5. assellus MSS. fronte for calce MSS.  
 7. q<sub>3</sub> > q̄ B. uiti MSS. omina P.  
 8. honoris P.  
 9. Qui P. peperci B P peperci L.  
 11. fulsit P L.

13. Mannona MSS. (> Mammona B m. 2).  
 15. numerabilis B P (> numerabis B).  
 16. fiunt Hervieux.

3. le faillant P.  
 6. recompensassions P.  
 12. Des pies ou front le a b c; et le blesse P.

- Chascune beste li court seure,  
 Et li lions gemist et pleure  
 15 Qui voit qu'a souffrir li estuet,  
 N'autrement vengier ne se puet;  
 Et dit: Las, je qui fort estoie  
 Et toutes bestes seurmontoie  
 Sui maintenant li seurmontés,  
 20 Perdu hé toutes mes bontés.  
 Ou est me honneur, ou est ma force?  
 Ne m'est remés fors que l'escorce.  
 Cils me nuist a cui j'é neü,  
 S'ai je de maint pitié eü  
 25 Qui n'ont ores pitié de moi;  
 N'est merveilles se je m'esmoi.—

La moralité.

- Bien se gart de ceste aventure  
 Cils que de faire amis n'a cure,  
 Et qui en sa prosperité  
 30 Ne vult du povre avoir pité,  
 Et voudroit bien que l'en l'eüst  
 De li, s'ensi li mescheüst.  
 L'en sieut mout loer la pecune  
 Qui amis a son mestre aüne.  
 35 Quant li homs a grant prosperité  
 De amis est forment visité;  
 Mès quant il chiet en povreté  
 Deboutés est et degetés.  
 La fortune qui est riënt  
 40 Preuve les amis pour niënt.  
 La mouche ne quiert que le miel,  
 Cure nulle n'aura de fiel.  
 L'amour qui est plus profitable  
 Au jour d'ui est plus delitable.  
 45 Chascuns vult avoir le delit,  
 La painne a nelui n'abelit.  
 Le loup ne vult que la cherongne,  
 Et pour li grant joie demoinne;

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 13. sure <i>P</i> .  | 27. aventure <i>L P a b</i> .                      |
| 16. Auteement <i>P</i> .   | 33-52. <i>om. a b c</i> .                          |
| 20. ai <i>L</i> , ay <i>Pa c</i> ; he in <i>B</i> cancelled by later<br>hand and ay substituted, soit <i>b</i> . | 38. degete <i>P</i> .                              |
| 21. est monneur <i>L</i> , est mes honneurs <i>P</i> .   | 46. nullui nembelit <i>P</i> , nabelist <i>L</i> . |
| 23. Chis <i>L</i> , cil <i>a c</i> .   | 47. charoingne <i>L</i> , charonne <i>P</i> .      |

Et les hommes quierent la proie,  
 50 Chascuns dou profit pense et proie.  
 Peu est de amis pour honesté  
 Ne en yver ne en esté.

## XVII. DE CATVLO ET ASELO

(Illustration)

Murmuris et caude studio testatur amorem  
 Nunc lingua catulus, nunc pede calcat herum.  
 Gaudet herus comitque canem comitemque ciborum  
 Efficit, alludit turba ministra cani.  
 5 Sorte pari similesque cybos similemque fauorem  
 Lucrari cupiens inquit asellus inhers:  
 'Me catulo prefert uite nitor, utile tergum,  
 Nec placeo fructu, sed placet ille ioco.  
 Ludam; lude, placet; sic ludam tempore uiso,  
 10 Vt ludo placeam.' Ludit et instat hero.  
 Blandiri putat ore tonans, humerisque priorum  
 Pressis mole pedum se putat esse pium.  
 Clamat herus, uult clamor opem, subit ordo clientum;  
 Multa domat multo uerbere claua reum.  
 Moralitas  
 15 Quod natura negat, nemo feliciter audet;  
 Displicet imprudens, quando placere putat.  
 Addicio  
 Inmiscere rei uetite laudabile non est;  
 Quod natura negat, turpiter ambit homo.  
 Qui cupit id quod adesse nequit, stultissimus extat;  
 20 Ardua si quis auet, sepius yma tenet.  
 Inuenies asinum, si tu cupias asinari;  
 Optatus ueniet non cito sponte leo.

51. damis *L*, des amis *P*.XVII tit. assello *MSS*.3. ceruitque *MSS*.4. minustra *P*.5. cibos *P L*.6. assellus *MSS*.7. profert *B P*. uictor *P*. tercum *L* regum  
*P*.8. om. *P*.10. est *P*.11. Blandim *B L* (>Blandiri *B*) Blandiu  
*P*. puta>putat *L*. hore>ore *B*.12. Pressi molle *P*.13. herus *B* (-ru-*in erasure*) heras *P*.15. natum *P*.17. Immistere *MSS*. ne cite *P*. laudatio *L*.18. uegat nemo (*the latter expunged*) *P*.20. si quis *L P*. sepius (-ius *in eras.*) *L*.

## 17. De l'asne et du chien.

- Un riche homme un chien avoit  
 Que trop bien conjoir savoit  
 Son seigneur et li faire feste  
 De langue, de queue, et de teste.
- 5 Le chiennet au seigneur plesoit  
 Si que aucunes fois le besoit;  
 Ses compains estoit au mengier.  
 Nuls ne li demenoit dangier,  
 Qui convient que mesnie craime
- 10 Ce que scet que ses sires aime.  
 Le chiennet est petit et gent,  
 Dont plus chier l'avoient la gent.  
 Li asnes a la pesant teste,  
 Si vit et regarda la feste
- 15 Que a son seigneur fait le chien.  
 Mesprendre ne cuide de rien,  
 Si dit que bien jouer saura  
 Si que autele viande aura;  
 Com le chien, a grace samblable:
- 20 Je suis, dit il, plus profitable,  
 Et par mon dos fais plus de preu  
 Que le chien ne fait par son jeu.  
 S'a il par son jeu plus de grace  
 Que je pour chose que je face,
- 25 Qui jour et nuit seans travaille.  
 Il me plaist a jouer sans faille,  
 Je joueré comment qu'il aut.—  
 Quant son lieu vit, si vient et saut  
 Messires Bernart l'archeprestre,
- 30 Aus piés sus la table son mestre;  
 Ses piés aus espaules li met,  
 De bien jouer fort s'entremet,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. chienet <i>a b c</i> .   | 12. <i>In B this verse written in margin; om.</i>                                   |
| 5. plaisoit <i>L P</i> .  | <i>in a</i> .   |
| 6. aucune <i>L P</i> .  | 18. Si dit que <i>a</i> , Se il chante <i>b</i> .                                   |
| 7. au mengier estoit <i>a</i> .   | 19. samblale <i>B</i> , semblable <i>P</i> .  |
| 8. Ne nulz mangier ne lui metoit <i>a</i> , lui en<br>menoit <i>b</i> , len faisoit <i>c</i> .              | 20. sui <i>L P</i> .  |
| 9. 'crainne <i>P</i> ; maignie craigne <i>a</i> , megne<br>craime <i>b</i> , le servant craingne <i>c</i> . | 25. ceans <i>L a b c</i> .  |
| 11. et petit <i>P</i> .   | 29. Mesire <i>L</i> , Mesires <i>P</i> , Maistre <i>a</i> ,<br>Messire <i>b c</i> . |

- Et pour ce que plus plaie cuide  
 En son chant met si grant estuide,  
 35 De son chant sont si grant li son,  
 Toute en retentist la maison.  
 Son mestre bat de ses .ii. piés;  
 Li sires qui pas n'en fu liés  
 Cuida bien estre mal bailli,  
 40 Si s'escria, adont sailli  
 Toute la gent de son hosté,  
 Ce jougleur li ont osté.  
 De son jeu li prist malement,  
 Car batus fu vilainnement,  
 45 De li urison ot il cent cops.  
 La moralité.  
 Pour ce vous di que cils est fols  
 Qui en ce avoir met sa cure  
 Qui veé li est de nature.  
 Cils qui se mesle de la chose  
 50 Laquelle doit a li estre close  
 Ne qui ne s'en doit entremettre,  
 Je le tieng pour fol a la lettre.  
 Celi qui vult plus haut monter,  
 Convient aucune fois douter,  
 55 Et le faut au plus bas descendre;  
 Cuide estre roys et devient cendre.  
 L'en dit que qui a asne bee,  
 Asne aura selonc sa pensee.  
 Ce n'est chose forte a avoir,  
 60 Chascuns ait selonc son savoir;  
 Mès se chascuns vult estre pape,  
 Roy ou duc, folie l'entrape.  
 Chascuns en sa vocation  
 Se tiegne sans presumption.

34. A rechanter *a*, En rechiner *b*, A rechaner *c*.

36. retenit *P*.

42. jougleur *L*; this verse om. *a*.

43. print *P*.

44. batu *L*.

45. ot sant *P*; cos *L*; De leurs bastons en ot *a*, Deliuironson y ot *b*, Et puis si lont vendu cent sols *c*.

46. cil est fos *P*.

48. nasture *P*.

49. melle *L P*.

49-64. om. *a b c*, with these two verses following 48 (text of *b*; *a* and *c* similar):

Le foulz souvent desplaire seult

De ce dont plaie cuide et veult.

52. tien *L P*; en la *P*.

62. latrape *P*.

## XVIII. DE MVRE ET LEONE

*(Illustration)*

- Frigida sopito blanditur silua leoni;  
 Cursitat hic murum ludere prompta choors.  
 Pressus mure leo murem capit, ille precatur,  
 Ille precem librat, supplicat ira preci.  
 5 Hic tamen ante mouens animo: 'Quid mure perempto  
 Laudis erit? summos uincere parua pudet.  
 Si nece dignetur murem leo, nonne leoni  
 Dedecus et murum ceperit esse decus?  
 Si uincat minimum summus, laus uincere non est;  
 10 Vincere posse decet, uincere crimen habet.  
 Sit tamen esse decus, sit laus sic uincere, laus hec  
 Et decus hic minimo fiet ab hoste minus.  
 De precio uicti pendet uictoria, uictor  
 Tantus erit, uicti gloria quanta fuit.'  
 15 Mus abit et grates reddit, si reddere possit  
 Spondet opem; solus fit mora parua dies,  
 Nam leo rete subit, non prodest uiribus uti,  
 Sed prodest querulo murmure dampna loqui.  
 Mus redit, hunc repetit, cernit loca, uincula soluit;  
 20 Hac ope pensat opem; sic leo tutus abit.  
 Rem potuit tantam minimi prudencia dentis,  
 Cui leo dans ueniam se dedit ipse sibi.

## Moralitas

Tu qui summa potes, ne despice parua potentem,  
 Nam prodesse potest, si quis obesse nequit.

## &lt;Addicio&gt;

- 25 Consilio pollet cui uim natura negauit;

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 2. chooris <i>MSS.</i>   | 15. abiit <i>P.</i> grattes <i>P.</i>   |
| 4. presci>preci <i>B</i> pres si <i>P.</i>   | 17. rite <i>MSS.</i>  |
| 5. crimen <i>B P.</i> monens <i>L.</i> qui <i>MSS.</i>   | 18. Si <i>MSS.</i>  |
| 6. Laudit>Laudis <i>P.</i>   | 19. reddit <i>MSS.</i> (>redit <i>B</i> ).  |
| 7. loni <i>P.</i>  | 20. habit <i>L.</i>   |
| 9. nimium <i>L P.</i> summus>summis <i>B.</i>  | 21. Nem <i>P.</i> tanta <i>B P.</i>   |
| laus <i>MSS.</i>   | 22. dampns <i>L.</i>  |
| 11. Si tamen <i>MSS.</i> laus sit <i>MSS.</i> (>sic <i>B</i> ). laus est <i>MSS.</i>                   | 23. sonnua <i>P.</i> despisce <i>B.</i> petentem <i>MSS.</i> (>potentem <i>B</i> ).                         |
| 12. nimio <i>MSS.</i>  | 24. prodesse <i>P.</i> potes? sis>potest si <i>B</i> potes si <i>P</i> potes si <i>L.</i> nesquit <i>P.</i> |
| 13. nitti <i>MSS.</i> uittoria <i>B.</i> nitor <i>P.</i>   | 25. polet ( <i>with x ? over o</i> ) <i>L.</i> cur>cui <i>B.</i>  |
| 14. gloria uicta ( <i>expunged</i> ) quanta <i>B</i><br>gloria ta ( <i>expunged</i> ) quanta <i>P.</i> |   |

Utile consilium bellica facta ualet.  
Facta relaturum bonitas se sperat habere,  
Exhilarataque per secula nulla perit.

### 18. Du lion et de la souris.

- Un lion qui las ot esté  
Si reposoit au jour d'esté  
Pour le grant chaut que il avoit,  
En un biau lieu foillu et froit.  
5 Mès de souris une grant tourbe  
Son repos li brise et destourbe,  
Qui se jeuent environ lui.  
Au lion tourne a annui;  
Une en prist, tost l'a espicé,  
10 Celle li a merci crié;  
Pourquoi le lion sa sovaige,  
Puis se panse en son coraige  
Et dit: Se l'avoie occise,  
Quel louaige auroie acquise?  
15 Quant grant hons un petit seurmonte  
Il ne li tourne fuers qu'a honte.  
Se je l'oci, mon pris meneur  
En sera, et sove l'onneur.  
Vaincres est bien en aucun cas  
20 Honteulx, et en autre n'est pas.  
Le grant qui au petit assamble  
Et vaint, est vaincus, ce me samble.  
Selonc ce que l'en a victoire  
Doit estre le honneur et la gloire.—  
25 Ainsi lait le lion sa proie.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 26. uallet <i>P.</i>   | 11. souuage <i>P.</i>   |
| 27. relatium <i>Hervieux.</i>  | 12. pense <i>L P</i> , pourpense <i>a b c.</i>                      |
| 28. Ex hilerata (hi- in <i>erasure m. 2)</i> <i>B.</i>   | 13. ossisse <i>P.</i>   |
| 1. ost <i>P.</i>   | 15. grans hons <i>L.</i>  |
| 2. Se <i>L a b c.</i>  | 16. fors qua <i>L</i> , fors que <i>P</i> , fors a <i>a b c.</i>    |
| 3. chaust <i>P.</i>  | 17. mout peu mon honneur <i>a</i> , mon pris<br>monneur <i>c.</i>   |
| 6. respos <i>P.</i>  | 18. Nen sera ja pour ce greigneur <i>c.</i>                         |
| 8. ennuy <i>L a b c</i> , ennui <i>P.</i>  | 20. est en <i>P c.</i>  |
| 9. tant la espie <i>L</i> , toust la espicie <i>P</i> , tant<br>a espie <i>a b</i> , tant la espiece <i>c.</i> | 22. vaint et vaincu se <i>P</i> , Est vains et<br>vaincus <i>a.</i> |
| 10. prie <i>L</i> , crie <i>c.</i>   | 23. ce dont <i>L a b c.</i>   |

- La souris s'en vet a grant joie,  
 Que le lion mout en mercie,  
 Et mout bien li promet ale  
 Se elle puet venir au lieu.
- 30 Ne demoura que un jour tout seu  
 Que au lion avint grant peur;  
 En la roys a un veneur  
 Chef, que issir ne s'en peut;  
 Tout quoi demourer li estueut.
- 35 Or a il d'ayde mestier.  
 La bonté qu'il fist aventier  
 A la souris n'est pas perie,  
 Par tamps li sera bien merie;  
 Savés comment? car li avint
- 40 Celle souris au lion vint  
 Ou le lion gist trestous destrois,  
 Si se prist a rongier la rois;  
 O ses dantelettes agues  
 En a cent des mailles rompues,
- 45 Que li lions s'en va tous quittes.  
 Bien li a rendu les merites  
 De ce que il fait li avoit,  
 Ce scet bien le lion et voit.  
 La moralité.
- Bonté ne puet estre perdue
- 50 Que aucun tamps ne soit rendue.  
 Qui assés puet n'ait en despit  
 Le povre se il puet petit;  
 Car telx ne puet, au mien cuidier,  
 Nuire, qui mout bien puet aidier.
- 55 Cils a cui Dieu n'a donné force,  
 De son consoil et bon amorse

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 29. en lieue <i>P</i> .   | 41. trestout <i>L</i> , tous <i>P c</i> , tout <i>a</i> , moult <i>b</i> . |
| 30. un iour sieu <i>L</i> , jour tout seul <i>b</i> , jour<br>entier <i>c</i> (two verses inserted).                                | 43. menues <i>P</i> , petites dens menues <i>c</i> .                       |
| 33. Cheit <i>L</i> .  | 44. tant <i>L a b c</i> ; maillis <i>B</i> .                               |
| 34. esteut <i>L</i> .   | 45. le lion <i>L</i> .   |
| 36. fist hyer <i>b</i> .  | 47. fat <i>B</i> ; que fait lui <i>P</i> .                                 |
| 37. perdue <i>c</i> .   | 48. La souris quant elle se jouoit <i>b</i> .                              |
| 38. rendu <i>c</i> .  | 50. Quen <i>L b c</i> , Qui en <i>a</i> .                                  |
| 39. car il <i>L</i> , que il <i>P</i> , car <i>om. a</i> .  | 51. naist <i>P</i> .   |
| 40. Que selle souris au lieu vint <i>a</i> , Que celle<br>souris a lui vint <i>b</i> , Car celle souris droit la<br>vint <i>c</i> . | 53. tiex ne puet a mon <i>P</i> .  |
|   | 55. Cil a cui dieux <i>L</i> .   |
|   | 55-62. <i>om. a b c</i> .  |



A la fois est en lui trouvee;  
 La force vaut bonne panssee.  
 L'en ne vit oncques courtoisie  
 60 Communement ne soit merie;  
 En ce siecle ou en l'autre sera  
 Qui bonté remunerera.

## XIX. DE RANIS VOLENTIBVS REGEM

(*Illustration*)

Cum nichil auderet ludentes ledere ranas,  
 Supplicuere Ioui, ne sine rege forent.  
 Iupiter huic uoto risum dedit; ausa secundas  
 Rana preces subitum sensit in amne sonum.  
 5 Nam Ioue dante trabem trabis ictu flumine moto,  
 Demersit subitus guttura rauca timor.  
 Placato rediere metu, uidere sigillum,  
 Stando procul regem pertinuere suum.  
 Ut nouere trabem per se non posse moueri,  
 10 Pro duce fecerunt tertia uota Ioui.  
 Ira Iouem mouit, regem dedit, intulit ydrum;  
 Ydrus yante gula cepit adire lacum.  
 Clamitat ecce lacus: 'Morimur, pie Iupiter, audi.  
 Iupiter exaudi, Iupiter affer opem.  
 15 Nos sepelit uenter, nostri sumus esca tyranni;  
 Aufer cedis opus, redde quietis opem.  
 Ecce tyrannizat rex cum soli sibi regnat;  
 Hic rex subiectos non regit, immo uorat.'  
 Ille refert: 'Emptum longa prece ferte magistrum;  
 20 Vindicet eternus ocia sprete metus.'

Moralitas

Omne boni precium nimio uilescit in usu,

60. fust *L.*

61. en *om. L.*

XIX 1. C Uum *P.* ludere *B P.* ramas *P.*

3. hoc uoco *MSS.* (>uoto *L.*) rison *P.*  
 secudas *P.*

4. anne *MSS.*

5. ittu *B P.*

7. Placa *P.* reddiere > rediere *B* redicere *P.*  
 sigillum *L.*

8. pertinueret *B P* protinuere *L.*

9. mouere *MSS.*

12. Ydus *P.*

13. Clamittat *L.*

14. afer *P.*

15. repellit *B* repellit *P.*

16. sedit *B P.*

17, 18. *om. L.*

18. ymo *B P.*

19. lingua *MSS.* presse *P.*

20. occia *L* orcia *B P.* spreca *B P.*

21. muno uilexit *P.*

Fitque mali gustu dulcius omne bonum.  
 Si quis habet quod habere decet, sit letus habendo;  
 Alterius non sit, qui suus esse potest.

## Addicio

- 25 Qui mala non sentire solet, discernere nescit,  
 Insipiens ueri que fit ymago boni.  
 Pacificas qui nutrit opes mors instat amara;  
 Qui bene stat uideat ne fluitando cadat.

## 19. Des raines qui voudrent avoir roi.

Les renoilles pour leur desroi  
 Prierent Dieu pour avoir roy,  
 Non pas une fois seulement,  
 Mès dont Dieu s'en rit durement.  
 5 Un tref fit cheoir ou palu  
 Ou attendoient leur salu;  
 Cuident que ce soit leur seigneur,  
 Dedens se plongent de peeur,  
 Chascune crient estre esgaree.  
 10 Et quant la peeur fu passee,  
 L'une après l'autre sus revindrent;  
 Le tref virent, en sus se tindrent.  
 Mès quant virent et aperceurent  
 Que de leur roy doubter se durent,  
 15 Que le tref ne s'esmuet de soi,  
 De prier font le tiers essoi  
 A Dieu, qu'il roy leur envoie;  
 Et Dieu, qui leur folie voit,  
 Une serpent leur a gittiee  
 20 Qui les assaut gueulle bee,  
 Et parmi les marches les chasce;  
 La plus cointe ne scet que face,  
 Si crient: Lasses, que ferons?  
 Aïe Dieu, car nous mourons!

23. Siquis B.

26. Inscipius P.

1. grenouilles *a c*.5. Sus elles geta un tref en leaue *a (b, c)*.6. Ou elles faisoient leur aueaue *a (b, c)*.8. En leaue *a b c*, plungent *L*, plungierent  
 de pour *P*.9. cuide estre *a*; cassee *a b*, passee *c*.12. vindrent en sus le *P*.13. vidrent et capasurent *P*.15. sesmuuet *B P*, se muet *a (b, c)*.17. que il *L*, que *P*.19. gittee *L*, gettee *P*, baille *c*.20. beee *L*, baicee *a b*, fort et debaille *c*.24. Aide *P*, Ayde nous dieu *a*, Dieu adiez  
 nous *c*.

- 25 Lasses, nostre roy nous mengue.  
Cy a mal roy qui ses gens tue.—  
Adonc dit Dieus: Souffrir devés  
Le roy qui demandé avés.  
L'aise qu'avés vous vangera
- 30 Cils mauls toriaus les doutera.—  
La moralité.  
Bien qui dure n'est prisiés rien;  
Par le mal cognoist l'en le bien.  
Qui assés a, de ce soit liés.  
Sire ne se face soubgés.
- 35 Et qui ne sot oncques froidure,  
Le chaut ne cognoit par mesure.  
Le mal fait le bien esprouver,  
Car qui se vuet courrous couver  
En richesses et en delis,
- 40 Peeur ait que il ensevelis  
Ne soit après amerement.  
Saige ce dit expressement:  
Qui bien est, gart que ne s'en bouge;  
Tiegne soi chascun en son bouge.—

## XX. DE LVPO ET SVE

(Illustration)

- Vult lupus ut pariat maturum suscula fetum,  
Seque noui curam spondet habere gregis.  
Sus ait: 'Hac cura careas, michi nolo ministres;  
Horrent obsequium uiscera nostra tuum.
- 5 I procul ut tutos liceat michi fundere fetus,  
I procul et pietas hec erit apta michi.  
Pro natis natura docet timuisse parentem.'  
Fine dato uerbis hic abit, illa parit.

25. nres rois menue L.  
28. que L P a b c.  
29. quaviez vengera a b c.  
30. maus L; Paour qui tous iours (toujours)  
vous durra (durera) a (b), Paour tous jours  
vous durera c. These readings for 29-30 are  
preferable to the evidently corrupt text of B L P.  
34. Sires L, Seigneur c.  
35-44. om. a b c.  
38. touz iors L.

40. at L; il om. P.  
42. Sage se doit P.  
43. qui ne se L, qui ne sen P.  
1. secum L.  
3. ac P. careat MSS. uelo MSS.  
5. fondere MSS.  
7. timuisse P.  
8. habit B P.

## Moralitas

Tempore non omni non omnibus omnia crede,  
10 Qui misero credit, creditur esse miser.

## Addicio

Dulcia lingua canens nutrit mellita uenenum;  
Mellitis uerbis sepe uenena latent.  
Non sine delectu promissis credere fas est;  
Grandia promittens fallere sepe solet.

## 20. Du loup et de la truie.

Ysangrins li lierres atains  
Prioit a une truie prains  
Que pourcelast ynellement,  
Et il li promet lealment  
5 A bien garder sa porteuire.  
Celle qui point ne s'aseüre  
Au loup dit: Je n'ain ne ne prise  
Ne ta cure ne ton servise.  
Male garde tost m'en feroies;  
10 Lei moy ester et va tes voies.  
Va t'en de ci en maleür,  
Si pourceléré asseür.  
Se tu vues ma volenté fere,  
Eus de moy te pri a traire.  
15 Pere et mere doit par nature  
Doubte avoir de sa porteuire.—  
Cils qui ne la puet enchanter  
S'en va et la laisse enfanter.  
La moralité.  
Savoir devés par ceste hystoire  
20 Qu'am ne doit pas tousjours croire.

11. nutrit *B P* (> nutrit *P*).12. Mellitis *P*.13. promissus *P*.14. promittet > promittens *P*.1. lierres *L*.2. Priot *L P*.3. isnelement *L* (*a c*).4. leaument *P*.7. Dit au loup *P c*.10. Lay moy em paix *a* (*b*), Donne moy  
paix *c*.13. uuels *L*, veulz *P*.14. te conuient *L*, te prie *a P a b c*.16. pourteure *L*, porture *P*, sengendreure  
*a b c*.17. qui na puet *P*.18. le let *L*.19. ystoire *L b*, istoire *P a*.20. Que on *L P a*, Con *b c*; touriours *L P*;  
tout croire *a b c*.

- Quant langue doucement parole,  
Endort la gent comme citole,  
Com quiterne, comme vielle,  
Psalterium, douceinne belle.
- 25 Mès l'ipocrates blandissierres,  
Li faux mauvès, li puans lierres,  
Deçoit par son barbotement  
Qui ne resiste justement.

## XXI. DE ACCIPITRE COLVMBIA ET MILVO

(Illustration)

- Accipitrem milui pressurum bella columbe  
Accipiunt regem; rex magis hoste nocet.  
Incipiunt de rege queri, quod sanius esset  
Milui bella pati quam sine Marte mori.  
Moralitas
- 5 Si quid agas, sapienter agas et respice finem;  
Ferre minora uolo ne grauiora feram.  
Addicio
- Sunt que minora mala maioribus accipienda;  
Que nimium uerit, pessime capra iacet.  
Quicquid agas sollers, finis memor esse memento;  
10 Eminus inspecto fine beatus eris.

## 21. Des coulons et de l'escoufle.

- Colons qui sont mols comme moufle  
Avoient contemps a l'escoufle.  
L'oitoir firent roy et seigneur;  
Mès il leur fiste honte greigneur,  
5 Plus de dommaige et de contraire,  
C'oncques l'escoufle ne pout fere.  
De leur roy se plaignent trop fort,

21-28. *om. a b c.*  
23. uiele *L.*  
24. Psalterion doucinne *P. cf. Ys. 60. 33-6.*  
XXI tit. ancipitre *B L (> ancipite B)*  
ancipicie *P.*  
6. mala maioribus accipienda (*v. 7*) *P.*  
9. Quuquid aguas *P. quicquid . . . sol(l):*  
ers (*i.e. solers*) *Hervieux.*

10. E minus *Hervieux. inspecta L.*  
*ut.* Des coulons lescoufle et loistoir *L.*  
2. Aloient dechassant *a.*  
3. Loistoir *L.*  
4. ennuy *a b*; Dont norent oncques dueil  
greigneur *c.*  
5. Car il leur fait plus *c.*  
7. troupt *P.*

- Et dient par grant desconfort  
 Que il leur venist miex sans faille  
 10 A l'escoufle avoir la bataille,  
 Que sans bataille ainsi mourir  
 Et euls rendre sans coup ferir.  
 La moralité.  
 Qui vult son fait saigement fere  
 A quel fin il en pourra trere  
 15 Doit regarder, et a quel chief.  
 Mieux vaut souffrir un pou de grief  
 Que pourchassier a pis avoir,  
 Ce vous fait Ysopet savoir.  
 Cils qui vult saigement ouvrer  
 20 Pansoit de grant sen recouvrer.  
 Il est sens de deus mauls eslire  
 Le mains nuisant, non pas le pire.  
 Et la chievre quant de sa pate  
 Mal gist quant trop forment en grate.  
 25 Se tu vuels vivre saigement  
 Garde adés le definement.

## XXII. DE CANE ET FVRE

(Illustration)

- Fure uocante canem pretensio munere panis,  
 Spreto pane monet talia uerba canis:  
 'Vt sileam tua dona uolunt frustra que laborant  
 Esse locum; panem si fero cuncta feres.  
 5 Fert munus mea dampna tuum, latet hamus in esca;  
 Me priuare cibo cogitat iste cibus.  
 Non amo nocturnum panem plus pane diurno;  
 Aduena plus nato non placet hostis hero.  
 Non rapiet nox una michi bona mille dierum;  
 10 Nolo semper egens esse saturque semel.  
 Latratu tua furta loquar nisi sponte recedas.'

10. la om. L a b.  
 14. que P.  
 16. this verse om. a.  
 17. puis P.  
 19. vult L, veult P.  
 19-26. om. a b c.  
 24. en om. B.

4. Ecce B P.  
 5. unius L.  
 6. cybo B P. cybus B.  
 7. panem (for pane) L.  
 8. Adduena P.  
 9. milli > mille B nulli P.  
 11. frutra P. <sup>i</sup> u L.

Hic silet, ille manet, hic tonat, ille fugit.

Moralitas

Si tibi quid detur, cur detur respice, si des,  
Cui des, ipse nota, teque, gulosa, doma.

Addicio

- 15 Personam dantis pensat natura Tonantis;  
Placatur donis Iupiter ipse datis.  
Iupiter ut centum taurorum sanguine fuso,  
Sic capitur minimi thuris amore deus.

## 22. Du chien et du larron.

- Uns lerrés en un ostel vient  
Pour embler, mès dehors se tient  
Pour un chien qui ne laisse entrer;  
Au chien prist son pain a monstrier:  
5 Ne m'abaies, dit il au chien,  
Tien de mon pain, de mon pain tien.—  
Dit le chien: Par ton meschief fere  
Me vues par ton pain fere tere;  
Se ton don prens, ceans vendras  
10 Et roberas tout et prendras.  
Tu cuides pour un mors de pain  
Moy donner pardurable fain.  
Fuy toi de ci, tu pers ta painne;  
Ta viande ne m'est pas saine.  
15 A traïr pour toi ne me laist  
Celui qui me nourrist et paist.  
Ne vuil pas perdre mout grant aise  
Pour un repast, a Dieu ne plaise.  
Va t'en de ci, je le te pri,  
20 Car se je abaie ne ne cri  
.I. pou, je te fais assavoir  
Bien y pourras dommaige avoir.—

12. silicet > silet *P.*

13. Sit *P.* cur detur *om. P.*

14. notat > nota *L.*

15. Persōnam *P.* pansat *B P.*

16. placetur *Horvieux.*

18. nimium *B* minium *P.*

1. Un lierres *P.* Un larron *b c.*

4. print *P.*

6. Tien de mon pain. tien. tien. tien *a (b).*

7. pour *P.* meffait *a b c.*

8. vuels *L.*

9. siens *P.*

13. Fui *L.* Fuiz *P.* poinne *L.*

14. pas *om. P.*

15. trahir *L.* traire *P.* plaist *a b c.*

16. est *P.*

17. veulz pas pardre mou *P.* mon *a b,* ma *c.*

22. Tost *a b.*

- Cils ne se muet, le chien abboie,  
 Et li lierres se met en voie,  
 25 Que plus n'i ose demourer  
 Ne plus ne vuet le chien ourer.  
 La moralité.  
 Se en te donne, regarde quoi,  
 Qui est qui donne, et pourquoi;  
 Se tu donnes, regarde a qui,  
 30 Et ne soies glous, je t'en pri.  
 Dieus si mesure la personne  
 De celi qui volentiers donne,  
 Et regarde la volenté  
 De celi par qui presenté  
 35 Est le don; dou petit encent  
 S'esjoit autant comme de cent.  
 Toriaus, vaches, aigniaus, genices,  
 Tout est benignes et propices.

## XXIII. DE TERRA PARIENTE MVREM

(Illustration)

- Terra tremit, tumor ille gemit gemituque fatetur  
 Partum, pene perit sexus uterque metu.  
 Cum timeat tellus monstrat se monstra daturam,  
 Vnde homines trepidant et prope stare timent.  
 5 In risum tumor ille redit, nam turgida murem  
 Terra parit, iocus est qui fuit ille timor.  
 Moralitas  
 Sepe minus faciunt homines, qui magna minantur;  
 Sepe gerit nimios causa pusilla metus.  
 Addicio  
 Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus;  
 10 Inflati doctum facta pusilla docent.  
 Iactator magnus derisorem cito querit;  
 Promptus adest huic qui condere magna putat.

23. abbaie *L*, abaye *P a*, abaie *b*, abbaye *c*.24. lerres *L*.25. ny *L*.26. Perte y pourroit bien recouvrer *a b (c)*.27. on *P*.31-38. *om. a b c*.37. aniaux *P*.38. Tant *L*.XXIII *Mt.* parientem *B P* (> pariente *B*).1. timor *L*. gemittuque *B P*.2. pone *B P*. metu > metit *B m. 2 f*3. moustrat *B L*. moustra for monstra *B*.4. trepidant *P*.5. timor *P*. ridet > redet *B* rendit > redit *P*.6. locus *MSS*.9 = Horace, *A. P.* 139 Parturiunt (s. l. par-  
 turium) montes, nascetur ridiculus mus. Per-  
 turriunt *B P* Perturiunt *L*. ridiculus *MSS*.  
 corr. Hervieux.11. Iactator *B*.



## 23. De la terre qui plainne yere.

En une place qui plainne yere  
 Enfla la terre en tel maniere  
 Que il y ot un si grant mont  
 Que trestuit grant peeur en ont

5 Cils du pais communement,  
 Et cuident bien certainement  
 A ce que l'enfleüre montre  
 Soit senefiance de montre.

Tel paour ont toutes et tuit

10 A pou que chacuns ne s'enfuit;  
 Mès il ont peeur sans raison,  
 Car quant ce vint en la saison,  
 Oncques n'issi fors que souris;  
 Or est passés tous li perils.

La moralité.

15 Aucuns mout hautement menacent  
 Et puis si quierent qui le facent.  
 Maintes gens a pou d'achaison  
 Ont grant peeur en leur maison.  
 Les montaignes a grant planté

20 Une souris ont enfanté.  
 Le saige de l'anflé se moque  
 Quant ce qu'il dit tout vient agogue.  
 Mieux vaut pou parler et plus faire,  
 Ce trouvons en ce bestiaire.

25 Qui de vanter c'est atourné  
 Moqueeur a tantost trouvé.  
 Personne par sa vanterie  
 Ne sera pour ce plus prisie.  
 Nostres Sires les moquera;

30 Ou psautier ce trouvé sera.

## XXIV. DE MILVO EGROTANTE

(Illustration)

Morbi mole iacet miluus matremque precatur,

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. moult planiere a.                  | 16. queres qui le face a b, Mais apres |
| 7. monstre P b c, demonstre a.        | queres c.                              |
| 8. monstre P, Que il en doie issir un | 18. Font grant paour a a.              |
| grant monstre a (b) c.                | 19-30. om. a b c.                      |
| 10. chascun L a b c, chacuns P.       | 23. Miex vault. . . miex faire P.      |
| 11. peur P.                           | 25. de vanter B, venteur P.            |
| 14. peris L P.                        | 30. sautier L.                         |
| 15. menace a b.                       |  |

Vt superis pro se det sacra detque preces.

Mater ait: 'Mi nate, deos et sacra deorum

Lesisti; recolunt impia facta dei.

5 Criminis ultores pensant pro crimine penam;

Cum sacra turbares pena timenda fuit.

Te cogit timor esse pium, te pena fidelem;

Hic timor, hic pietas cum nece sera uenit.'

Moralitas

Qui maculat uitam, mundas cur incolit aras?

10 Quem sua facta premunt, cur aliena leuant?

Addicio

Celica maiestas scelerati munera spernit;

Non bene celestes impia dextra colit.

Solus in extremis qui mortem cogitat, idem

Ex improviso debita dampna gerit.

#### 24. Du fils a l'escoufle qui estoit malades.

Talent me prent que je vous die

D'une trop grieve maladie,

Fievre quartainne ou tierce ou double,

Qui seurprist le fils a l'escoufle,

5 Que aucun appellant le hua;

Par un pou que ne le tua.

Nuls consoil n'en pouoit trouver;

A sa mere prist a rouver

Qu'elle feist a Dieu oreison

10 Qu'il li envoiast garison,

Chandeille offrir a Nostre Dame

Que li gardast le corps et l'ame:

Biaus fils, dont vous vient cils coraiges?

A tart voulés devenir saiges,

15 Que dut ce que ce ne disoies

Quant tu les grans pechiés fesoies

2. procedet *P.* proces *f* > preces *P.*

3. minate *B* unuete *P.*

4. icisti *P.*

5. pensent *P.*

6. turbaret *f* > turbares *B.*

10. Quam *P.*

• 14. improviso *P.*

1. ma prins *a*, mest prins (pris) *b* (*c*).

3. quarte *a b c*, quartine tierce tierce ou *P.*

5. aucuns *P*; appelle *L*, apellent *P a b c*.

8. prier *b*, raisonner *c*.

9. fist *P*; orison *L*, oroison *P.*

10. gareison *L*, guerison *P.*

12. et corps et ame *P.*

13. se corages *P.*

15. Que de ce *P*, Que dout ice ne disies *a*,  
Que dout ce que ne le disiez *b*, Que doit ce  
que tu ne disoyes *c*.

- Et les grans mauls en ton enfance;  
 A tart vient ceste repentance.  
 Dehas ait qui en priera
- 20 Et qui patrenostre en dira,  
 Car ce seroit painne perdue.  
 La merite vous est randue  
 De ce qu'a Dieu et a ses sains  
 As fait, dont tu a tart te plains.—  
 La moralité.
- 25 Qui de ses fais ne se chastie  
 En autrui bien pourquoi se fie?  
 Dieux qui est tous plains de tout pardon  
 Ne s'apaise mie par don  
 Qui li soit de mauvais porté
- 30 Ou qui soit en pechié morté.  
 Qui n'a repentance parfaite  
 Et qui apres mal faire gaité,  
 Qui s'atent jusques a la mort  
 Bien faire, il a mauvais amort;
- 35 Car nuls n'a pleige de sa vie,  
 Plus longue est, plus tost est fenie.  
 Aussi tost muert un minopet  
 Com un viel, se dit Ysopet.  
 Aussi tost muert veauls com vache;
- 40 Mort viel et jovene ensamble eschache.

## XXV. DE YRVNDINE ET AVIBVS

(Illustration)

- Vt linum pariat lini de semine semen  
 Nutrit humus, sed aues tangit yrundo metu:  
 'Hic ager, hoc semen nobis mala uincia minatur,  
 Vellite pro nostris semina sparsa malis.'
- 5 Turba fugit sanos monitus uanosque timores  
 Arguit, exit humo semen et herba uiret.  
 Rursus yrundo monet instare pericula, rident  
 Rursus aues; hominem placat yrundo sibi.

19. Dehas *P*; em *L*.25. se om. *B*.26. autrui pourquoi bien *L*.27. Dieu *L P*; tous om. *P*.

27-40. em. a b c.

29. sont de mauais *L*.33. la om. *P*.35. pleige *L*, plaiges *P*.39. veaul *L*, visu *P*.40. ioene *L*, ioue ensemble chasche *P*.1. linum > linum *B* linium *P*.2. set *L*. adues *P*. yrund *P*.3. uincia *L*.5. timors *P*.7. yrundo *P*.8. ominem > hominem *B*.

- Cumque uiris habitans cantu blanditur amico;  
 10 Nam premissa minus ledere tela solent.  
 Iam linum metitur, iam fiunt recia, iam uir  
 Fallit aues, iam se conscia culpat auis.  
 Moralitas  
 Vtile consilium qui uitat, inutile sumit;  
 Qui nimis est tutus, recia uire subit.  
 Addicio  
 15 Vir bene sensatus animo presencia curat  
 Cautus preteriti debet et esse memor.  
 Sedulus aspiciat homo prouideatque futurum;  
 Consilium linquens utile iure cadit.

### 25. De l'arondelle et autres oisiaus.

- Un vilain en un pais yere  
 Qui ot semé une liniere  
 A ce qu'autre lin en issit.  
 L'arondelle a qui point ne sist  
 5 S'en va si tost comme elle vole  
 Aus oisiaus conter la parole,  
 Si leur monstre de la liniere  
 En quelle guise et quel maniere  
 Elle leur puet nuire et grever  
 10 S'elle puet croistre et lever:  
 Car li homs qui semee l'a  
 Cordes et filles en fera  
 Ou je et vous pourrois cheoir;  
 Si nous en devons pourveoir.  
 15 Alons trestuit sans demourance,  
 Je le vous lou, pour le semance  
 Au villain mangier et destruire,  
 Si ne nous pourra jamais nuire.—  
 Dame arondelle, dit l'alore,  
 20 Il n'est pas mout saiges qui loe  
 A faire dommaige au predomme;  
 Aler en convendrait a Romme

9. Cunque *P*.  
 10. tella sollent *P*.  
 11. *linum* > *linum* *B* *lumen* *L*. mettitur >  
 metitur *B* mettur *L*.  
 12. cul pa auit *P*.  
 14. et *P*.  
 16. Cantus *MSS.* *corr.* *Hervicus*.

- tit.* De laronde et des autres oisiaus *L*.  
 4. ne scit *P*, ne fist *a b*, qui pas nel vouldist  
*c*.  
 12. files *L b*, fille *P a*, grans rais *c*.  
 13. pourrons *P a b c*.  
 16. u of lou *erased B*, lo *P a b*.  
 21. preudomme *L a b c*, preudonne *P*.

- S'il en vouloit estre absouls.  
 Le villain pour draps en son dos  
 25 Faire, a semee la semance,  
 Non pas pour nous fere grevance.  
 Alés vous en en vos maison,  
 Car vous vous doubtés sans raison.—  
 Et je vous otroi, dit l'aronde,  
 30 Que l'en me plume toute, ou tonde,  
 Si ne vous en meschiet encores.  
 Chiés le villain m'en-yrai ores,  
 Avecques lui demoureré  
 Et de mon chant le deduiré.—  
 35 Et cils ont trestout en despit.  
 La liniere sans grant respit  
 Leva et amanda et crut  
 Et fist tel fruit com elle dut;  
 Et le vilain qui l'ahena  
 40 Et cordes et roys fait en a,  
 Dont il en a maint oisel pris.  
 La moralité.  
 A celui doit bien estre pis  
 Qui en son sen trop s'asetire  
 Et qui de bon conseil n'a cure.  
 45 Cils qui se vuet bien gouverner  
 Le tamps present doit discerner,  
 Du preterit avoir memoire,  
 Ne soit bobancier de grant gloire,  
 Et doit le tamps a avenir  
 50 Pourveoir, conseil retenir.  
 Car cils qui est bien conseillé,  
 S'il le lait, doit estre oublié.

23. assols<sup>u</sup>L.

25. seme le cernance P.

27. Rales a b c; s of vos ~~erased~~ B, vo L b c,  
vos P, sa a.

30. et tonde L.

33. li demoureray P.

34. deduyray P.

39. hana P, lanhanna a, la sema b, semee  
la<sup>u</sup>c.

40. roys et cordes L a b.

42. puis P, prins a, reprins c.

43. san troup sasueure P.

44. consoil L, conseil P.

45. vult bien gouverner P.

45-52. om. a b c.

51. conseiliez P.

52. auillie L, obliez P.

## XXVI. DE AGNO ET LVPO

*(Illustration)*

- Cum grege barbato dum ludit iunior agnus,  
 Tendit in hunc menti dissona uerba lupus:  
 'Cur olidam munda sequeris plus matre capellam?  
 Lac tibi preberet dulcius ipsa parens.  
 5 Est prope, festina, matrem pete, munera matris  
 Lac bibe, nam seruat ubera plena tibi.'  
 Agnus ad hec: 'Pia capra michi lac dulce ministrat;  
 Me uice matris alit, me uice matris amat.  
 Non michi, sed domino prodest me uiuere; uiuo  
 10 Vt metat in tergo uellera multa meo.  
 Ergo michi prestat nutriri lacte caprino,  
 Quam lac matris habens mergar in ore tuo.'

*Moralitas*

- Omnes uincit opes securam ducere uitam;  
 Pauperius nichil est quam miser usus opum.  
 15 Nil melius sano monitu, nil peius iniquo;  
 Consilium sequitur certa ruina malum.

*Addicio*

- Rodere malo fabam securo menteque risu,  
 Quam cum deliciis uiuere corde timena.  
 Sanum consilium preponderat omnibus escis;  
 20 Deterius nichil est, si dolus intus adest.

## 26. Du loup et de l'aignel.

- Une berbis ot un faon;  
 Pour lui norrir le bailla on  
 Une chievre plaine de let  
 Qui trop bien norrit l'aignelet,  
 5 Aussi com ce porté l'eüst.  
 Le loup volentiers s'en peüst,

XXVI tit. agno B P.

1. Dum grege MSS.

2. menti>menci B menci P. dissoua  
(-u- in erasure) B.

3. sequens B P.

7. adhet B ad het P.

9. set B. uino MSS.

10. uellere&gt;uellera B. iueo B.

11. prestat?>prestat B. caprine?>caprino  
B caprino P.

12. Quem MSS.

13. securem P.

17. monteque P.

19. prepoderat P. estis MSS. corr. Her-  
vieux.

iii. laigniau P.

1. brebis L P a b c.

2. norrir B, nourrir L a c.

5. se L a.

6. volentes B.

- Si di a l'aigniel par falue:  
Ta droite mere te salue  
Qui te porta; ce est le oaile  
10 Qui mout s'esbait et merveille  
Comment tu l'as ainssi laissé  
Pour une chevre compissié  
Qui put plus que ne fait mes cus;  
Vien t'en, ne demeure si plus,  
15 Et je te manré a ta mere  
Qui n'est punesse ne amere,  
Ains est tres douce la brebis;  
De lait te garde plain le puis.  
Alons vien te, qu'elle t'atent.—  
20 Tu me vas, dist l'aigniau, flatent;  
Je puis mout bien apercevoir  
Que tu me cuides decevoir.  
Or ne va plus a ce beant;  
Je ne te otroie neant.  
25 La chievre me nourrist et pest,  
Si bien me fait que miex m'en est,  
Et m'aimme autant comme ma mere.  
S'ay sa nourreture plus chiere,  
Puis que je l'ai seûrement,  
30 Que l'a ma mere o dampnement.  
A mon seigneur, non a moy, vaut  
Mon vivre, qui la laine en quiaut.  
Mieux vaut yci asseür estre  
Qu'ailleurs pour toi de mon corps pestre.  
35 S'a ma mere voloie aler  
De ce ne t'estuet faveler.—  
La moralité.  
Plus chier ai mangier une feve  
En seurté avecques bonne treve;  
Ne vuil mangier a grant peur  
40 Les bons morsiaus de lescheur.

7. dit *L P*; savelue *b*.

11. laissie *L*, lessiee *a*, laissiee *b c*.

12. compissée *a b c*.

14. ci *L P*.

15. te mere *B*.

16. punaise *L*, punese *P*.

17. et *B*.

18. pis *L a b*.

19. ten *L P*.

20. Tu me uais dit laigniel flatant *L*.

24. croiray de *a c*, croirroie de *b*.

26. *this verse om. a*, Et fait assez ce qui me  
plaist *b c*.

30. mere a present *c*.

31-32. *om. c*.

36. flaveler *P*, pas parler *a b*, ja parler *c*.

37-44. *om. a b c*.

38. bourie *B P*.

40. lecheur *L*, lecheur *P*.

- Le bon conseil que l'en demande  
 Vaut trop mieux que nulle viande,  
 Mès il n'est si mauvaise chose  
 Qu'en barat dedens se repose.  
 45 Mauvais conseil puet trop grever,  
 Pour ce le doit l'en eschiever.  
 Du mauvais vient maleureté  
 Et du bon et pais et seurté.

## XXVII. DE CANE VETERANO

(Illustration)

- Armauit natura canem pede, dente, iuuenta;  
 Hinc leuis, hinc mordax, fortis et inde fuit.  
 Tot bona furatur senium, nam robore priuat  
 Corpus, dente genas, et leuitate pedes.  
 5 Hic leporem prendit, fauces lepus exit inhermes;  
 Elusum domini uerberat ira canem.  
 Reddit uerba canis: 'Dum me pia pertulit etas,  
 Nulla meum potuit fallere preda pedem.  
 Defendit senii culpam laus ampla iuente;  
 10 Pro sene qui cecidit, facta priora uigent.  
 Nullus amor durat, nisi fructus duret amoris;  
 Quilibet est tanti, munera quanta facit.  
 Magnus eram, dum magna dedi; nunc marcidus annis  
 Vileo; de ueteri mentio nulla bono.  
 15 Si laudas quod eram, quod sum culpae proteruum est;  
 Si recipis iuuenem, pellere turpe senem est.'  
 Moralitas  
 Se misere seruire sciat qui seruit iniquo;  
 Parcere subiectis nescit iniquus homo.  
 Addicio  
 Heu! sunt que faciunt tria fastidire magistros:  
 20 Barberius ueteres et coquus atque canis.  
 Gignit eis odium dilecti fructus egestas;  
 Nullus priuatus utilitate placet.

44. Quant *L P.*XXVII tit. cane et *B P.*1. uuenta > iuenta *B* inuenta *P.*2. Huic . . . huic *L.*3. sculum *L.*5. prandit *MSS.*6. uerbera irat *P.*7. protulit *MSS.*9. Deffendit *MSS.* senuni *f* > senii *B m. 2*semini *L* senium *P.*10. se cidit *P.*12. et *P.*14. uenter *P.*15. proternum est *B P (L f).*16. semen *f* > senem *B.*17. misere > misero *B.* seuire *P.*



## 27. Du chien qui chei en viellesce.

- Un paysant un chien avoit,  
 Juene et legier, qui bien savoit  
 Courre des piés, mordre des dens,  
 Si l'ot mout chier li paysans  
 5 Tant com il en bon point se tint;  
 Mès quant il en viellesce vint  
 Qu'il ne se pot mès aidier,  
 Dont prent li villains a plaidier,  
 Si moinne son chien malement  
 10 Et bat et fiert vilainement,  
 Ne li souvient de nulle riens  
 De proesce qu'ait fait li chiens;  
 Movais loier ore en reçoit:  
 Ha, dit le chien, las ce que doit;  
 15 Tant com fu en mon bon aaige  
 Ne s'en ala beste sauvaige  
 Que ne preisse, tant fort corut;  
 Droit fut que ce me secourut,  
 Et me vausist en ma viellesce  
 20 Ce que j'é fait en ma jonesce.—  
 La moralité.  
 Mès puis que fruit et exploite faut  
 Amours ne dure ne ne vaut,  
 Et tant com li homs puet et donne  
 Tant est amee sa personne.  
 25 Amés et chier tenus estoie  
 Quant de bons morsiaus vous pessoie;  
 Or suis venus et tenus vis.  
 Des biens que fis, ce m'est avis,  
 N'est parole ne mention.  
 30 Si est, selonc ma 'ntention,  
 Vilonnie de ce blasmer  
 Qu'am soloit loer et amer,

4. Et lot *L*.  
 6. villesce *L*, viellesce *P*.  
 7. Quis ne se pot mes plus aidier *L*, post  
 mais ider *P*.  
 8. plader *P*, plaidoyer *a*.  
 9. mainne *L*, maine *P*.  
 15. comme *P*; bon *om*. *P*.  
 16. san alast *P*.

17. prinse *P*.  
 20. iay *P b c*; this verse *om*. *a*.  
 24. prisee *a b c*.  
 25. two verses inserted *c*.  
 27. suis si vieux *a b*, suis vielx *c*.  
 30. mentencium *L*, mention *P*, entencion  
*c*.  
 32. et chiier *a*.

- Et ce qu'en ayme en jonesce  
 Ne doit l'en haïr en viellesce.  
 35 Cils qui mauvès et felon sert  
 Sa poinne et son service pert.  
 Felons ne scet riens deporter;  
 Dyable l'en puissent porter.  
 Trois choses sunt que l'en ne prise,  
 40 Combien qu'aient fait bon service—  
 Viel chien, viel queu et viel barbier,  
 Combien qu'aient fait bon mestier  
 Ou tamps passé a leurs seigneurs.  
 Vieuls barbiers ne sont bons saineurs,  
 45 Le queu et chien sont empirés,  
 Car viellesce les a tirés.  
 Pour ce les a l'en en haïne,  
 Que de fruit ne portent racine.  
 Cils fait plaisance trop petite  
 50 A seigneur s'il ne li proufite.

## XXVIII. DE LEPORIBVS FVGIENTIBVS

(Illustration)

- Silua sonat, fugiunt lepores, palus obuia uenit,  
 Fit mora, respiciunt ante retroque, timent.  
 Dum librant in mente metus, se mergere pacti,  
 Sperant, et ranas stagna subire uident.  
 5 Vnus ait: 'Sperare licet; non sola timoris  
 Turba sumus; uano rana timore latet.  
 Spem decet amplecti; spes est uia prima salutis;  
 Sepe facit metui non metuenda metus.  
 Corporis est leuitas et mentis inhercia nobis;  
 10 Ista fuge causam suggerit, illa fugam.'  
 Moralitas  
 Sic timeat quicumque timet, ne mole timoris  
 Spe careat; grauis est spe fugiente timor.  
 Speret qui metuit; morituros uiuere uidi

36. painne *L*, paine *P*.  
 38. Grans diables len puisse *c*.  
 39. sont *L P*.  
 39-50. *om. a b c*.  
 41. queuz *P*.  
 44. seigneurs *L*, seigneurs *P*.  
 1. siluat *P*.

3. mentus *P*.  
 4. stangna *L*.  
 5. et *P*.  
 8. *om. P*.  
 9. Corporis et *P*.  
 10. suggest *P*.  
 11. quicumque *P*.

Spe duce, uicturos spe moriente mori.

Addicio

- 15 Spes refouet multos, spes firma beatius iri  
Efficit et claudit ultima fine uirum.  
Concomitare solet constans hominem moriturum;  
Confortatiua spes solet esse metus.

### 28. Des lievres qui s'enfuoient.

- Li bois par grant vent fremissoient;  
Le lievres qui sa tapissoient  
S'en issirent, tel peur orent,  
Mès gueres loins fuir ne porent;  
5 Savés pourquoi? pour un marchés  
Qui du bois estoit assés pres.  
Arresté sunt trestuit ensamble,  
Tel paour a chascuns qu'il tramble,  
Et dient qu'il se noieroient;  
10 Mès les raines qui la estoient  
Quant les oient venir bruiant,  
Ou marchés s'en saillent fuiant,  
Dont li lievre estre cremu cuident  
Pour ce que la place leur vuident.  
15 Si en ristrent si durement,  
Ce dit la fable vraiment,  
Que dou ris leur fendi la bouche  
Si que aus oreilles leur touche.  
Dit li uns: Or n'aions doubtance,  
20 Mès soions en bonne esperance;  
Car se nous sommes paoureux  
Et couars, n'y sommes pas seus;  
Veés que ces raines tant nous doubtent  
Que pour nous en l'iaue se boutent.—

La moralité.

- 25 Esperance a mains a valu

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 14. nitturos <i>L.</i> speriente <i>P.</i>      | 10. grenouilles <i>a</i> , renoilles <i>b</i> , Grenouilles sur |
| 15. beaturis <i>P.</i>                          | la terre estoient ( <i>with two verses added</i> ) <i>c.</i>    |
| 17. Cum comittare <i>L.</i>                     | 12. saille <i>L.</i>  |
|   | 13. les lievres <i>L.</i>                                       |
| 2. se <i>P a b</i> , si <i>c.</i>               | 15. rient <i>a c</i> , rirent <i>b.</i>                         |
| 3. peur <i>L</i> , pour eurent <i>P.</i>        | 16. flable <i>P.</i>  |
| 4. Mais garres loing fuir ne peurent <i>P</i> ; | 22. Encore ny <i>a.</i>   |
| loings fouir <i>L.</i>                          | 23. Ves que ces rainnes <i>L</i> ; doubtant <i>P.</i>           |
| 8. chascun <i>L P</i> ; qui <i>P.</i>           | 24. boutant <i>P.</i>   |

- Et si est voie du salu.  
 Par peeur sommes sans raison  
 Cremu, si nous donne achoison  
 De criendre, il estuet que je die,  
 30 Leggeresce et couardie,  
 Car legier sommes et couart;  
 Mès quiconcques creint, si se gart  
 Que il esperance n'eschieve,  
 Car sens li est peeur trop grieve.  
 35 Tel est sauvé par esperance  
 Qui de mourir fust en doubtaunce;  
 Et tieulx sens li mors, se m'est vis,  
 Qui o li fust encores vis.  
 Esperance, la damme belle,  
 40 Les saiges tire a sa cordelle;  
 De saige homme conclut la vie.  
 Desesperance l'esbaye,  
 Fait homme au dyable enlacier  
 Quant il se tuent par acier,  
 45 Par fer, par baton ou par corde.  
 C'est la plus perilleuse et orde  
 Qu'est contre debonaireté  
 De Dieu et sa benignité.  
 Ja pardonnés n'iert cils pechiés  
 50 Qui est de tous meschiés mechiés.  
 Par li, li dous Sains Esperis  
 N'est amés, requis ne chieris.

## XXIX. DE CAPRA ET LVPO

(Illustration)

- Capra cibum querens hedum commendat ouili;  
 Hunc illi solida servat ouille sera.  
 Natum cauta parens monitu premunit amico,  
 Vt lateat, nec sit in sua dampna uagus.  
 5 Hic latet; ecce lupus mouet hostia, uoce capellam  
 Exprimit, ut pateant hostia clausa sibi.  
 'Sta procul,' edus ait, 'caprisas gutture falso;

27. Paoureux *a*.  
 28. Cremir *a*, Craint *c*, ce *L*.  
 29. craindre *L*.  
 36. balance *a b c*.  
 38. fussent encores vis *P*.  
 39. dame *L P*.

39-52. *om. a b c*.

1. cybum . . . hedom *B P*.  
 2. ouille *P*.  
 3. quanta *B P* canta *L*.  
 5. lattet>latet *L*. monet *MSS*.

- Cum bene capries, te procul esse uolo.  
 Quod mea sis mater, mentitur ymago loquendi;  
 10 Rimula, qua uideo, te docet esse lupum.'  
 Moralitas  
 Insita natorum cordi doctrina parentum  
 Cum pariat fructum, spreta nocere solet.  
 Addicio  
 Rudimenta patrum stolidus ne transgrediaris;  
 Etas doctrinam credere prisca solet.  
 15 Doctrinam loquitur sapiens prolixior etas;  
 Sanam doctrinam tempora multa dabunt.

### 29. De la chievre et du loup.

- La chievre va querre viande  
 Pour son chevrel, et li commande  
 Et amonneste que du toit  
 Ne se mueve ou il estoit,  
 5 Car s'il s'en part, saiche de voir,  
 Il y puet bien dommaige avoir,  
 Tel dont il se tendra pour fos.  
 En l'ostel l'a laissié enclos.  
 Si comme il fu demourés sous,  
 10 Este vous Ysangrin li loups  
 Vient a l'uis et boute et apelle,  
 Et change sa vois et chevrelle:  
 Euvre l'uis, dit il, a ta mere.—  
 Non feré, dit il, par Saint Pere.  
 15 Assés y pourrés appeler,  
 Bien vous connois au chevreller.  
 Tout le sachiés vous contrefaire,  
 N'enterrés ja en mon repaire;  
 Et si voi bien par un pertuis  
 20 Que j'é ci trouvé en cest huis,

12. patiar B P.

14. prista B P.

9. *this verse om. a.*

10. Et veez cy b, ysangrins L (9-10 *different in c.*)

14. feray P a b c.

19. pertruis B, partius P.

20. iay P a b, cy ay c.

Que vous estes uns loups de voir  
 Qui me voulés ci decevoir;  
 Ailleurs vous estuet querre proie.—  
 Ainssi le chevrel l'en envoie.

La moralité.

- 25 Pour ce vous di qu'a l'enfant vient  
 Grant preu quant il voit et retient  
 La bonne doctrine du pere;  
 Et qui non fait, il le compere.  
 Les ensaingnemens ne trespasce  
 30 Des grans ne ne met en espasce  
 De pere et de mere la doctrine;  
 En ton cuer les garder ne fine.  
 En ceci croi les anciens  
 Se vuis estre victoriens.  
 35 Con les anciens croist jonesce,  
 Mauvitiés en cuer ne les blesce.

### XXX. DE RVSTICO ET ANGVE NVTRITO AB EO

(Illustration)

- Rustica mensa diu nutritum nauerat anguem;  
 Humanam potuit anguis amare manum.  
 Gracia longa uiri subito mutatur in iram,  
 Arma p̄r anguineum dirigit ira caput.  
 5 Vulneris actor eget, se uulnere credit egenum,  
 Angui pro uenia supplicat; anguis ait:  
 'Non securus ero dum sit tibi tanta securis,  
 Dum cutis hec metuit uulnera scripta sibi.  
 Qui me lesit, item ledet, si ledere possit;  
 10 Expedit infido non iterare fidem.  
 Sed si te piguit sceleris, scelus omne remittam,  
 Nam gemitus ueniam uulneris corde emit.  
 [Moralitas] <Addicio>  
 Qui semel obfuerit inimicus dicitur esse;

21. un loup pour voir *P*.  
 26 A grant preu quant ot et entent *a*, ot  
 et retient *b c*.  
 29-36. *om. a b c*.  
 34. veulz *P*.  
 35. Com *L*.  
 36. Mauvesties *P*.  
 XXX tit. angne ab eo (*om. nutrito*) *B*  
 (*P* illegible).  
 1. nutritum *B P*.

3. lingua *MSS*.  
 4. angumeritum *P*. capud *L*.  
 5. egit *B*, uulnnere > uulnere *B* uulunere  
*P*. uinea *B P* (> uenia *B*).  
 8. tutis hoc *MSS*.  
 9. lescit *P*. item > iterum *B m. 2*. ledit *P*.  
*Moralitas the real Moralitas has fallen out;*  
*all of what is given here is merely the Addicio,*  
*although that sign appears only opposite v. 15*  
*(in B).*

Hic semper quoque presumitur esse malus.

- 15 Cautelis hominum sensus solet obuius esse,  
Et cautela pari condicione perit.

30. Du vilain qui nourri le serpent.

- Jadis ot nourri un villains  
Une serpente, et des ses mains  
Tenir et pestre la souloit  
En tieu guise comme il vouloit.  
5 Un jour a li se courreça,  
Si la feri, si la bleça,  
D'une coignie que il tint.  
Ne scé comment, après ce avint  
Que fu povres et mandiens.  
10 Si cuide bien li paisans  
Que ce meschief ait encouru  
Pour son serpent qu'il ot feru.  
A li s'en vint, mout se humilie,  
Et du meffait merci li crie,  
15 En priant qu'elle li pardoint.  
Dit le serpent: Ne m'i fi point  
En toi ne en ta compaignie,  
Tant comme aies ta coignie  
De quoi m'as navré et batu,  
20 Car encores m'en batras tu,  
Se tu pues, ce sai ge de voir.  
En desloial ne puet avoir,  
Se merveilles n'est, loiauté.  
Tot me pourroies fere auté.  
25 Mès se de bon cuer t'en repens,  
Je te pardoin,—dit le serpens.

\* 14. presumtur *B* presuintur *P* ? > pre-  
suintur ? *L. corr. Hervieux.*

15. Cautellis > Cautelis *L.*

*iii.* nourrist *L.*, morrit *P.*

1. uns vilains *L b.*

2. Un *a b.*

3. le *a b.*

6. le. . . le *a b.*

7. escourgee *c.*

9. Quil *L b c*, Qui *a.*

13. moult sumelie *P.*

15. que il *a.*

16. fie *P b*, fy *c*; Nest mie apoint *a.*

21. sce ie *L.*

23. liaute *P*, loyautel *c.*

24. Tost *L*; autel *P b c*, honté *a.*

## La moralité.

- Quiconcques une fois meffait,  
 Apoinnes a tant se retrait.  
 Se uns desloiaus donnoit miel,  
 30 Doit l'en cuidier que ce soit fiel.  
 Cils qui a une fois neü,  
 Com cils ne doit estre peü,  
 Qui amis doit estre clamés;  
 Qui a neü ne soit amés.  
 35 Par sen deboute l'en cautele  
 Le barat qui tapit sous l'ele.  
 Par cautele convient morir,  
 Cautele ne doit signourir.

## XXXI. DE CERVO, OVE ET LVPO

## (Illustration)

- Ceruus oui presente lupo sic intonat: 'Amplum  
 Vas tritici debes reddere, redde michi.'  
 Sic iubet esse lupus, paret timor ista iubenti;  
 Namque die fixo debita spondet ouis.  
 5 Fit mora, ceruus ouem uexat de federe, ceruo  
 Inquit ouis: 'Non stant federa facta metu.  
 Me decuit cogente lupo quecumque fateri,  
 Meque decet fraudem pellere fraude pari.'  
 Moralitas  
 Dum timor in porta sedit, promissa timoris  
 10 Arent; nil fidei uerba timentis habent.  
 Addicio  
 Irrita iura sonant que sunt extorta timore;  
 Excusat iustus qui sit in urbe timor.  
 Non est consensus perfectus quem timor ambit;  
 Obligat nullum, si sit adesse timor.

27. maiffait *P*.30. on *P*; ce *om. P*.31-38. *om. a b c*.35. Pour ce deboutellen *P*.38. seignorir *L*.1. presente *P*.3. timor e (e *expunged*) *L*. ibanti *P*.5. ouem—, *B*. defendere *B* teruo *B* terno  
*P L*.7. docuit *MSS*. quicumque > quecumque  
*B L* quiconque *P*. fateri *B* facere *P*.8. docet *MSS*. frandetu *P*.



## 31. Du cerf, la brebis et le loup.

- Li loups ou n'a point de pitié,  
 Ne scé par quelle auctorité  
 De legat, poissance nouvele,  
 Estoit juges d'une querele  
 5 Que sire Brichemet le cerfs  
 Entent a demander envers  
 Madame Blanche la brebis;  
 Si maintient ainsinc en ses dis  
 Qu'un boissiau de froument li doit.  
 10 Le loup commande que li poit  
 Sen blé sen nulle raison dire;  
 Celle ne l'ose contredire,  
 Ains li convenance et promet  
 A rendre au terme qu'i' li met.  
 15 Li termes vient, li cerfs demande  
 Que la brebis son blé li rende.  
 La brebis qui savoit de droit  
 Dit que ja riens ne li rendroit.  
 La moralité.  
 Car promesse qui par peeur  
 20 Est faite, n'a point de valeur.  
 Par peeur et par contraingnance  
 Du loup fist ceste convenance:  
 Pour ce le blé rendre refuse,  
 Car droite peeur m'en escuse.—  
 25 Drois ne vult pas que chose vaille  
 A qui peeur ochoison baille.  
 La ou donne commencement  
 N'est pas parfait consentement.

## XXXII. DE MVSCA ET DE CALVO

(Illustration)

Musca premit caluum, caluus uult cedere muscam,  
 Vt muscam feriat, se ferit, illa redit.

M. de la P; du P.

3. Ou de legat ou d'apostolle a b; (d'apostolle c).

7. blanche P.

8. ainsi en sedis P.

11. Semble P, Son ble a b c.

15. Le terme vient le cerf L, vien li serf P.

21. contenance a.

21-28. om. b.

22. congnoissance a c.

24. excuse P.

25. Droit ne uuet L, veult P.

25-28. om. a b c.

XXXII 1 cedere &gt; cedere B credere P.

2. musam . . . fecit P.

- Caluus ait: 'Te Parca iubet uicina iocari;  
 Si ferior, rides; si feriare, cades.  
 5 Sospes ero decies ictus, semel icta peribis;  
 Est mea prompta michi gracia, surda tibi.'  
 Moralitas  
 Iure potest ledi ledens, ut ledat; in illum,  
 Unde breuis cepit lesio, magna redit.  
 Addicio  
 Grandia dampna gerit interdum occasio parua;  
 10 Sepius occidit quique ferire putat.  
 Non facias aliis imprudenter nocumentum;  
 Innocuus sis, si uiuere, iuste, cupis.

### 32. De la mouche et du chauve.

- Un prodomme qui chauve yert  
 Point une mouche, et cils se fier  
 Ou front, qu'il vuet fuir la mouche,  
 Mès il s'en vet qu'il ne la touche;  
 5 Puis se refiert et puis s'en saut;  
 Cils se refiert et tourjours faut  
 Fort a sa teste et a son front:  
 Dyables, dit il, jouer te font;  
 Se je me fier tu t'en iras,  
 10 Se je te fier tu periras.  
 Mieux te venist en pais tenir,  
 Car nuls preu ne t'en puet venir.  
 Mès se je sept fois me feroie  
 Ja pour ce mains sains n'en seroie;  
 15 Mès se une fois te puis ferir  
 N'est riens qui t'en puist garantir.—

3. perca *MSS.* iocare *MSS.*  
 4. feriere > feriare ? *P.*  
 5. iua ? > icta *L.* peribus > peribis *P.*  
 6. gratia *P.*  
 7. pocest *B.*  
 8. preuis *P.*  
 11. faciat *B* *P.* inprudenmter (-m- ex-  
 punged *B*) in prudempter *P.* uocumentum  
*P.*

*lit.* preudoume *P.*

1. preudomme *L.* preudoume *P.*

3. qui *L* *a b c.*  
 4. cil se vet qui na touche *P.* qui *L.*  
 5. sen *om.* *P.*  
 6. Et cils *L.*  
 8. dicil *L.* dit cil *P.* fait il *bc.*  
 9. r prefixed to iras in later hand *B.* riras  
*a b.*  
 11. Miex te uenit *L.* vault *a.*  
 13. ie me vii. fois feroie *P.*  
 14. *om.* *a.*  
 16. rien qui ten peust gaurir *L.* puisse  
 guerir *a b c.*

## La moralité.

- Qui ennuy fait ennuy requiert,  
 Et ferus doit estre qui fiert.  
 Souvent pour petit de meffait  
 20 Reçoivent mains pis que n'ont fait.  
 Pour ce te doit en toutes places  
 Garder qu'a nullui ne meffaces.  
 L'en voit par petite achoison  
 De dommaige venir foison.  
 25 A la fois qui cuide ferir  
 L'autre occist et le fait perir.  
 Ne fai a nuluy nuisement  
 Se vivre vues seurement.  
 Tant vet le pot a l'iaue qu'il brise;  
 30 Pour ce a nuls mal faire ne vise.

## XXXIII. DE VULPE ET CICONIA

*(Illustration)*

- Vulpo uocante uenit, speratque ciconia cenam;  
 Fallit eam liquidus uulpe uocante cibus.  
 Dum bibit illa cibum, solum bibit illa dolorem;  
 Hic dolor in uulpem fabricat arma doli.  
 5 Sunt pauci mora parua dies, auis inquit: 'Habemus  
 Fercula que sapiunt; dulcis amica, ueni.'  
 Hec uenit, hec uase uitreo bona fercula condit,  
 Ac solam recipit formula uasis auem.  
 Laudat opes oculis uasis nitor, has negat ori  
 10 Formula; sic geminat uisus odorque famem.  
 Sic uulpes ieiuna redit, sic fallitur audens  
 Fallere, sic telo leditur ipsa suo.  
 Moralitas  
 Que tibi non faceres, aliis fecisse negabis;  
 Vulnera ne facias, que nequis ipse pati.  
 Addicio  
 15 Iure poli bonitas bonitatem facta requirit;  
 Vt michi gratus eris, sic tibi gratus ero.

21. dois *L*.23-30. *om. a b c*.27. nullin *L P*.29. qui *P*.30. nul *L P*.XXXIII tit. cincognia *L*.3. cybum *B*. soluum *P*.7. Hic . . . hic *MSS.* (> Hec . . . hec *B*).nase *MSS.*8. sola *MSS.*9. oculos *P*.10. famen *B P*.12. sit tello (> telo) *L*.16. sit *B*.

Frangentique fidem bonitas frangatur eidem;  
Huic dolus adsistat, qui facit ipse dolum.

### 33. De Renart et de la cingongne.

Renart qui onc bien n'abeli  
Semont a mengier avec li  
La cingongne, sa bonne amie.  
Elle ne li refusa mie,  
5 Qui cuida bien estre petle,  
Festuee et receüe,  
Qu'a nuls barat n'i entendi.  
Renart sus la table expandi  
Plain pot de miel que il avoit,  
10 Qu'a mangier donner li devoit.  
Cil boit le miel et leche et suche  
Et prie celle qu'el manjuce;  
Mès el non puet riens a soi traire,  
Car el n'a pas bec a ce faire.  
15 Si se pourpense par quel art  
Elle conchiera Renart.  
Renart semont, si appareille  
Trop bonne viande a merveille,  
La melleur qu'apareillier pot;  
20 Puis si la mist dedens un pot  
Qui ert le col lonc et estroit,  
Comme ampoule de voirre estoit.  
Renart ne pout le col bouter  
Ne de la viande gouter;  
25 Mès la cingongne bien en goute,  
Que jusques au fons le bec y boute.  
Renart voussist a ce besoing  
Qu'il eust bec en lieu de groing.  
La viande qui bon flairoit

18. Hinc B (*P illegible*).

ist. Du L; segogne P.

1. a qui P; Regnart a c (so 8, 16, 17, 23,  
27, 31).

2. auecq's L.

3. segongne P a c, cicongne b.

8. sur P a b.

11. Cils L, Si a b; suce L a b c.

13. elle ne P a b, nen c; riens faire b.

14. elle P a c, Car pas nauoit bec b.

16. pourra tromper c.

18. meruoille L, merveille P a b c.

19. meilleur L a c, mellieur P.

21. Qui a P, ot a b c.

22. empole P; estroit B L P.

23. pot L a b; groing a c, groin b.

24. this verse om. a.

29. fieroit L, fleuroit P.

- 30 Et qui par le vairre paroît,  
Fait a Renart son fain doubler  
Et de lecherie troubler.  
Bien reçoit le conchiement  
Quê il trouva premierement.
- 35 Se l'oisel dou miel ne menja,  
Assés de li se revenja.  
La moralité.  
Qui fait que a soi ne voudroit,  
S'il s'en repent c'est a bon droit.  
L'en treuve en droit qui bien le quiert;
- 40 L'une bonté l'autre requiert.  
Si comme seras agreable  
Je te seré, sans nulle fable.  
Au tricheur qui sa foi ment  
Faire doit l'en samblablement.
- 45 Sus celi qui fait tricherie  
Reviegne barat et boidie.

XXXIV. DE CORVVO QVI PENNAS PAVONIS  
ASSVMPSIT

(*Illustration*)

- Coruus ut inuento picti pauonis amictu,  
Se polit et socias ferre superbit aues.  
Quem fore pauonem pauonis penna fațetur,  
Pauonumque gregi non timet ire comes.
- 5 Pauo dolum sentit falsi pauonis honorem,  
Increpat et domitam uerbere nudat auem.  
Nuda latet, sociosque fugit, minuique pudorem  
Sic putat; hanc duro corripit ore comes:  
'Ascensor nimius nimium ruit, aptus in imis
- 10 Est locus; hec leuis est, illa ruina grauis.  
Qui plus posse putat sua quam natura ministrat,  
Posse suum superans, fit minus ipse potens.

30. voirre *L P.*  
31. sa fain *L.*  
39-46. *om. a b c.*  
40. requier *B.*  
42. flabe *P.*  
44. le doit *L.*

1. inueto *B* amittu *L* amitu *P.*  
2. sociat *B P.*  
8. corripit *P.*  
9. imus *B P* inus *L.*  
10. hic *MSS.* illa > ille *B.*  
12. munus *MSS.* (> minus *B*).

Si tibi nota satis nature meta fuisset,  
Nec uilis nec inops nec sine ueste fores.'

<Moralitas>

- 15 Cui sua non sapiunt, alieni sedulus auceps  
Qui non est sapiens, desinit esse quod est.

<Addicio>

- Nature methas non est transcendere tutum;  
Qui transcendit equum protinus ipse cadit.  
Qui nimis ascendit querulus cadit ipse supinus;  
20 Alta petit lior, fastus et alta petit.

### 34. Du corbiau qui se para des plumes du paon.

- En un concile des oisiaus  
Sire Tiercelins li corbiaus  
Vit que iert entr' eux tous sous  
Li plus lais et li plus hidous.  
5 Pensa que plumes embleroit,  
Des plus belles qu'il trouveroit;  
S'en embla tant comme il convint.  
Quant a l'autre concile vint,  
Cils qui de l'autrui fu fardés  
10 Fu mout des autres regardés  
Pour les plumes que il embloit;  
Faussement paon resambloit,  
Les autres oisiaus desdoingnoit  
Et au paon se comparoit.  
15 Le paon a bien congneü  
Son barat et aperceü;  
De ses plumes l'a desnüé,  
Bien batu et a pou tué.  
Le corbiau qui mal fu venus  
20 Vit que il fu des plumes nus.

13. Sit *B L* (*P illegible*). uota *P*.

14. in cops *P B*.

15. cedulus *B*.

17. metas *P*.

18. equum *Hervieux*.

19. mimis *B P* (> nimis *B*) minus *L*.  
querulus *B P*. suspimus *P*.

1. une *P*.

1, 2. Ens ou concille des oysiaux

Un jays plumes qui nest pas beaux *a*, En  
une compaignie de oyseaux Sire thicelins *b*,

En un grant conseil des oyseaux Sire thies-  
selins *c*.

3. quil iert entre euls tous seuls *L*.

4. hideus *L P*.

6. trouveront *B*.

12. *this verse om. a*.

14. sacompaignoit *a b (c)*.

17. desvestu *c*.

18. Et lui a dit lierres es tu *c*.

19. Ly jays qui trop mal *a*; quil *B*.

19, 20, 24. fust *P*.

- Quant perdu ot les derrenieres,  
 Bien vousist avoir les premieres.  
 Unes et autres a perdu;  
 Tant fu honteus et esperdu  
 25 Sire Tiercelin li corbiaus  
 Que avecques les autres oisiaux  
 N'ose ne venir ne aler,  
 Que li paon fit avaler.  
 La moralité.  
 Qui plus haut monte qu'il ne doit,  
 30 De plus haut chiet qu'il ne voudroit;  
 Qui en bas lieu se vuet seoir,  
 Il n'a dont il doie cheoir.  
 Et qui s'efforce ne ne bee  
 A ce que nature li vee,  
 35 Souvent li vient pis que devant;  
 Bien l'alés ore apercevant.  
 Se la bonne conissisiés  
 De nature, encor ne fussiés  
 De plumes ne povres ne vis;  
 40 Mès le vostre, ce m'est avis,  
 Pou ou mains vous souffisoit.  
 Ce est ce qui vous attisoit  
 Et semonnoit a l'autrui prendre;  
 Si en est vostre force mendre.  
 45 N'est bonne ne seüre chose  
 Sa nature passer par glose,  
 Par faintise ou par apparence.  
 Qui trop haut monte, si se pense  
 Cheoir pourra par grant ruine,  
 50 La teste devant et supine.  
 De orgueil la supersticion  
 Ceci quiert, et ambition.  
 A nostre tamps avons veü  
 Que si tres haut ont bas chetü;

25. Ly jays qui ot fait ses aveaux *a*,  
 thiecelin *b*, thiesmelins *c*.

28. li paons fist *L*, le paon fist *P*; Lor  
 prinst li paons a parler *a* (*b*) *c*.

29. qui *L P*.

30. qui *P*.

31. uuent *L*, veult *P*.

35. puis *P*.

37. Se la droiture conissiez *a*, Se la bonte

congneussiez *b*, Se la bonne congneussiez *c*.

41. ou neant *a b c*.

42. ossisoit *P*, ocioit *a*, atisoit *b*, accusoit *c*.

45-58. *om. a b c*; after 44 *c* adds: Pour ce  
 autre fois vous advisiez Tous jours en serez  
 mains priez.

47. esperance *P*.

51. supersticion *L*.

54. bas ieu *L*.

- 55 Veü avons de grant demainne  
 Les haus noier en la montaingne.  
 Ainssi l'avons en l'escripture  
 En verité et en figure.

## XXXV. DE MVLA ET MVLIONE

(Illustration)

- Mula rapit cursum, nam mulam mulio cogit;  
 Mule musca nocet uerbere siue minis:  
 'Cur pede sopito currum tempusque moraris?  
 Te premo, te pungo, pessima, curre leuis.'  
 5 Mula refert: 'Quia magna sonas, uis magna uideri;  
 Nec tua facta nocent, nec tua uerba michi.  
 Nec te pertimeo, sed eum quem sustinet axis,  
 Qui mea frena tenet, qui mea terga ferit.'  
 Moralitas  
 Audet in audacem timidus fortique minatur  
 10 Debilis, audendi cum uidet esse locum.  
 Addicio  
 Verbula non semper sunt ampullosa timenda;  
 Ventosis nullus debet inesse timor.  
 Facta magis terrere licet quam uerbula uana;  
 Debilis in fortem non sit acerbe loquax.

## 35. D'un muletier et d'une mule.

- Un muletier sa mule avoit  
 O quoi son char mener devoit;  
 La mule hastive n'est point.  
 La mouche qui volentiers point  
 5 Li dit: Ha, preceuse beste,  
 Va plus tost, cour, et si te heste,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. rapit rapit cursum . . . mullam P.              | 14. sortem <i>Harvieu</i> in fortem <i>repeated</i> |
| 2. musta B P. sine MSS.                            | B P.  |
| 5. Multa refert B P.                               |   |
| 7. per ( <i>expunged</i> ) pertimeo L. set B. axit | 3. nest nest B.                                     |
| P.   | 4. Une mouche lasault et point a (b) c.             |
| 8. ferua P.  | 5. hay preceuse P, perecheuse L, pare <sup>2</sup>  |
| 9. audatem timidus L.                              | ceuse a, perceuse b, percheuse c.                   |
| 11. sont P. ampullosa L P (> ampullosa             | 6. cours P.   |
| L).  |   |



- Ou je te poindrai ja encoires  
 Plus tost assés que ne fis ores,  
 Ou plus vif et ou plus parfont.
- 10 Diabls ainsi aler te font.—  
 Mule dit: Mouche, tu es fole.  
 Cuides tu que ta grant parole  
 M'esbaysse ne ne espoante?  
 Ce saches tu, que je ne mante,
- 15 Que je ne te crains ne ne doubt.  
 Celui qui sus moy siet et croupt  
 Crains plus que toi ne ta menace,  
 Qui mon frain tient et fiert et chace.  
 Toi ne pris je pas un estront.—  
 La moralité.
- 20 Mains couars souvent ainsi font  
 Et menacent les plus hardis  
 Et par paroles et par dis.  
 Le faible le fort remenace  
 Quant il en voit ne lieu ne place.
- 25 La parole qui est vanteuse  
 Pour ce ne doit estre douteuse.  
 Le fait plus muet que la parole,  
 Car le parler tantost s'envole;  
 Mès du fait demeure la trace;
- 30 Après le dit, queres qui face.

## XXXVI. DE MVSCA ET FORMICA

(Illustration)

Musca mouens lites formicam uoce fatigat,  
 Se titulis ornans turpiter ipsa suis:  
 'Torpes mersa cauis, leuitas michi queritur alis;  
 Dat tibi fossa domum, nobilis aula michi.

- 5 Delicie sunt grana tue, me regia nutrit  
 Mensa; bibis fontem, sed bibo leue merum.

7. encoires P.

10. La mule a la mouche respont a b c.

11. Et lui dist a b c.

13. espoante L, espouante P.

14. saiches L; mente L P.

16. crout L b c.

18. freing L.

23. foible L, feble P.

25-30. om. a b c.

2. ornans B P.

3. Torpens MSS.

4. aulla &gt; aula L.

5. Dilicie . . . ne P.

- Quod bibis a limo suggis, michi suggerit aurum,  
 Quod bibo; saxa premis, regia secta premo.  
 Sede, cibo, potu, thalamo, cum regibus utor,  
 10 Regine teneris oscula figo genis.  
 Non minus urentes mittit formica sagittas,  
 Et sua non modicum spicula fellis habent.  
 'Ludo mersa cauis, nescit tua penna quietem;  
 Sunt michi pauca satis, sunt tibi multa parum.  
 15 Me letam iubet esse cauus, te regia tristem;  
 Plus michi grana placet quam tibi regis opes.  
 Venatur michi farra labor, tibi fercula furtum;  
 Hec michi pax mellit, toxicat illa timor.  
 Mundo farre fruor, tu fedas omnia tactu;  
 20 Cum nulli noceam, cuilibet una nocet.  
 Est michi parcendi speculum, tua uita uorandi;  
 Sunt mea que carpo, non nisi rapto uoras.  
 Vt comedas uiuis, comedo ne uiuere cesses;  
 Me nichil infestat, te fugat omnis homo.  
 25 Vnde petis uitam rapitur tibi uita; palato  
 Dulcia uina bibens fel necis acre bibis.  
 Se negat aula tibi tenui defensa flabello,  
 Aut nece uicta cades, aut semiuia iaces.  
 Si potes estiuo dono tolerare labores,  
 30 Cetera si parcant, non tibi parcit hyemps.'  
 Moralitas  
 Dulcia pro dulci, pro turpi turpia reddi  
 Verba solent, odium lingua fidemque parit.  
 Addicio  
 Quisquis habere cupit auditu dulcia uerba,  
 Ore relatiuo dulcia uerba sonet.  
 35 Hispida lingua parit odium, pia nutrit amorem;  
 Ore uenena suo toxica lingua gerit.

7. suggit *B P.* amum *P.*  
 11. urentes *bis* formica *om.* *P.*  
 12. habent *P.*  
 13. mensa canis . . . pena *MSS.* quietam  
*P.*  
 14. Sont *P.* tibi pauca *MSS.*  
 15. cauus > canus *L m. l.* tristem *P.*  
 19. ferre *L.* omina *P.*  
 21. Et *P.* parendi *L.*  
 22. Sont *P.*

23. seacem *P.*  
 24. in festas *B P.*  
 26. uiua *MSS.* nescis *P.*  
 27. deffensa *B P.* flabello *MSS.*  
 28. seminimaiaces *B* se minima *P* semin-  
 inima *L.*  
 29. estimo *L.* donotolle rares *P.*  
 30. partant > parcant *L.*  
 35. ex ? > odium *L.* nutrit *P.*  
 36. lin—gua *B* lin gua *P.*

## 36. De la mouche et du fremi.

- La mouche ou tant a d'ateine  
 Tance au fremi par grant hainne;  
 Mout se loe, l'autre desprise  
 Avecques li tient plait en tele guise:
- 5 Tu es reclos en ta tainiere,  
 Mès je vole comme legiere.  
 En ton cruex te mès et avales,  
 Et je demeure en aute sales.  
 Tu ne vis mais de grains sans plus
- 10 Mès j'é viandes a refus,  
 Teles com je demander ose,  
 Char et poisson et autre chose.  
 Ce que tu bois est trouble et ort,  
 Mès je boi bon vin cler et fort
- 15 A hanap d'or tant com me plect.  
 Table de roy m'aboivre et pest,  
 A toutes ses viandes touche,  
 Bese la royne en la bouche,  
 Quant je vuil, ou nés ou au front.—
- 20 A ce cui s'en ment li respont  
 Li fromis en tele maniere:  
 En mon cruex et en ma tesniere  
 Me deduis et jeue et soulace;  
 Mès tu n'as pais en une place.
- 25 Ce pou que j'é me souffist bien;  
 Mès a toi ne soufist il rien  
 Choses que aies devers toi  
 Toutes les viandes le roi.  
 En mon cruex me tiens liés et aise,
- 30 Tu es chiés le roy a malaise.  
 Se mes vivres gist tout em blé,  
 Je ne l'é tolu ne emblé,  
 Ains l'é pourchacé leaument,

1. datainne *L*, datene *P*, dathayne *a*,  
 datayne *b*, dattayne *c*.

4. tel *L P*.

5. taigriere *L*.

7. creus te met *P*.

8. hautes *L P*, haultes *a b c*.

10. iay *P a b c*.

12. poison et autres *L*.

14. bois *L*.

16. mabeuure *P*.

19. uueil *L*, veulz *P*; ou ou *L a b*, ou un *P*,  
 et ou *c*.

20. A ses parolles li *a*, A ce toancheem't  
 lui *b*, A ce mot yci lui *c*.

21. fremiz *L*, fremis *P*.

27. Plus me souffist un grain qua toy *a b c*.

28. du roy *a b*.

32. lai *L*.

33. la *B*, lay *P*, le *L a b c*; loiaument *L*.

- Et tu l'embles malvaisement;  
 35 Si que la peur de l'ambler  
 Fait ce qu'ambles venin sambler;  
 Et la grant pais ou mon cuer gist  
 Mon petit mengier adoucist.  
 Vif de froment et pur et net,  
 40 Mès nulle riens si nette n'et  
 Qui ne deviegne vis et orde  
 Pour quoi mouche le touche et morde.  
 Je ne fais nuisance a nelui,  
 Tu fais a tout le monde annui.  
 45 J'espargne et nient ne destrui,  
 Tu taus et devoures autrui.  
 Tu vis pour mangier seulement,  
 Je manjue pour longuement  
 Vivre, chascun te fiert et chace,  
 50 Mès je ne truis qui mal me face.  
 De la ou tu chasses ton vivre  
 Voit l'en souvent ta mort en suivre.  
 Bon vin et dous bois a la fois  
 Dont venimeuse mort reçois.  
 55 S'est ta force, ta vertu tele,  
 Se un esmoucheur te fiert en l'ele  
 Morir te convient et cheoir;  
 Ce puet l'en toute jour veoir.  
 Et se ta force en esté dure  
 60 Et se ores es bien segure  
 Que nuls ne te puisse mal faire,  
 Perdue es quant yvers repaire,  
 Du tout t'en estuet a foir.—  
 La moralité.  
 Vilonnie cils vuet oïr  
 65 Qui vilonnie dit ou lait;  
 Langue amer homme ou haïr fait.  
 Qui biau dit, biau oïr porra;

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 35. paour <i>L</i> .   | 59. est <i>P</i> .   |
| 40. necte <i>P</i> ; chose ou monde net <i>a</i> , rien si<br>nest tant net <i>b</i> , rien si nette nest <i>c</i> . | 60. figure <i>P</i> .  |
| 45-48. om. <i>c</i> .  | 61. mauferre <i>P</i> .  |
| 46. tos <i>L a</i> , tolz <i>b</i> .   | 63. fourir <i>L</i> ; Fourir ten convient cest tout<br>voir <i>c</i> . |
| 49. chascuns <i>L P</i> ; chascun si te <i>c</i> .   | 64. avoir <i>c</i> .   |
| 55. Cest <i>L P a b</i> , Ta force et <i>c</i> .   | 65. Qui laidange aucun par son plait <i>c</i> .                        |
| 57. ou <i>a b c</i> .  | 67-90. om. <i>a b c</i> .  |

- Biau die qui biau dit vourra.  
 La langue qui est venimeuse  
 70 Response n'aura gracieuse.  
 La langue hainne engendre,  
 Nourrit amour com feu en cendre.  
 Langue qui est envenimee  
 Porte venin goule bee.  
 75 S'en ce dit nous nous esbaton,  
 Entendons le saige Caton,  
 Qui dit que vertu promerainne  
 Est a tramper langue grifainne.  
 Maise langue est pieur morsel  
 80 Que n'est d'un sorsemé pourcel.  
 Se nous croire voulons l'apostre,  
 Langue refrenons qui est nostre;  
 Et se le saige Salemon  
 En ce dialogue reclamon,  
 85 Trouverons qu'il dit tres hasseus:  
 Haineus homme paresceus,  
 Va au fromin, ce dit mon livre,  
 Qui sceut amasser pour son vivre  
 En esté, a fin que li yvers  
 90 Ne li soit nuisans et divers.

## XXXVII. DE VULPE, SIMEA ET LEPORE

(Illustration)

- Respondere lepus de furti labe tenetur;  
 Vulpes eum uocat; hic petit, ille negat.  
 Simeus est iudex, recti non errat acumen  
 Iudicis, archanum mentis in ore legit:  
 5 'Iudicium fingis, poscis quod poscere fraus est,  
 Visque fidem de re, quam negat ipse fides.  
 Tu, bone, furta negas, te uite purior usus  
 Liberat, hanc litem pax domat, ira cadit.'  
 Simplicitas ueri, fraus ipsa puerpera falsi;  
 10 Esse solent uite consona uerba sue.

68. qui dit vourra *B*, qui dire vourra *P*.74. guele baee *L*.77. que *om. L*.79. Moise *P*; peeur *L*, pire *P*.80. seurseme *L*.84. dialogue *L*; reclamon *P*.87. fremi *L*, fremin *P*.89. est *P*; yures *P*.90. ne divers *L P*.XXXVII tit. symia *L*.2. hic hoc petit *MSS*.3. Symeus *B P*.4. arcanum *P*.5. fraut *P*.7. furca *B* furga *P*.10. sonant *B L* sormant *P*.

## Moralitas

Sordibus imbuti nequeunt dimittere sordes;  
Fallere qui didicit, fallere semper amat.

## Addicio

- Quo semel est imbuta recens seruat odorem  
Testa diu; sentit allia sepe mola.  
15 Altera natura fit consuetudo nocendi;  
Quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit.

## 37. Du singe, Renart et le lievre.

- Devant le singe fist semondre  
Renart le lievre a li respondre  
D'une gelline grasse et grosse  
Que cils li embla en sa fosse.  
5 Ce dit Renart, se il ne ment.  
Et li lievres outreement  
Respont a ce que il propose  
Que ne li embla nulle chose,  
N'encores talent n'en avoit.  
10 Quant Renart ce entent et voit  
Qu'il n'a tesmoing qu'aidier li doie,  
En jugement son giron ploie,  
Contre le lievre tant son gaige;  
Et cil qui parla comme saige  
15 Li prist courtoisement a dire:  
Sauve vostre grace, biau sire,  
Gaige de bataille en cest cas  
Ne cui je qu'il afiere pas;  
Car par l'ordenance roial  
20 S'il n'a presumption loial  
Contre celi qu'est apelé,  
Cheval n'en yert ja en selé;  
Ou s'il n'i a mechain ou mort

12. amet *L*.13. ricens *L*. 13, 14a = *Horace, Ep. I 2, 69 f.*14. diut sanctit *P*.15. sit *P*.tit. et du renart et du *P*.1. Regnart le *b*.2. Regnart *a c* (so 5, 10, 47), Bernard le lievre *b*.6. contreement *P*.11. quidier lui *P*.12. geron *P c*, gaige *a*.14. parle aloy de saige *a*.17. ce *L P*, tel *a*.18. croi *L*; affiere *L a c*.19-44. om. *a b c*.20. Si na *L*; presontion *P*.21. follows 22 in *P*.

- Ou traïson pour homme mort  
 25 Ou asseurement n'est brisié,  
 Encor tout ce n'est point prisié  
 Se l'en puet trouver tesmongnaige.  
 Adoncques n'i puet cheoir gaige  
 Ou li cas ne soit si endables  
 30 Que pour li soit uns homs pendables.  
 Tu ne demandes que une poule,  
 Dont tu voulois fourrer ta goule;  
 Ne valoit que douse deniers  
 Tournois ou parisis pleniers.  
 35 Or ne doit on un homme pendre  
 Se la chose ne puet l'en vendre  
 Plus de cinc souls qui est emblee,  
 Selonc commune renommee.  
 Ainsi le tient le assercion  
 40 De disieme collation;  
 Drois ne vuet que pour larrecin  
 Mette l'en personne a la fin,  
 Se n'est larron de renommee  
 Qu'en doit pendre a fourche levee.  
 45 S'en demande drois de la court.—  
 Li juges qui bien voit le hourt  
 Et la desloiauté Renart,  
 Et connuist sa guile et son art,  
 Et vit bien par presompcion  
 50 Qu'il avoit mauvaise action,  
 Si commande que il se tесе,  
 Car il a querelle mauvese:  
 Li lievres te met bien en ny  
 Ce que proposes contre li;  
 55 Preudomme est et de bonne vie,  
 De toi mauferre n'a envie;  
 Faites pais et bonne acordance.—  
 Simplesce si est demonstrance  
 En personne de verité,  
 60 Et boidie de fausseté.

25. assument *P*; nest *om.* *L*.29. soist si emdables *P*.30. pour *om.* *P*.34. peliers *P*.37. .v. solz *L*.39. Einsinc *L*.45. a *P c*.

46. vit le tort a.

50. achoison *P*.

53. met mout bien a.

59. et de *L*.

60. Est boidie en a, Et barat vient de c.

- Homs de qui s'acointe et apresse  
 Mauvitiés, a poinnes la lesse.  
 La moralité.  
 Qui s'acoustume a bareter  
 A poinnes l'en puet l'en geter.  
 65 L'escrache sent adès l'oudeur  
 De ce que tient a la saveur;  
 Et les aux rescent le mortier.  
 Bara de bara est portier.  
 Qui est acoustumé de nuire,  
 70 Enuis puet tricherie nuire.  
 Ce qu'en aprent en sa jonesce  
 Vuet l'en continuer en viellesce.

## XXXVIII. DE VIRO ET MVSTELA

(Illustration)

- Preda uiro predo murum mustela precatur:  
 'Da ueniam, debes parcere, parce michi.  
 Quod caret hoste domus, quod abest a sorde, fatetur  
 Esse meum, pro me supplicat, ergo faue.  
 5 Seruicio me redde tuo, michi redde laboris  
 Premia; pro dono sit mea uita tuo.'  
 Ille refert: 'Operum debetur gracia menti  
 Non operi; gratum mens bona reddit opus.  
 Nemo, licet prosit, nisi uult prodesse, meretur;  
 10 Nam prodesse potest hostis obesse uolens.  
 Cum michi prodesse, michi non prodesse uolebas;  
 Hostibus ipsa meis et meus hostis eras.  
 Non michi monstra necans, sed eras tibi prouida soli,  
 Sic poteris panem rodere sola meum.  
 15 Pane meo pinguis michi des pinguedinis usum;  
 Dampnis penso necem, digna perire peri.'  
 Moralitas  
 Nil honorat factum, nisi facti sola uoluntas;  
 Non operum fructum, sed noto mentis opus.

65-72. *om. a b c.*  
 67. *aus L; restent L, resant (originally*  
*resantent, last three letters cancelled) P.*

70. *fuire L.*

XXXVIII tit. *mustella B P.*

3. *abet P. facetur L.*

4. *ergo om. L m. 1 add. corrector.*

5. *redede P.*

6. *promia P. sic P.*

10. *Non . . . potens MSS. nolens P.*

11. *nolebas P.*

12. *eras tibi pro (from l. 13) P.*

13. *om. P. moustra B. uetans B ue tans L.*

14. *Sit L. sala B.*

15. *Pane ne (ne expunged) B. pinguedis*  
*B L pingue dins P.*

17. *onerat B L honerat P.*

18. *Nil B P. set L. uoto MSS.*



## Addicio

- Propositum factum distinguit fine uoluntas;  
 20 Sunt a proposito respicienda bona.  
 Regulat atque regit commissum causa finalis;  
 Circonspecta, iuuat; causa finalis abest.

## 38. Du prodomme et de la mustele.

- Uns homs une beloste prist,  
 Et la beloste li requist  
 Que il eüst merci de lui.  
 Pourquoi? dit l'omme.—Quar je sui  
 5 Celle qui tes souris prenoit  
 Et qui ton ostel net tenoit.  
 Si ai lonctamps esté ta serve;  
 Sueffre encores que je te serve,  
 Ne demande autre guerredon.—  
 10 A celi respont li preudom:  
 Par foi, se mes souris prels  
 Pour mon preu pas ne le fels;  
 Non pour mon preu mès pour le tien.  
 Nul fet a deserte ne tien  
 15 Se il n'est fais de volenté,  
 Car uns homs qu'est entalenté  
 De nuire, aucune fois proufite;  
 Tieulx profis n'a point de merite.  
 Quant mes souris ainsi prenoies  
 20 De mon preu point ne te penoies;  
 Si n'avoies amour ne foi  
 Ne a mes souris ne a moi.  
 Pour mon pain sans le domagier  
 Tu poies d'elles vangier.  
 25 Ta pel qui est si engraisié  
 De mon pain me sera lessié.  
 N'en aura ores autre gaige;

19. Prepositum B P. sine MSS. siue  
*Hervicus.*

20. proposito a L.

22. om. L. Circonspectat > Circonspetta  
 B Circonspectat P. corr. *Hervicus.* obest B  
 P.

*tit.*, 1, 2. beloste P.

1. prist L c.

4. Pourquoi di homme que P.

5. prenoist P.

6. nest tenoist P.

19. einsinc L.

20. pre B.

21. enmour P.

24. pouoies L.

26. ne B L b, me P a c.

27. aure P, auray a c; *this verse om. b.*

Ta pel me soudra mon dommaige.—

La moralité.

La volentés le fait descueuvre,

30 La regardés, non pas a l'euvre.

Les fais distingue le propos.

Le fait qui puet estre repos

Par la volenté se mesure.

Qui bien regarde, la fin cure;

35 Qui en remirant voit et pause,

Considerer y faut la cause.

La cause nuit et si profite,

De la cause vient le merite.

### XXXIX. DE RANA ET BOVE

(*Illustration*)

Equari uult rana boui, tumet ergo, tument

Natus ait: 'Cessa, pre boue tota nichil.'

Rana dolet meliusque tumet, premit ille tumentem:

'Vincere non poteris, uicta crepare potes.'

5 Tercius iratam uexat tumor, illa tumoris

Copia findit eam, guttura rupta iacent.

Moralitas

Cum maiore minor conferri desinat et se

Temperet ac uires consulat ipse suas.

Addicio

Forcia debilibus non possunt assimilari;

10 Viuax sensus ea concomitare nequit.

Sepe minori fas est reprehendere magnum;

Doctus ab indocto queritat eger opem.

Dum tumulus gestare pedem debet morituri,

Discere uelle faueret moriturus homo.

31-38. *om. a b c.*

34. *la figure P.*

35. *pense L P (pause added in margin in later hand L).*

1. *bom P. timet B L (> tumet B) cimet P. timent MSS. (> tument B).*

2. *bone P.*

3. *timet MSS. (> tumet B). timentem MSS. (> tumentem B m. 2).*

4. *poterit > poteris B.*

5. *in ranam MSS. timor B P (> tumor B). timoris P.*

6. *fondit P.*

7. *Cu P. esse B P.*

9. *deblibibus P.*

10. *concomicare L concomiutare (u expunged) P.*

12. *Doctus in dato P.*

13. *timulus B Heriueus mulus P. norituri P.*

14. *Discire B P. fauer-et B.*

## 39. De la rainne et du buef.

- La rainne qui pour pou ne crieve  
 Quant voit chose qui riens li grieve,  
 Encontre le buef prist contens,  
 Et dit qu'elle vaut mieux cent tans  
 5 Que li buefs ne pavoit valoir.  
 Madame, ne vous puet chaloir,  
 Dit uns siens fils qui fu plus saiges,  
 Au buef dites trops grans outraiges,  
 Se mesprenés appertement.  
 10 Laissiés cest envaïssement  
 Que de tielx paroles cessés,  
 Car il vaut mieux que vous assés,  
 Ne de vous a li par raison  
 N'est ce nulle comparaison.—  
 15 Celle s'esmuet et se courrouce  
 Et plus enfle et plus engrouce,  
 Et ses fils pour li plus grever  
 Li dit: Iqui porrés crever,  
 Que au buef n'avés vous pooir;  
 20 Ce puet tous li mondes veoir.—  
 Celle a qui la parole grieve  
 S'enfle si fort que elle crieve;  
 Le ventre et les costes a rousps  
 D'ire et de duel et de courrous.  
 25 Bien se doit garder le meneur  
 Qu'il ne se preigne au greigneur,  
 Ains doit bien penser et savoir  
 Quel force on puet en li avoir.  
 Fols est qui a plus fort de li  
 30 Se prent ne joue avecques li.  
 La moralité.  
 Fols est qui tant se vuet parer  
 Qu'a plus grant se vuet comparer.  
 Ne tien ceste chose a vilaine  
 Que le petit le grant reprangne

1. par *P*.  
 4. miex cent temps *L*.  
 9. espatement *P*.  
 11. Et *a'b c*.  
 18. ici *P*, *ycy a*, illuec *b*, Lui a dit vous  
 pouez *c*.  
 20. Tout le monde *P*.  
 23. romps *B P*, roux *b c*, tous *a*.

24. et (*after* ire) *om. L P*.  
 26. Qui *P*.  
 29-54. *om. a b c*.  
 29, 31. Fox *L*, Fos *P*.  
 31. ueust *L*, veult *P*.  
 32, 45. vuest *L*, veult *P*.  
 34. repraigne *L P*.

- 35 Aucune fois, que le plus saige  
Aprendre puet a meneur de aage.  
Ne puet chaloir dont la parole  
Viengne aprise en bonne escole.  
Ne puet chaloir de quel linaige
- 40 Soit venus ou atrait le sage.  
Ne puet chaloir dont est creü  
Le vin qu'est volentiers beü.  
Ne puet chaloir de la personne  
D'ou viegne, mès qu'elle soit bonne.
- 45 Qui veut bien et justement vivre,  
Ce nous enseignent nostre livre;  
Plus encor dit un philosophe,  
Je te jur, ne le tien pour lobe:  
Se j'avoie un pié en la fosse
- 50 Et appareillie fust la mosse  
Dont je devroie estre couvert,  
Je veoie le sen ouvert  
Que encor pourroie aprendre,  
Je y vourroie encor entendre.—

## XL. DE LEONE ET PASTORE

(Illustration)

- Sollicitus prede currit leo, spina leonem  
Vulnerat, offendit in pede mersa pedem.  
Fit mora de cursu, leuitas improuida lapsum  
Sepe facit, leso stat pede turba pedum.
- 5 Vix egrum sinit ire dolor, saniemque fatetur;  
Maior idem loquitur uulneris ipse dolor.  
Cum lesit miseros fortuna, medetur eisdem;  
Hoc est cur medicum plaga leonis habet.  
Nam leo pastorem reperit, pastorque leoni
- 10 Pro dape reddit ouem, respuit ille dapes.  
Supplicat et plagam tenso pede monstrat et illi

35. car *L*.36. daage *L*, dage *P*.42. qui est volenties *P*.46. enseigne *L P*.48. le *om. P*.50. messe *P*.52. san *P*.XL tit. De la rainne et du buef *P* (= *French title of XXXIX*).2. effondit *MSS*.5. egrum *P*. sunt ne *MSS*. samen  
sanie *L*.7. medetur > medentur *L m. 2*.8. Hec *BL* (> *Hoc L*) (*P* illegible). cur *om*.  
*L* quod *add. L m. 2*.10. opem *MSS*.11. tanso *BP* tens o *L*. moustrat *B*  
monstra *P*.

- Querit opem, pastor uulnera soluit acu.  
Exit cum sanie dolor et res causa doloris;  
Hic blande medicum circuit ore manum.
- 15 Sospes abit meritoque notas in corde sigillat,  
Tempore deleri gracia firma nequit.  
Hinc leo uincla subit. Romane gloria prede  
Hunc habet et multas multat harena feras.  
Ecce necis penam pastori culpa propinat,
- 20 Clauditur in mediis et datur esca feris.  
Hunc leo presentit, petit hunc, timet ille, timenti  
Hec fera blanditur, sperat, abitque timor.  
Nil feritatis habens ludit caudaque resultat,  
Dum fera mitescit se negat esse feram.
- 25 Hunc tenet, hunc lambit, pensatque salute salutem,  
Nulla sinit fieri uulnera, nulla facit.  
Roma stupet parcitque uiro parcitque leoni;  
Hic redit in siluas et redit ille domum.

## Moralitas

- Non debet meritum turpis delere uetustas;  
30 Accepti memores nos decet esse boni.

## Addicio

Innuat antidotum fieri decursus amoris;  
Hispidus, ingratus, unde superbit homo?  
Efficit ingratum rixosa superbia; nullus  
Funditus ingrato uilior esse potest.

## 40. Du pasteur qui osta l'espine au lion.

Uns lions qui chassoit sa proie  
De courre après mout fort s'aproie.  
Com il couroit de grant ravine,  
Ou pié li entra une espine

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 12. a tu L.                                | 27. parrit P.                            |
| 13. res om. L.                             | 28. reddit > redit B. ille redit P.      |
| 17. Huic L. uincala > uinca B uinca P.     | 29. dolere L.                            |
| fabit B P. gracia B gratia P. pede B P.    | 30. Accepit P. ecce P.                   |
| 18. Hinc B P Huic L.                       | 31. Intinit P.                           |
| 18. multat B P. mulcet MSS.                | 32. Hic spidus P. ingradus B ingraudus P |
| 19. ueti B P neci L.                       | ingracius ? > ingradus ? L.              |
| 20. esta L.                                | 33. rixasa MSS. (> rixosa B).            |
| 21. Hinc leo B P Huic L. presenti perit P. | 34. postest P.                           |
| huic MSS.                                  |  |
| 22. fora MSS. blauditur B.                 | iii. pastour L P; du pie au lion P.      |
| 23. fantatis P.                            | 1. this fable om. a.                     |
| 26. sunt MSS. feri L.                      | 2. seffroie b.                           |

- 5 Qui le blecea si malement  
 Qu'aler li convient belement.  
 Souvent avient que l'en se blesce  
 Par despourveue hatesce.  
 Li bleciés areste et destourbe
- 10 Des autres piés toute la tourbe.  
 A poinnes puet il pour sa plaie  
 Aler, si se deut et esmaie.  
 Mès fortune, qui point et blesce,  
 Sauve le chetif et redresce;
- 15 Si fait au lion grant confort,  
 Tout li double sa plaie fort.  
 Tant va et vient a quelque painne  
 Qu'aventure en un lieu l'amaïne  
 Ou un pasteur ses bestes garde,
- 20 Et quant le pasteur le regarde  
 Un aigniel li tent et presente;  
 Et cils qui sa douleur tourmente  
 Ne fet force de son present,  
 Le pié dont malades se sent
- 25 Li monstre; et le pasteur s'encline,  
 Si li oste du pié l'espine,  
 Le pié nettoie bien et cure.  
 Bien a emploiee sa cure  
 Mieux qu'il ne cuide la moitié.
- 30 Vet s'en le lion tout haitié,  
 Enclinant son mire mercie,  
 Et pense que il n'oublit mie  
 Le grant bienfet que cils a fet.  
 Ferme grace point ne s'en vet
- 35 Ne ne se pert pour tamps qui aille.  
 Or avint en ce tamps sans faille  
 Que cils mesmes lions fu pris  
 Et avecques les bestes mis  
 Qui encloses furent a Romme,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 7. que on <i>P</i> , com sest blesce <i>c</i> .          | 16. dueille <i>b c</i> .                  |
| 8. sa tres grant hastivete <i>c</i> .                    | 18. a lieu <i>P</i> .                     |
| 9. Si lui convient la arrester <i>c</i> .                | 19, 20, 25. pastour <i>P b c</i> .        |
| 10. Car sur son pie ne puet ester <i>c</i> .             | 28. <i>this verse om. b</i> .             |
| 11. Si a grant douleur <i>c</i> .                        | 29. qui. . moistie <i>P</i> .             |
| 12. duest <i>L</i> , doubt <i>b</i> ; Dont merueilleuse- | 33. fait <i>b c</i> .                     |
| ment seamayé <i>c</i> .                                  | 34. vest <i>L</i> , uait <i>P c</i> .     |
| 15. fait <i>P b c</i> .                                  | 35. part <i>b c</i> ; quil <i>P b c</i> . |

- 40 Dont il y ot une grant somme.  
 En celle meisme saison  
 Avint que ycils meismes hom  
 Qui gueri le lion du pié,  
 Fu la gitié pour son pechié
- 45 Ou ces bestes furent ensamble,  
 Et pour demourer, ce me samble.  
 Or oés que fit le lion;  
 Bien connust que ce fu li hom  
 Qui du pié li osta l'espine,
- 50 Vers li s'en vient et si l'encline  
 Et li commance a fere feste  
 D'oroiles, de queue et de teste,  
 En conjoiant les mains li loiche  
 Et garde que nuls ne l'aproiche;
- 55 N'il n'i a beste tant soit fiere  
 Qui le morde ne qui le fiere,  
 Tant le deffent bien cils et garde;  
 Et li pueples qui ce regarde  
 S'en esbaïst mout durement,
- 60 Si ont fait par assentement  
 Quant il orent scetü le fet,  
 Que li lions au bois s'en vet  
 Delivrés, et li povres hom  
 S'en vet aussi en sa meson.  
 La moralité.
- 65 Par viellesce ne doit service  
 Ne bonté estre en oubli mise.  
 Des bontés que chascuns reçoit  
 A toujours souvenir en doit.  
 Nature requiert guerredon
- 70 D'amour, d'amistié et de don.  
 Orgueil en fait la destourbance,  
 Ingratitute qui balance  
 Et ne mesure justement,  
 Ains mesure malvaisement.

42. cilz *L*, icis *P*, cil *b*, celui propre hom *c*.43. gari *L b*.46. deuorer *b*, deuorer *c*.47. oez *L b*, ouez *c*.50. sencline *P b c*.58. li pueple qui qui cilz *P*.61. ont scu *P*.63. est *b*.66. oubili *P*.69-78. om. *b c*.

- 75 Il n'est homme pieur de li  
 Qui le bien a enseveli,  
 Ne n'en fait après nuls samblant  
 Et courtesie vet emblant.

## XLI. DE EQVO ET LEONE

(*Illustration*)

- Tondet equus pratum, petit hunc leo, causa leonem  
 Hec monet, ut fiat esca leonis equus.  
 Inquit equo: 'Mi frater, aue, fruor arte medendi,  
 Et comes et medicus sum tibi.' Paret equus.  
 5 Sentit equus fraudes et fraudi fraude resistit;  
 Mente prius texens recia fraudis ait:  
 'Quesitus placitusque uenis, te temporis offert  
 Gracia, te rogitat pes michi sente grauis.'  
 Hic fauet, instat equus, subiecto uertice calcem  
 10 Imprimat et sopit membra leonis equus.  
 Vix fugit ille sopor, uix audet uita reuerti,  
 Vix leo colla mouens respicit, hostis abit.  
 Sic leo se dampnat: 'Patior pro crimine penam,  
 Nam gessi speciem pacis et hostis eram.'  
 Moralitas  
 15 Quod non es, non esse uelis, quod es, esse fatere;  
 Est male quod non est, qui negat esse quod est.  
 Addicio  
 Deuiet a desiderio professio numquam;  
 Aspernante statum gaudet abesse status.  
 Circumspectus herus obsistit simplicitati,  
 20 Atque dolum reprimat calliditate sua.

### 41. Du cheval qui mata le lion.

Uns chevaux malades paissoit  
 En un pré ou un lion passoit

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. equus P. leonum L.             | 14. speciam P.                                  |
| 2. Hoc B P.                       | 15. est P. face L.                              |
| 3. arce MSS.                      | 17. Demet MSS. corr Heruieux.                   |
| 6. texens B P.                    | 18. stantum P.                                  |
| 8. pedes P.                       | 19. Circumspectus L-un-P.                       |
| 9. caltem MSS.                    | 20. calliditate L.                              |
| 11. uie>uix B uite P. reuertit P. | 1. estoit a c.                                  |
| 12. Uux ?>Uix B. monens B P.      | 2. ou om. a b; paissoit a; la ou il paissoit c; |
| 13. pacior B P.                   |   |



- Lès le pré, qui grant fain avoit,  
 Si pense quant le cheval voit  
 5 Que il en fera sa cuisine;  
 Vers li va, si s'en accuseine  
 Et li dit: Frere, Dieus vous saut.  
 Je sai mout bien que il vous faut;  
 Pour trop bon mire suis tenus,  
 10 Si sui de Salerne venus  
 Pour vous garir de vostre mal.—  
 Enginier cuide le cheval,  
 Et dit: Je vuil estre, biau sire,  
 Vostre compains et vostre mire.—  
 15 Le cheval, qui le barat sent,  
 A ce que il li dit s'assent;  
 Toutevoies estude et pense  
 A trouver sa bonne deffense,  
 Et a celli grever et nuire  
 20 Qui est venus pour li destruire.  
 Si le redotoit par paroles  
 Qui li lance douces et moles:  
 Bien puissiés vous venir, biau sire,  
 Grant mestier avoie de mire;  
 25 Or vous a Dieu ci envoyé,  
 Car trop malement m'a plaïé  
 Une ronce qui me bleça  
 Ou pié derrieres par deça.—  
 Hauce le pié et cils regarde  
 30 Qui dou barat ne se prent garde,  
 Ains cuide celui bareter  
 Et prendre au pié et arrester,  
 Si encline sa teste aval.  
 Savés donc que fit le cheval?  
 35 Du pié le fiert si durement  
 Qu'il l'envoie leïs dormant  
 Si qu'a poine esveillier se puet;  
 A bien pou mourir ne l'estuet,  
 Ne mouvoir membre que il ait.  
 40 Le cheval le lesse et s'en vait.

3. Le lion qui *P*.6. li sen na *L*; accoïsine *L*, accousine *P a b c*.21. redoutoit *L P*, redrecoit *a*, redécoipt *b*,  
redécoit *c*.26. plaie ma *P*.36. les lui *P*, la *a*, illuec *b*, a terre *c*.

- Quant cils revint de pamison  
 Si se condempne par raison  
 Et dit: J'é souffert ce meschief,  
 A bon droit m'en est venus grief.
- 45 Je me fesoie ses amis,  
 Et si li estoie ennemis.—  
 La moralité.
- Tel com on est se doit l'on faire;  
 Mès maintes gens font le contraire.  
 Qui vult de sa profession
- 50 Faire fainte devision,  
 Drois est que douleur et meschief  
 Li reviegne dessus son chief.  
 Le saige homme par son savoir  
 Tricherie ne puet avoir;
- 55 Car cils ne fait pas tricherie  
 Qui a bareter s'estudie,  
 Pour le bareteur dechevoir.  
 Ainssi le treuve l'en de voir  
 Ou livre de droit et canon;
- 60 Le decret de digeste a non.

## XLII. DE EQVO ET ASELO

(*Illustration*)

- Gaudet equus faleris, freno sellaue superbit,  
 Ista quidem uestit aureus arma nitor.  
 Obstat asellus equo, uicus premit artus asellum,  
 Vexat onus, tardat natus eundo labor.
- 5 Quod sibi claudit iter, sonipes inclamat asello:  
 'Occurris domino, uilis aselle, tuo?  
 Vix tibi do ueniam de tanti crimine fastus,  
 Cui uia danda fuit libera, dignus eram.'  
 Supplicat ille minis tutusque timore silendo,

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 41. pameison <i>L</i> , panmoison <i>a b</i> .                      | 1. faloris <i>L</i> . cella <i>B P</i> .                                   |
| 43. iai <i>P</i> , jay <i>a b c</i> .                               | 2. neacit . . . timor <i>MSS</i> .   |
| 47. follows 48 in <i>B L P</i> ; 48 follows 47 in<br><i>a b c</i> . | 3. asellus <i>B P</i> . uitus <i>MSS</i> . asellum<br><i>B P</i> .         |
| 49-60. om. <i>a b c</i> .   | 4. ouus <i>L</i> . tardet <i>P</i> . eundo <i>B P</i> emundo<br><i>L</i> . |
| 49. vuest <i>L</i> .  | 5. assello <i>B P</i> .  |
| 50. division <i>L</i> .   | 6. asello <i>L</i> aselle <i>B P</i> .                                     |
| 58. Aussi <i>L</i> .  | 7. te > de <i>B</i> .  |
| 60. decet det digeste <i>L</i> .                                    | 8. Cum <i>P</i> . nimis <i>MSS</i> . timor <i>P</i> .                      |
| tit. assello <i>B P</i> .   | 11. Summis <i>L</i> .  |

- 10 Tucior et tuta preterit aure minas.  
Summus equi declinat honor, dum uincere temptat  
Vincitur et cursum uiscera rupta negant.  
Priuatur faleris, freno priuatur honesto,  
Hunc premit assiduo reda cruenta iugo.
- 15 Huic tergum macies acuit, labor ulcerat armos;  
Hunc uidet inque iocos audet asellus inners:  
'Dic, sodes, ubi sella nitet, ubi nobile frenum,  
Cur est hec macies, cur fugit ille nitor?  
Cur manet hic gemitus, cur illa superbia fugit?
- 20 Vindicat elatos digna ruina gradus.  
Stare diu nec honor nec uis nec forma nec etas  
Sufficit, in mundo plus tamen ista placent.  
Viue diu, set uiue miser, sociosque minores  
Disce pati, risum dat tua uita michi.'

## Moralitas

- 25 Pennatis ne crede bonis, te nulla potestas  
In miseros armet, nam miser esse potes.

## Addicio

- Ludit in humanis diuina potencia rebus,  
Et subito casu que ualuere ruunt.  
Subdola comminuit fortuna nigerrima nullum,  
30 Ni fecunda sibi dulcia mella dedit.  
Qui nimis exaltat se confundetur in ymis;  
Impreceps instabilis uane superbit homo.

## Moralitas

- Cum fortuna uolet, fiet de rethore consul,  
Cum uolet hoc eadem, fiet de consule rethor.  
35 Ludus fortunae mutatur ymagine lune,  
Omnes irridet lubrica ceca suos.

13. phaleris *B P*.  
14. assignuo *B P assignuo L*.  
15. Hinc *P*. ulterat *B P*.  
16. assellus *B P*. in hors *L*.  
17. Dic que sedens *MSS*. nobille *P*.  
18. maties *L*. uitor *P* nictor *L*.  
19. genitus *L*.  
21. uis ne . . . estas *P*.  
22. in *om. L*.  
27. Ludis *B P*. diurna *B*.  
29. ingerrima *MSS*. (>nigerrima *B L m*.  
2).  
30. Ir *L*.

31. uiuus *B P Heruius nmus L*. in *om L*  
add. m. 2. ymus *P*.

33, 34. after *Juvenal*, *Sat. VII 197 f*.  
*Si Fortuna uolet, fiet (v. l. fiet) de rethore consul*;  
*Si uolet haec eadem, fiet (v. l. fiet) de consule rethor.*  
ualet *MSS*. (>uolet *BL*).  
rethore *P*. rethore *Heruius*.

34. uelit >uolet *L*. (-o in *erasure B*). nolet  
*Heruius*. cadem *MSS*. (>eadem *B*). rechor  
*P*. rethor *Heruius*.

35. inuitatur *L*.

36. cura >ceca *L m. 2*.

## 42. Du biau cheval et de l'asne pelé.

- Uns biaux chevaus et gros et lés,  
 Bien enfrenés, bien enselés,  
 Une estroite rue avaloit.  
 Un asne devant lui aloit  
 5 Tout bellement le petit pas,  
 Car tost aler ne pooit pas  
 Pour son travail et pour son feis:  
 Qu'est ce regarde que tu feis  
 A ton seigneur, dit le chevals,  
 10 Que la voie clorre li viaus?  
 Chetive beste malotrue,  
 A pou ce va que ne te tue  
 Sans avoir pitié ne merci,  
 Qui me destourbes que par ci  
 15 N'aille et m'enpesches ma voie;  
 Bien sui tieux que passer y doie  
 Et a cui l'en doit-donner place.—  
 Li asnes qui oit la menace  
 Soupploie et se test et escoute,  
 20 Samblant fait que ne voit nulle goute.  
 A unes joustes qui pres furent  
 Cils chevaus et autres coururent,  
 Mès cils qui orgueilleus et gros  
 Estoit, ala tant comme fols,  
 25 Et tant travailla et courut  
 Qu'a bien pou que il n'en morut.  
 Tant ala qu'il fu tous deros,  
 Et si perdu tropt et galos.  
 A grant painne aidier se puet;  
 30 A charrette mettre l'estuet,  
 Si ne l'avoit il pas apris

*nit.* Dou cheval biau *L*.

1. *this fable om. a;* Uns chux grant et *b*;  
*instead of this verse c has:* Un destrier qui  
 estoit tres beaux Et qui bien faisoit ses  
 aueaux Un jour sestoit appareilliez.

7. *fes L, fais b c.*

8-10. *c substitutes 5 verses.*

9. chevaus *L*.

10. Qui *L b*; viaux *b*.

12. A po ua q' *L*, A bien pou que je ne *b c*.

14. Que *L c*, Tu *b*, Qui raie *P*.

15. la uoie *L*.

17. plaise *P*.

18. ot *P b*, oy *c*.

19. Sapploie et set cest *L*, taist *b c*.

20. ne *om. L P*; q'l ne voye goute *b*, que il  
 voye goute *c*; *two verses inserted c.*

24. fos *L P*.

25. travilla *B*, traveilla *L b*.

27. toust deroust *P*, tout derouz *b*, tout  
 roux *c*.

28. perdi trop *L*, perdi tropt *P*, perdist  
 et troz *b*, perdy et trop et galoux *c*.

29-36. *ten verses substituted c.*

31. aprins *L b*.

- Com cils qui seaust estre de pris.  
 Or est li fols outrecuidiés  
 De frain et de selle vuidiés;  
 35 Le dos ot maigre et aguisié  
 Du mauvès hernois pertruisié.  
 Li asnes qui passoit la voie  
 Le vit, si en ot mout grant joie,  
 Et en riënt li prist a dire:  
 40 Par amours dites moi, biau sire,  
 Ou est ton frain, ou est ta selle  
 Qui tant estoit mignotte et belle?  
 Ne comment estes vous si maigres  
 Qui l'autrier estiés si aigres  
 45 Que par un pou ne m'occelstes?  
 Or estes devenus si tristes.  
 Qu'est vostre grant orguiau devenu?  
 Comment vous est ce avenu?  
 Esté avés a mauvès change.  
 50 Vostre meschance bien me vange  
 Des moes que tu demenoies.  
 Mès toutevoies certains soies  
 Durer ne pueent longuement  
 Honneur ne biautés ensement,  
 55 Ne force autresi ne jonesce  
 En homme nuls, et si est ce.  
 Qui plus ores au monde pleist  
 Or vif chetif tant con te leist.  
 Vif en douleur et en martire  
 60 Tant que j'en puisse assés rire.  
 Aprent comment foi et honneur  
 Doit porter le grant au meneur.—  
 La moralité.  
 En fortune nuls ne se fist,  
 Ne n'ait le chetif en despit;  
 65 Car tieux est riche homme ore  
 Qui chetif estre puet encore.

32. seult *b*.  
 36. pertuisie *L b*, pertuissie *P*.  
 39. priast *L c*, print *P b*.  
 46. tristes *L P*.  
 47. vo grant orgueil *P b*, le *c*.  
 51. Des granz motz que vous meniez *b*,  
 moez que meniez *c*.

55. leusnece *L*.  
 56. ainsi *c*.  
 57-58. *om. c*.  
 58. cō te lest *L*, tant quil te plaist *b*.  
 61. Apren *L P b c*.  
 64. naist *L*, nest *P*.

- Quant voudra madame Fortune,  
 Qui est variable, non une,  
 Fera d'un petit plaideeur  
 70 Ou un consul ou empereur;  
 Et quant voudra tout le contraire,  
 D'un consul pou en saura faire.  
 Car le jeu de dame Fortune  
 Est muable comme la lune;  
 75 Maintenant a visaige d'ange  
 Et puis après tantost le change,  
 Et est aussi espoventable  
 Con ce fust un acrous dyable.  
 Maintenant aus siens elle rit  
 80 Et ses biens tantost encherit;  
 De povreté est couronnés  
 Cils qui les ot abandonnés.  
 Povretés si fort la guerroie  
 Qu'eschac et mat li dit enroie.  
 85 En jouant es choses se lance  
 Et les avancies desavance,  
 Et les choses met en ruine  
 Qui sambloient de grant ourine,  
 Et aval les fait frandillier,  
 90 Les lesse fouler et pillier.  
 Fortune la grant moqueresse  
 Nelui parfaitement ne blesce,  
 Mès que celui qu'a deceit;  
 Qui a trop souefment beü,  
 95 Trop a esté souef nourri,  
 Qui en ses biens s'est asourri,  
 Et qui si est trop volutés,  
 Or est maintenant abutés;  
 Car de joie vient a douleur,  
 100 Si mue la dame couleur.  
 Garnie elle est de double face;  
 L'un chace hors et l'autre embrace,

67-122. *om. b c.*70. empereur *L P.*70, 72. conseil *P.*72. poure saure *L.*75. dangle *L.*76. apres apres *P.*77. aussi aussi *P.*78. de diables *P.*79. elle *om. P.*84. eschec and mat leur dit enroye *P.*  
enrey *L.*85. es eches ce *P.*94. souement *L.*96. cest asouui *P.*

- L'un amignote, l'autre baise,  
 L'un muert de fain, l'autre est tout aise.  
 105 Ce est nature sans raison,  
 Pou se tient en une saison.  
 Saiges est qui bien pou s'i fie  
 Et saiges est qui se humilie;  
 Car il sera puis essaucié,  
 110 En haut du petit lieu haucié.  
 Et qui se vuet trop essaucier,  
 Puis ne vaudra pas un sautier;  
 Ne par aventure un soufflet  
 N'aura pas vaillant un moufflet.  
 115 Qui devant manjoit eschaudés  
 Or a perdu le sien au dés.  
 Qui manjoit devant les bons morsiaus  
 Maintenant garde les pourciaus.  
 Ceci Courtois bien esprouva  
 120 Quant le siecle tel y trouva.  
 Cy fait qui se fie en cest ciecle  
 Pou y trouve l'en juste riegle.

### XLIII. DE VVLPE ET LVPO

(*Illustration*)

- Ditat preda lupum, ducit lupus ocia longo  
 Facta cibo, uulpes inuidet, ista monens:  
 'Frater, aue, miror cur tanto tempore mecum  
 Non fueris, nequeo non memor esse tui.'  
 5 Ille refert: 'Pro me uigilet tua cura; precari  
 Numina non cesses, ne mea uita ruat.  
 Fraude tamen munita uenis, falsoque uenenum  
 Melle geris, dolor est copia nostra tibi.  
 Extorquere paras aliquid, furtumque minaris,  
 10 Sed mea furtiuam respuit esca gulam.'  
 Spreta redit, spretam stimulat dolor, apta dolori

111. veust *L*, vult *P*.

112. ne vendra ia un *P*.

116. aus dez *L*.

117. les *om. L*.

119. Cf. list of names, p. 259.

121. siegle *L*.

2. inudet *P*. inuudet *L*. mouens *L P*.

5. uigilat *B L* uigillat *P*. cura *om. L*.

6. Munera nunc *MSS*.

7. muniti > munita *L* = 2.

9. frucum *P*.

10. furtinam *L*.

11. redi *P*. doloris *B L* (-loris in *eras L*).

1. Sicut *L*. predat *P*. occia *MSS*.

- Fraus subit, ad pecorum transuolat illa ducem.  
 Hunc monet hiis uerbis: 'Tua gracia muneris instar  
 Sit michi, namque lupum dat mea cura tibi.  
 15 Hostem perde tuum, tuto iacet hostis in antro.'  
 Vir fauet, antra petunt, hic necat ense lupum.  
 Illa lupi consumit opes, set floret ad horam  
 Vita nocens; uulpes casse retenta gemit:  
 'Cur nocui? Nocet ecce michi nocuisse nociuo;  
 20 Iure cado, cuius concidit arte lupus.'  
 Moralitas  
 Viuere de rapto uitam rapit, inuidus instans  
 Alterius dampnis in sua dampna redit.  
 Addicio  
 Qui laqueare studet alios dictamine fraudis,  
 Fraus ioculanter eis obuia sepe uenit.  
 25 Fraude retrusa cadit res inuida, conscia fraudis;  
 Liuida res fraudis recia sepe subit.

#### 43. De Renart et du loup.

- Sire Ysangrin le connestable  
 Jadis estoit, ce dit la fable,  
 A grant repos en sa maison.  
 Assés avoit char et poisson,  
 5 Pain et vin et autre viande,  
 Telle com ses ventres demande.  
 Renart, qui menjast volentiers,  
 Par ces bois et par ces santiers  
 Chaçoit, si est venus tout droit  
 10 La ou ses comperes estoit.  
 Au saluer son chapiau tret  
 Et demande: Comment vous vet,  
 Comperes, qu'avés vous eü?  
 Avés vous malades jell?  
 15 Que ne vous vi si grant pieç'a.—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 12. Faus MSS. transua lat P.             | 23. lequeare P. dittamine MSS. corr.          |
| 14. Sic B P.                             | Hervicus.                                     |
| 15. prande . . . antro MSS.              | 24. poculanter MSS. (-ll-P). oina P.          |
| 16. autra MSS. uetat L.                  | 25. Fraudere trusa P recrusa L.               |
| 17. flores > floret L (m. 2 f).          | 2. flabe P.                                   |
| 19. notui B P. esse L. notino B.         | 7. Regnart a b c (so 17, 26, 35, 47, 56, 63). |
| 20. ciuins B ciuius P rimus ? > cinius ? | 10. verse om. b.                              |
| L m. 2.                                  | 14. geu L a b c.                              |
| 21. inridus L.                           | 15. piece a a b c.                            |



- Ysangrin un pou se dreça,  
 Si a respondu a Renart:  
 Biaux comperes, se Dieus me gart,  
 Je suis haitiés et suis tout aise.  
 20 Ne me faut chose qui me plaise,  
 Ne don je doie avoir envie.  
 Mès priés Dieu qu'il vous doint vie.  
 Non pour quant je me vuil gueitier,  
 Car tu viens pour moi baretier.  
 25 Si me convient garder de toi.—  
 Non fais, dit Renart, par ma foi,  
 Ne demande mès que je truisse  
 De quoi desgeuner me puisse.  
 Donnés moi, biaux tres dous compere;  
 30 Que Dieu ait l'ame de vostre mere  
 Et vous mette en bonne semaine.  
 Je n'ay mie viande saine  
 Ne qui a tel larron affiere;  
 Ja n'en metras en ta gouffiere.—  
 35 Renart voit ce, si s'en retourne,  
 Et s'en vet que point ne sejourne  
 A un vilain que bien savoit  
 Que le loup en hayne avoit:  
 Esparne moi, dit il, boier,  
 40 Et tu en auras tel loier  
 Que le loup ton grant annemi  
 Auras a l'alde de mi;  
 Je le te bailleré de voir,  
 Et tu en faces ton devoir.  
 45 Je vois avant et tu après,  
 Je le te monsterré de pres.—  
 Vont s'en Renart et le boier.  
 Ysangrin qui en son foier  
 Gisoit et seisoit sus le coute

16. se leva *a b*.

19. Aincois suis bien haitiez et ayse *a*,  
 Ains sui haitie et bien a aise *b*, Je suis saing  
 haitiez et bien aise *c*.

20. Ne faut *L*.

24. pour moy mal traitier *a*.

29. Donnez men *a b c*.

30. et lame de vo mere *P*, lame vre pere *L*,  
 mere *a*, pere *b c*.

33. Se dit le lou qui vous afiere *c*.

34. gomfiere *L*, en goutte fiere *a b c*.

35. voit sen *P*, Quant regnart oit ce *a*,  
 Regnart sen va *c*.

36. Ne plus yllecques ne *c*.

39. Espargne *L*; bouier *P a*, bouvier *b c*.

42. a li de *P*.

44. om. *B P a*; Gardes que faces *c*.

47. bôuuiier *P b c*.

- 50 Et de ce point n'estoit en doubte,  
 Oncques garde ne se donna,  
 Que cils qui mot ne li sonna  
 Li courru sus l'espee traite  
 Dont il li a tel plaie faite
- 55 Que Ysangrin morir en convint.  
 Renart a la viande vint,  
 Si en menja bien y assés,  
 Tant qu'il en dut estre lassés;  
 Puis vesqui a tout son barat
- 60 Dou corps en assés bon estat.  
 Mès qui barat vuet demener  
 Ne puet pas longuement regner,  
 Car a Renart puis meschief.  
 Avint qu'en un resiau chei
- 65 Ou du tout l'estuet demourer.  
 Si se prist a tart a plourer  
 Et dist: Las, pourquoi ai je neü  
 Et mon compere deceü!  
 Tout nuissit autrui, et gi'é
- 70 De li nuire fait grant pechié  
 Quant ainsi le fis decevoir.—  
 La moralité.  
 Bien doi meschief apercevoir  
 Cils qui veut autrui enlacier,  
 Et li dommaiges pourchacier;
- 75 Cheir pourra bien emmi le las,  
 Et dira lors: Helas! helas!  
 Quant pourchace a autrui moleste  
 Bien doit revenir sus ma teste.  
 Je doi trop bien cheoir es rois
- 80 Qui pourchace a autrui desrois.

50. *dobte B.*  
 53. *courru L, courut P.*  
 56. *Renars a, Regnart b c.*  
 57. *bien et assez L, bien et ases P.*  
 60. *a asses P.*  
 64. *resiar B, que uns resiaus L, Comment*  
*quen un roisseau a, ruisseau b, Tant que en*  
*un grant ruissel c.*  
 66. *se prinst tart L.*  
 69. *nuissist a L, Tout nuisist il autre ay*  
*je a b, Tout just il de mae entechie c.*

70. *De lui nuyre ay fait c.*  
 73. *receptoir a, avoir b c.*  
 73-80. *om. a b c, four other verses sub-*  
*stituted:*  
*Vivre de rapine et de toste*  
*La vie au ravisseur oste*  
*Qui dommaige a autrui pourchace*  
*Souvent recoit ce quil chace*  
*(pourchace a).*  
 75. *bien om. L.*

## XLIV. DE CERVO SICIENTE

(Illustration)

- Fons nitet argento similis, sitis arida ceruum  
 Huc rapit, haurit aquas, se speculatur aquis.  
 Hunc beat, hunc mulcet ramosa gloria frontis;  
 Hunc premit, hunc ledit tibia macra pedum.  
 5 Ecce canis, tonat ira canum, timet ille, timenti  
 Fit fuga, culpatis cruris adoratur opem.  
 Silue claustra subit, cornu retinente moratur,  
 Fiunt causa grauis cornua longa necis.  
 Moralitas  
 Spernere quod prosit et amare quod obsit ineptum est;  
 10 Prodest quod fugimus et quod amamus obest.  
 Addicio  
 Dampna tibi queris si spreueris utilitatem;  
 Dum locus affuerit, utile quere tacens.  
 Utilitas opibus preferri tempore debet;  
 Si te delectant dulcia, pone modum.

## 44. Du cerf morant de soif.

- Un grant cerf las que soif tenoit,  
 Boire a la fontaine venoit,  
 S'embut assés et volentiers  
 Et remira en dementiers  
 5 En l'iaue ses cornes et teste.  
 Mout en fait grant joie et grant feste  
 Et moult se loe et mout se prise,  
 Mès de l'autre part trop desprise  
 Ses megres jambes et ses piés;  
 10 De l'un se duet, de l'autre est liés.  
 Le cerf illuec plus ne sejourne,  
 Au bois arriere s'en retourne,  
 Ou il orra telles nouueles  
 Qui ne li seront mie beles;  
 15 Car ou bois avoit veneeurs,  
 Chiens y avoit et coureurs,

1. Pons L (f in margin m. 2). sicias L.

2. Hinc B P Hic L.

3. leat MSS. multet B P.

6. Sic MSS. (&gt; fit L m 2).

8. lingua B P. nescis P.

9. premit L P.

11. utilitatem B.

12. affueris P.

2. aloit L.

5. et sa teste P a b.

13. aura a, oy c.

- Qui ne li pleist pas a oïr.  
 Qui donc veïst le cerf fouïr,  
 Il ne le deïst pas blasmer.  
 20 Or doit il bien ses piés amer;  
 Ne li vont ore pas ennuiant.  
 Mès si comme il s'en va fuiant,  
 Ou bois espès s'en est venus,  
 Par ses cornes est retenus  
 25 Et arrestés en tieu maniere  
 Que il ne puet ne avant ne arriere.  
 Par ses cornes la mort reçoit,  
 Qui a ses piés se courreçoit,  
 Qui sauvé et gueri l'eüssent  
 30 Se ses longues cornes ne fussent.  
 La moralité.  
 Nuls ne doit chose despiter  
 Qui puet valoir et profiter,  
 Ne chose ausi chiere tenir  
 Dont dommaige li puet venir.  
 35 Souvent fuions ce qui nous vaut  
 Et de nostre bien ne nous chaut;  
 Et qui te porte utilité  
 Ne dois pas avoir en vité.  
 Ne quier pas toujours ton plaisir  
 40 Profiter et estuet taisir,  
 Par ce vendras tu a richesce.  
 Ne te tiengne nulle perece.  
 Se tu vues tousjours deliter  
 Et toute cusantion geter,  
 45 Et mener vie delitable,  
 Un grans despens et grande table,  
 Et tu n'i mès atempement,  
 Sois certains et croi fermement  
 Tart te sera du repentir;  
 50 De ceci ne te vuil mentir.  
 Atrempe toi selonc ta rente  
 Que povretés ne t'aggrave.

21. pas ore *LP a*, ore *om. b*, pas lors *c*.

23. Un *B L*, En un *a b c*, folio torn *P*.

26. Qualer ne puet auant narriere *L*, Ne  
puet aler *a (b c = B)*.

30. La moralite *om. L*.

35. vaust *L*, faut *P*.

37-60. *om. a b c*.

40. et toy taisier *P*, et taisir *L*.

45. Ne mener *P*.

47. atrempeement *L*.

- Ne te fie pas en acroire  
 Ne en pompes ne en vaine gloire.  
 55 De l'autrui ne te fai si gobes  
 N'en viandes, n'en belles robes,  
 Car il convient l'escot paier.  
 Pour ce te dois bien esmaier  
 Quant despens plus que n'as assés.  
 60 Ces dis ne soient trespasés.

#### XLV. DE PVGNA QVADRVPEDVM ET AVIVM

(*Illustration*)

- Quadrupedes pignant auibus, uictoria nutat,  
 Spes onerata metu uexat utrumque gregem.  
 Linquit aues que sumit auis de uespere nomen,  
 Non timet oppositi castra iuuare chori.  
 5 Armat aues aquile uirtus, et uiribus implet  
 Et monitu; torpet altera turba metu.  
 Amplexatur aues ulnis uictoria letis;  
 Pro titulo penam transfuga sentit auis.  
 Vellere nuda suo pro plumis uulnera uestit,  
 10 Edictumque subit ne nisi nocte uolet.  
 Moralitas  
 Non bonus est ciuis qui prefert ciuibus hostem,  
 Vitiliter seruit nemo duobus heris.  
 Addicio  
 Claudicat in binas partes quadriga dolosi;  
 Allicit et prodit, mordet et ungit herum.  
 15 Nemo potest dominis pariter seruire duobus;  
 Diligit unum plus, occidit alter herus.

#### 45. De la bataille des bestes et oisiaus.

Les bestes anciennement  
 Emprindrent un tournoiemment  
 Contre tous les oisiaus qui sont

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 60. nescient P.                                    | 9. nescit B P uescit L.                     |
| 2. honorata P. utraque MSS.                        | 10. note P. uolat MSS.                      |
| 4. oppositi B P.                                   | 12. eris P.                                 |
| 5. Arment B P. [auis>aues B. ueribus MSS. iplet L. | 13. biyas L. parces B.                      |
| 7. uluis L. uittoria B. lecis L lectis P.          | 14. Allicit B.                              |
|  | 15. diuinis>dotinis (for dominis ?) L m. 2. |

- Ne qui pour voler plumes ont.  
 5 Grant et fiere fu la bataille,  
 Longuement dure ains qu'elle faille;  
 Nuls n'en scet encores la voire  
 Liquieux doit avoir la victoire.  
 Madame la chauve-souris,  
 10 Qui se doubta que li peris  
 Vers les oisiaus deüst tourner,  
 Ne vault a euls plus sejourner;  
 Ains se tourna de l'autre part  
 Et dit que des oisiaus se part,  
 15 Pour ce que samble mout bien beste  
 De piés et de groin et de teste.  
 Si vient aidier ses anemis;  
 Mès li aigles grant force a mis  
 En conforter et ralier  
 20 Sa gent et en elles aidier.  
 Si leur mist si bon cuer ou ventre  
 Pour ce que es batailles entre,  
 Si tres fierement se combatent  
 Que l'orgueil des bestes abatent.  
 25 Tant y maillent et tant y fierent  
 Que par force tous les conquerent;  
 Ne se puet contre tenir  
 Les bestes, tant saichent venir.  
 Leurs plesirs en font a leur guise.  
 30 La chauve-souris y fu prise,  
 De ses plumes la desvetirent  
 Et tant fusterent et batirent  
 Pour ce que d'euls s'en fu alee,  
 Que demoura noire et pelee.  
 35 La condempna toute la cours  
 Que ne voulast jamais de jours.  
 La moralité.  
 Fols est qui pour ses anemis  
 Lait ses voisins ne ses amis,

6. avant *P*.7. le *P* *b*, de voir *c*.12. vost *L*, vout *P* *c*, voust ou elles *a*,  
veult en eulx *b*.16. et *after* piés *om. L*.19. A conforter *P*.21. es ventres *a* *b*; Et leur donne tres grant  
confort *c*.22. Que il comme hardiz et entres *a* (hardi  
y *b*), Com cil qui est hardy et fort *c*.27. pueent *L* *P*, peuent *a* *b* *c*.34. plumee *a*.36. volast *L* *P* *a* *c*; ne *om. L*; La moralite  
*om. L*.

- Et si voit on que uns homs seus  
 40 Ne puet pas bien servir a deus.  
 Cils qui a soi savoir acroche  
 Regarde de quel pié l'en cloche.  
 Qui avés les fraudes basties  
 Ne clochiés pas de deus parties.  
 45 L'en sieut dire communement  
 Qu'am ne puet servir doublement;  
 Il convient l'un d'euls plus amer,  
 Riens n'i puet l'autre reclamer.

# XLVI. DE PHILOMENA ET ACCIPITRE

(Illustration)

- Dum philomena sedet, studium monet oris amenum  
 Sic sibi, sic nido uisa placere suo.  
 Impetit accipiter nidum, pro pignore mater  
 Supplicat, alter ait: 'Plus prece carmen amo.  
 5 Nec prece nec precio, set ameno flectere cantu  
 Me potes.' Ille silet, doctius illa canit.  
 Mente gemit, licet ore canat, mens eius acescit,  
 Cuius mellifluum stillat ab ore melos.  
 Impia fatur auis: 'Sordet modus iste canoris,'  
 10 Et laniat natum, matre uidente, suum.  
 Mater obit, nec obire potest, sic uiuit ut ipsam  
 Vincat uita necem, plus nece cladis habens.  
 Cor matris patitur plus nati corpore; corpus  
 Rodit auis rostro, cor fodit ipse dolor.  
 15 Vestigat sua pena scelus, nam fraudibus uso  
 Aucupe fraudosam uiscus inescat auem.

## Moralitas

Fine malo claudi mala uita meretur iniquus;  
 Qua capit insomptes se dolet arte capi.

39. dit on a (b) c.

41-48. om. a b c.

46. follows 48 in L.

47. lun des lij. plus P.

tit. ancipitre B P ancipite L.

2. Sit P. tibi B P. platero L.

3. Impetret B P. accipiter MSS.

4. Supplicat P.

7. meus P. accessit MSS.

8. mellifluunt MSS. (>-uum B). mellos P.

9. factur P.

10. amat L.

11. uiuat MSS.

12. Vincat nittat . . . necce L.

14. Rodis P.

16. Aucupe fraudosam B. festus MSS.

17. uita om. L. add. m. 2. iniquis L.

18. caput P. artem B P arce L.

## Addicio

- Attrahit ad finem dulcorosum bona uita,  
 20 Et male finire pessima uita facit.  
 Corruet in fine fallax, mendax, nec ei spes  
 Genti pro speculo dimidiare dies.

## 46. Du roissinol et de l'ostoir.

- Li rosignols qui si bien chante  
 Son ni fait avoit sus une ante.  
 O ses oiseillons se seoit,  
 Ce li pleissoit mout et seoit  
 5 A veoir ses rossignolés;  
 Si chantoit lès ses oiselés.  
*Mais* Mès en pou d'eure est courrouciés,  
 Car li oistours gieta ses piés, *snaves*  
 S'enpourta un de ses enfans;  
*Then* 10 Adoncques li failli ses chans, *good*  
 Et prie que ycils li rende;  
 Mès cils dit qu'a chanter entende,  
 Car saiche il qu'il aura plus chiere  
 Sa chançon qu'il n'a sa priere:  
*Neve* 15 Jamès ne me flechiroit tant *persuade*  
 Don ne priere comme chant.—  
*phioP* Cils qui au larron plaie cuide  
 Met a chanter toute s'estuide,  
 Tout ait il au cuer dolour grant.  
 20 L'ostouer li a dit: Ton chant  
 Ne vaut mès riens ne ne m'en chaut.—  
 Lors de l'oiselet se pet haut,  
 Devant sa mere le deveure, *eat*  
 Qui forment en gemist et pleure.  
 25 Mout se complaint, mout se demente,  
 La mort son fils plus la tourmente,

19. Attrahit MSS. corr. *Harvianum*. dulcoro-  
 sum L.

21. Cornuta > Corruet L m. 2. mendax  
 B P mandax L.

*tit.* Dou rocinol et de loistour L.

1. rosignols L.

2. branche b.

7. duere L.

8. oitours gita L.

9-12. six verses substituted c.

10. li perdi son sans P, lena il a, lena cil

b.

13. quil laura B, qui aura P, que il a a b.

15-22. om. c, two verses substituted.

20. Loistour L.

21. vaust L; me plaist a b (c).

22. pest L; Adonc de loyselet se paist a b  
 (c).

23. son pere c.



- Par un pou, que ne fait le fils;  
 Bien vousist que tous li perils  
 Fust en li et tous li dommaiges.
- 30 Tant sont et pere et mere saiges  
 Que pour ceuls qui d'euls ne font force  
 Mettent et nouel et escorce.  
 Nuls mauls despunis ne demeure  
 Que punis ne soit en quelque eure;
- 35 Puis fust cils qui l'oisel deçut  
 Pris a la glus, dont il morut.  
 La moralité.
- A poignes a nuls bon finement  
 Qui vivre vuet mauvairement.  
 La bonne vie a bonne fin;
- 40 Bien mourra qui vit de cuer fin,  
 Et cils qui vit mauvairement  
 Aura mauvais definement.  
 Le tricheur, le mençongier  
 Ne porra tant les mauls ongier
- 45 Que il puisse avoir la mittié  
 De ses jours amour ne amittié.

## XLVII. DE LVPO ET MVTONE

(Illustration)

Addicio

- Morbi mole lupus premitur superosque precatur,  
 Vt sibi non sano subsidiare uelint.  
 Curritur in uota lacrimis fluuiialibus ortis,  
 Ac esum carnis deuouet inde lupus.
- 5 Obuius ecce lupo ueruex ipsumque salutat;  
 Cui lupus inquit: 'Aue, salmoque pinguis, aue.'  
 'Non sum, mi domine, salmo, set fertilis agnus,  
 Nam mea progenies non bene natat aquis.'  
 Cui lupus obliquis oculis: 'Michi salmo uideris.'

27. Qua pou quill nen rage tous vifs c.

32. noel P, noel a b, noyel c.

39-46. om. a b c.

39. vie om. P.

43. follows 44 P.

44. le maulz engier P.

XLVII Addicio om. L P.

2. uelit L.

3. Curatur. In Robert. fluuiialibus B flumal-

ibus P L corr. Robert. ordis > ortis L m. 2.

4. deuouet B P corr. Robert.

5. Obuiat B L Obuia P corr. Robert.  
 uernex B L.

5. at end pinguis a[ P (= end of l. 6).

6. om. P.

7. sed P Harvieux.

8. acquit P.

9. Tu salmo Robert. mihi Harvieux.

- 10 Tamquam salmonem furcifer ore uorat.  
Moralitas  
Quisquis obesse cupit, fraudis conuicta ministrat;  
Tendit ad infernos uita dolosa gradus.

#### 47. Du loup et du mouton.

- Le mauvès glout sire Ysangrin  
Prist de maladie le frecin,  
Pria Dieu que par sa pitié  
Li fust ycel mal respitié,  
5 Voua que mais ne mengeroit  
De char, ains chartroursiens seroit.  
Les bestes furent asseur,  
De lui n'avoient point pecur.  
Si encontra un gras tenrastre,  
10 Ne l'avoit pas nourri marrastre.  
Quant Ysangrins vit le mouton  
Si le salua le glouton,  
Et li dit: Saumon, Dieu te gart!  
En toi veoir a biau regart.—  
15 Sire loups, tres fers sire bis,  
Je suis li fils d'une brebis,  
Ne ne scé en l'iaue noer,  
Mès convient mes piés emboer.—  
Dit le loup: De ce ne me chaut;  
20 Saumon sambles, par Saint Siquaut,  
Et pour saumon vous mangeré  
Et trestout vous devoureré.—  
Le mauvès loup lors li court seure  
Et en sa gorge le deveure.  
La moralité.  
25 Se aucuns vuet faire et songier fraude,  
La pensee norrit si baude  
Que de malice le convent

10. Tanquam *L P.* fulcifer *B L* fulsifer  
*P* corr. *Robert.*

11 conuicta *B P* conuimetta > conuic[ta]  
*L m.* 2 conuictus *Robert.*

12. inferna *MSS. Robert Harvieu.* gran-  
dus *P.*

1. this fable om. *a b c.*

2. prinst *L P*; fercin *P.*

5. iames *P.*

6. devenroit *P.*

15. fors *L.*

17. say *P.*

21. mengeray *P.*

22. devoureray *P.*

23. courrut *L.*

27. comment *L.*

- Maintient, et pense adès comment  
 Il pourra autrui decevoir,  
 30 Laisse pour fausseté le voir.  
 Mès baras en enfer yra  
 Et tous vis si acroupira;  
 En ce monde ne puet mourir,  
 Car chascuns le vuet secourir.

## XLVIII. DE VIPERA ET LIMA

(Illustration)

- Vipera fabrilem dapis anxia tendit in edem;  
 Incipit hec limam rodere, lima loqui:  
 'Nescis posse meum, que sit mea gloria nescis;  
 Dente meo pateris, non ego dente tuo.  
 5 In tenuem ferrum forti molo dente farinam  
 Et cadit attritu dura farina meo.  
 Ferrea mordaci castigo pondera morsu,  
 Aspera plano, seco, ligna foranda foro.  
 Deliras igitur quia dente minaris inhermi;  
 10 Rideo dum ferior, uulnera ferre gemis.'  
 Moralitas  
 Fortem fortis amet quia fortem fortior angit,  
 Maiori timeat obuius ire minor.  
 Addicio  
 Inferior doctus maiori cedere debet;  
 Maiori semper debitus adsit honor.  
 15 Crede michi satrapas non est offendere tutum,  
 Magnus honoretur discolus atque bonus.

## 48. Du serpent qui rongoit aus dens une sice ou lime.

Une beste qui fain chaçoit  
 De viande se pourchaçoit.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 32. ciz acourpira <i>P.</i>  | 8. plano > plana <i>P.</i> seto <i>MSS.</i> after seto                          |
| 34. vuest soustenir <i>L</i> (a 15th century hand has added in margin secourir). | an erasure in <i>B.</i> ligua <i>B P</i> (> ligna <i>B</i> ). forenda <i>L.</i> |
| 3. necis > nescis <i>L.</i>  | 11. augit <i>MSS.</i>   |
| 5. Inteminem <i>B</i> Inteminam <i>P</i> Inteluem <i>L.</i>                      | 16. honetur > honoretur <i>L m. 2.</i>  |
| molo > melo <i>B</i> mello <i>P.</i> firmam <i>B P.</i> 6 attratu <i>MSS.</i>    | <i>M.</i> Dun serpent q'runçoit au dens vne line <i>P.</i>                      |
| 7. mordati <i>MSS.</i>   | 1. Un culeure <i>a</i> , Un (Une) serpent <i>b</i> ( <i>c</i> ).                |

- En la maison d'un fevre entra,  
 Mès pour mengier n'i encontra  
 5 Qui li vausist une vessie.  
 Aus dens se prent a une sie,  
 Si la commence fort a rungier.  
 Qu'es ce, me vues tu donc mengier?  
 Dit la lime, es tu hors du sen?  
 10 Je ne te doubte, ne ne te sen,  
 Car je suis si fort et si dure  
 Que fers nels a moi ne dure.  
 Ta dent de riens ne me puet nuire,  
 Mès je puis les tiens destruire.  
 15 Bien scé tu ne me cognois mie;  
 Ma dent use le fer et esmie,  
 Et fait farine devenir.  
 Riens ne me puet contre tenir,  
 Pierre, bois ne fer ne acier;  
 20 Je puis tout ronpre et tout percier.  
 Garde donc a quoi tu te esmues,  
 Car tu domagier ne me pues.—  
 Ainsi se remort et reprent  
 De sa folie le serpent.  
 La moralité.  
 25 Li fors le plus fort craingne et ainc,  
 Car qui plus fort est adès vainc.  
 Le plus foible doit obeïr  
 Au plus fort et le conjoïr.  
 A tous seigneurs, toutes honneurs;  
 30 Les grans redoutient les meneurs.  
 Il ne fait pas bon courrocier  
 Plus grant de li, ne agoucier;  
 Mès doit l'en honnerer le prince,  
 Soit qu'il oingne ou que il pinsse.  
 35 Je vuil une soutiveté  
 Cy raconter en verité,  
 Qu'avint a Paris en tour prime;

9. sie *b c*.9, 10. sem *L*, san *P*.14. toues *L*, teuez *P*, les tiennes *a b*, les  
 puis toutes *c*.15. scé q'tu *L c*, say tu *P a b*.16. le fer use *L*.19. ne bois *L*.21. tu mesmues *a*.25. Le foible *b c*.27-92. om. *a b c*.30. redoutent *L*.33. honorer *L P*.

- Sceu fu un fait par une lime.  
 Bon compaignon de Picardie  
 40 La menoient trop bonne vie.  
 Quant lor fu faillie peccune  
 Et chevance n'orent aucune,  
 L'un d'eus dedens Saint Matherin  
 Se fist porter en un escrin.  
 45 Une lime enclose y ot.  
 La de l'escrin fu fait depot  
 Pour les autres escrins rober  
 Pour un reveler et jober.  
 Quant il rentra en son escrin  
 50 La lime oublie, et le matin  
 L'en raportent si compaignon.  
 Or tost, font il, or nous baignon  
 Et joons en belles estuves,  
 En biaux lis et en belles cuves.—  
 55 Li frere ne furent pas nice.  
 Tantost courans a la justice,  
 Tout droit vont a l'official  
 Et li vont conter tout ce mal,  
 Et li fu la lime baillie.  
 60 L'official lors estudie  
 Comment puisse ce fait savoir  
 Et le depost emblé ravoir.  
 Lors appella un garçonnet:  
 Va t'en, dit il, enfançonnet,  
 65 Foys que tu dois a Saint Fraubert,  
 Tout droit en la place Maubert  
 Et di: Ceste lime vuil vendre;  
 Or en puet l'en bon marchié prendre.—  
 Mains de trois soulds de parisis  
 70 Ne vouloit prendre li petis,  
 Car il li estoit deffendu;  
 Si ne fu l'instrumens vendu.  
 Cils qui la fit mout le blasma,  
 Et mauvès garçon le clama,

43. materim *L.*44. escrim *L.*48. Pour y *L.*, Pour eulz *P.*; ioer *P.*49. entra *P.*52. fait il *P.*56. courrent *L.*58. le mal *P.*60. sestudie *L.*70. penre *L.*73. la blasma *B P.*74. la *B.*

- 75 Et li dit: Tres mauvès soufflet,  
Ains que manjuces de mouflet  
Donnee l'é par Saint Gueris  
Pour deus souls de bons parisis;  
Vues tu regaignier a revendre?—
- 80 L'enfançon ne vout plus atendre,  
Tout raconta au vaillant homme.  
Par ceci fu une grant somme  
Rendue de ce qui ert emblé,  
Car sergent furent assamblé,
- 85 Pristrent le fevre en sa maison:  
Sire, dit il, faites raisom;  
Les escoliers vous montréré,  
Et delivrés estre devré,  
Qui ma lime ont achetee;
- 90 S'en faites ce qui vous agree.—  
Le fait fu cognu pour nottoire,  
L'official en ot grant gloire.

# XLIX. DE LVPIS ET OVIBVS PVGNANTIBVS

(*Illustration*)

- Pugna lupis opponit oues, ouiumque satelles  
Est canis, est uerue, hac ope fidit ouis.  
Palma diu dormit, desperat turba luporum,  
Et simulans fedus federe temptat ouem.
- 5 Fedus utrumque fides iurato munere fulcit;  
Id lupus, id simplex obside firmat ouis.  
Datque lupis male sana canes, recipitque luporum  
Pignora, nec metuit, nec sua dampna uidet.  
Dum natura iubet natos ululare lupinos,
- 10 Turba lupina furit federa rupta petens.  
Ergo pecus tutoris egens in uiscera mergit,  
Preside nuda suo sic tumulatur ouis.

77. lai P.

78. bon paris P.

80. vout L, vout P.

86. fait il P; raison L P.

87. monnterre P.

tit. after et a space in L.

2. Et P. uernex BP uerue L. sidit L.

4. fidus B L (>fedus B). fodere L.  
tempta P.

5. fulsit B P.

6. Ad lupus L. ad simplex MSS.

7. canis MSS.

8. meruit MSS.

10. fuit B P. federe P.

11. petus MSS.

12. Preside P. sit cumulatur L.

## Moralitas

Tutorem retinere suum tutissima res est,  
Nam si tutor abit, hostis obesse potest.

## Addicio

- 15 Rem tibi tutricem bene custodire memento;  
Vtilitas tua ne possit abire caue.  
Quas habet ipse sinus, res non preposteret usus,  
Sub pede nec ponas quas habet ipse sinus.

## 49. De la bataille des loups contre les brebis.

- Les brebis pour leur niceté  
Orent ja pris et accepté  
Contre les loups iour de bataille.  
Es moutons se fient sans faille  
5 En leur chiens et en leur bergier,  
De tous ceuls se cuident targier.  
La bataille fu grant et dure,  
Et longuement en tel point dure  
Qu'en ne scet lequel vaincre doie;  
10 Mès au derrenier s'afleboie  
La partie aus loups, si se crient,  
A parler de pais leur convient.  
Si ont fet pais et aliance  
De ça et de la par fiance.  
15 Mès tout vuelent li loups jurer,  
Doubt je qui ne puisse durer;  
Et pour ce que pais mieux se gart  
Ont donné de chascune part  
Avecques les sermens, ostaiges.  
20 Les brebis qui point ne sont saiges,  
Leur chiens en ostaiges donnerent;  
Plus folement encor ouvrerent,  
Que les enfans au loup reçurent  
En ostaiges, dont se deçurent.  
25 Car si com nature le vost,  
Li louviau pristrent assés tost

13. retimere *P.*15. tritricem ? *P.*16. cane *MSS. corr. Hervieux.**Nl.*, 1, 20, 29 berbis *L.*2. acete *P.*4. si fierent *P.*5. bregier *B.*6. tout ce *P.*7. apre a, aspre *b c.*16. Doubtent quil ne puissent *b*, Laccord-  
ance a jamais durer *c.*

- A hurler, si ques les loups vindrent  
 Qui les trieves pour routes tindrent.  
 Les brebis qui sans chiens trouverent  
 30 Estranglerent et devourerent.  
     La moralité.  
 Bien se doit chascun donner garde  
 Que ce que le deffient et garde  
 Ne leist, car quant la garde faut  
 Il trueve mout tost qui l'asaut.  
 35 L'en doit bien garder son tuteur,  
 Son ami et son adjuteur,  
 Et ce qui est de grant proffit  
 Ne mette l'en pas en obit.  
 Ce qu'en vostre sein vous tenés,  
 40 Si tres bien garder vous penés,  
 Que non lessiés au pié cheoir  
 Pour vostre dommaige veoir.

## L. DE LVCO ET SECVRI

*(Illustration)*

- Quo teneatur eget non ausa secare securis,  
 Armet eam lucus, uir rogat, ille fauet.  
 Vir nemus impugnans lassans in cede securim;  
 Arboris omne genus una ruina trahit.  
 5 Lucus ait: 'Pereo, michimet sum causa pericli,  
 Me necat ex dono rustica dextra meo.'

## Moralitas

- Vnde perire queas, hostem munire caueto;  
 Qui dat quo pereat, quem iuuat hoste perit.

## Addicio

- Iure bono pereunt qui portant hostibus arma;  
 10 Numquam re cara gaudeat hostis homo.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 27. A huller ques si L, si que P a b c.  | 1. non om. P. setare L. securis (-is in eras.)       |
| 30. Moralitas P.   | B securus P securum > securis L m. 2.                |
| 32. Len P.   | 2. lutus MSS. nir L inr P.                           |
| 33. laist L P, lait a b, laisse aler quant garde c.  | 3. inpugnans P. laxans MSS. securin B (P illegible). |
| 35-42. om. a b c.  | 5. pro eo unchimet P.                                |
| 35. duteur P.  | 6. uetat MSS. ruista P.                              |
| 38. oublit P.  | 8. quam P. uiuat B P.                                |
| 41. word of three letters has been erased between non and lessies B; Que ne vous lessies au pies P, au piez L. | 9. peremit L.  |
|  | 10. Nunquam L. care P.                               |



Qui passim sua dat ut eum sugillet egestas,  
Attonitum, nudum claua ferire queat.

### 50. Du bois et de la coignéé.

- Une coignéé ou faut manche  
Dont nuls ne cope ne ne tranche  
Ot en sa maison uns vilains.  
Au bois pria q'un de ses rains
- 5 Li donnast pour un manche avoir;  
Et li bois par son non savoir  
Li ottria legierement,  
Dont se repentira briefment.  
Enmanchié a cils sa coignéé,
- 10 Puis l'a a deus poins empoingnié,  
Le bois commença a abatre.  
Non mie deus ne trois ne quatre,  
Mès du meilleur et du plus bel  
Abat et met en un moncel.
- 15 Le bois qui s'est donné la mort,  
Dit que sa folie l'a mort:  
De ce qu'au vilain ai baillié  
Suis, dit il, raupt et détaillié.—  
La moralité.
- Nuls homs son anemi ne doit
- 20 Garnir de chose, quel que soit,  
Dont perils li puisse venir,  
S'il ne se vuet pour fol tenir.  
Qui armes baille a anemi  
S'il muert, estre ne doit gemi.
- 25 Qui le sien trop largement donne  
Pourra ouïr encor ramponne.  
De ce maillet ou de plus gros  
Puisse avoir cils rompus les os.  
Qui donne tant a son enfant
- 30 Que puis il va son pain querant,

11. suggillet *Horvieux*.

12. Attonidum > Attonitum *L. clana P.*

1. un manche *P*, la mange *a*, la manche *b*,  
sans manche *c*.

3. la maison dun vilains *P.*

7. otroia *L.*

11. commence *L*, bois en commence *a b c*.

13. belle *P.*

17. a baillie *P*, a baillie *a*.

18. dist il rout *L*; Don sera roux *a*.

22. du tout honnir *c*.

23-32. *om. a b c*.

24. Si muert ne doit estre *L P*.

29. Qui tant donra *P*.

30. y ua *L*, aille *P*.

Puis après a dongier menjue,  
Ferus soit de ceste maque.

## LI. DE CANE ET LVPO

(*Illustration*)

- Cum cane silua lupum sociat, lupus inquit: 'Amena  
Pelle nites, in te copia facta patet.'  
Pro uerbis dat uerba canis: 'Me ditat herillis  
Gracia, cum domino me cibatur ipsa domus.  
5 Nocte uigil fures latratu nuntio, tutam  
Seruo domum, michi dat hospes in ede thorum.'  
Hoc monet ore lupus: 'Cupio me uiuere tecum;  
Communem capiant oia nostra cibum.'  
Reddit uerba canis: 'Cupio te uiuere mecum;  
10 Vna dabit nobis mensa manusque cibum.'  
Ille fauet sequiturque canem, gutturque caninum  
Respicit et querit: 'Cur cecidere pilli?'  
Inquit: 'Ne ualeam morsu peccare diurno,  
Vincula diurna fero, nocte iubente uagor.'  
15 Reddit uerba lupus: 'Non est michi copia tanti,  
Vt fieri seruus uentris amore uelim.  
Dicior est liber mendicus diuite seruo;  
Seruus habet nec se nec sua, liber habet.  
Libertas, predulce bonum, bona cetera condit,  
20 Qua qui diues erit, dicior esse nequit.  
Nolo uelle meum pro turpi uendere lucro;  
Has qui uendit opes, hoc agit ut sit inops.  
Moralitas  
Non bene pro toto libertas uenditur auro;  
Hoc celeste bonum preterit orbis opes.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 3. dicat P.  | 11. caminum MSS.                                       |
| 4. Gratia P.   | 12. cedidere pilli P.                                  |
| 4. ipsa cibatur ( <i>with indication of correct order</i> ) L. | 14. Vincula B Vincula P.                               |
| 5. Nocte B. nuncio B P. tutam MSS.                             | 15. Redit P.   |
| 7. mouet MSS. mecum P ( <i>from l. 9</i> ).                    | 17. dimittere B P.                                     |
| 8, 9. om. P.   | 18. abet P. <i>after</i> 18 Moralitas B P <i>after</i> |
| 8. cybum B.  | 19 L.  |
| 9. uerba lupus canis . . . me L.                               | 20. Quia > Qua L. <i>after</i> 20 Addicio L om.        |
| 10. nobis nobi ( <i>the latter expunged</i> ) P. cybum B.      | B P.   |
|  | 24. celleste P celesto L.                              |

## Addicio

- 25 *Fulgida libertas et inestimabilis est res;  
Hanc precium nullum dimidiare potest.  
De domino seruum duplex facit amphibolia;  
Seruitus ac dici mortis ymago solet.*

## 51. Du loup qui se vuet acompaignier au chien.

- Jadis avint que Ysangrins  
Et dans Rouveaus li matins  
En un bois s'entreaccompaignerent  
Et mout grant piece emsamble alerent.
- 5 Si dit le loup a dan Rouveau:  
Mout avés ores belle piau,  
A ce ai je bien congneü  
Que avés esté bien peü;  
Ne sables pas estre affamés.—
- 10 Non, dit le chien, ains suis amés  
De mon seigneur, car il me tient  
Si aise comme il me convient.  
Assés me fait ce qui me plect,  
Et de sa viande me pest.
- 15 De chaume hé bon lit par raison,  
Des larrons li gars sa maison,  
Que nuls par nuit ne li meffaice;  
Par mon abai tous les en chace.—  
Si ne li fais autre besongne
- 20 Grant desir ai qu'a toi me jongne,  
Dit le loup, et de telle vie  
Ou toi mener ai grant envie.—  
Et je le vueil, dit Rooveaus,  
Encores plus que tu ne viaus.—
- 25 Or s'en vont li dui compaignon.  
Le loup regarde le gaignon,  
Vit que le col pelé avoit,  
Demanda le que ce devoit.

25. *libertas uenditur auro*(=23b) *L.* in *estimabilis B* in *estimabilis* > in *estamabilis P.* res est *MSS. corr. Harvieu.*

26. *precum MSS.* (>*precium B m. 2*).

2. *ronneus L.* *raonneaux a.* *reueau b.* damp *rouveau c.*

15. *ay P a b;* De paille *ay c;* bont *L.*

17. *meffaice L P.*

23. *ronneaux L.* *raonneaux a.* *reueaux b.* *rouveau c.*

28. *li don ce venoit P.* lui que ce estoit *b.* (*a c = B*).

- Biaus compains, ce respont le chien,  
 30 Je suis de jour mis en lien,  
 Que je ne puisse ne ne doie  
 Mordre ceuls qui passent la voie.  
 La ou je vuil vois toute nuit.—  
 Dit le loup: Ne pris tel deduit,  
 35 Tel aise, tant com je souloie,  
 Que je pour mon ventre serf soie.  
 Uns frans povres homs plus habonde  
 Que le plus riches sers du monde.  
 Li homs serfs ne puet avoir bien,  
 40 Mès le frans a soi et le sien.  
 Franchise est si bonne et si douce,  
 Nulle douceur a li ne touche.  
 En ma franchise me tendré,  
 Ja se Dieu plaist ne la vendré.—  
 La moralité.  
 45 Qui franchise veut pour avoir  
 Bien desert a souffrance avoir.  
 L'or et l'argent de toute Frise  
 Ne d'ailleurs ne vaillent franchise;  
 Car on ne le puet estimer  
 50 Ne par prose ne par rimer;  
 Ne l'en ne la puet comparer,  
 Contre li ne se scet parer  
 Chose nulle qui soit en terre.  
 Sur toutes choses l'estuet querre.  
 55 La phallace damphibolie  
 Effacier fait la seignorie.  
 Comparer a mort servitude  
 Doit qui es drois giette et abute  
 Dont doit bien cils haïr sa pence  
 60 Qui se diffame et desavance  
 Et court et fuit isnel le cours  
 Et palais, sales et es cours  
 Du roy, des princes et du pape  
 Afin que une provende grape

33. toute nuit vais (vois) *a* (*b c*).34. ie ne *L*; or ne pry (pris) je mais *a b c*.37. plus *om. L*.41. Franchise et *P*.42. donceur *L P*.43. tendray *a b c*.44. vendray *a b c*; La moralite *om. L*.46. dessert a souffrete *L*.48. valent *L a*, vallent *P c*, vault point *b*.49-78. *om. a b c*.55. fallace *L*, falace *P*.62. Es palas *L*.

- 65 Qui est ja plains de benefices.  
Est encores si fos et nices  
Qui ne vuet mengier sus sa table  
Ne faire bienfait aggreable  
De son pain, ne vuet faire soupe
- 70 Au povre qui meschief asoupe  
Qui le crucefis a gaingnié,  
Qui durement fu mehaingnié  
Et le bailla pour racheter  
Nous de servitude geter.
- 75 Des ciels le pere deboinaire,  
Dieu que amour tant pot atraire,  
Bailla son fils par tenreté  
Afin que fussiens racheté.

## LII. DE VENTRE, PEDIBVS ET MANIBVS

(Illustration)

- Accusant auidi pes et manus oia uentris:  
'Munera solus habes lucra, labore cares.  
Nos labor edomuit, te fouit inhercia, sorbes  
Omnia que nostri cura laboris emit.
- 5 Disce pati famis acre iugum, uel disce labori  
Cedere, teque tui cura laboris alat.'  
Sic uentri seruire negant; se uenter inanem  
Comperit, orat opem, nil dat auara manus.  
Ille preces iterat, iterum fugit illa precantem;
- 10 In stomachi fundo torpet obitque calor.  
Victa fame natura fugit, uis arida fauces  
Obserat et solitum non sinit ire cibum.  
Vult epulas dare sera manus, sed corporis egri  
Perdita non reparans machina tota perit.

72. *written in margin in 15th century hand,*  
*L.*

75. debonnere *L*, debonnaire *P*.  
76. damour *P*.  
78. fuissiens *L*.

LII tit. et pedibus (*om. et manibus*) *L*.

1. occia *MSS*.  
2. cares > carens *L m. 2*.  
3. ob dormit *B P* ob dormiit *L*.

5. fanus > famis *B*. accre *P*.

7. seruite *P*.

8. Comparit *B* Comparit *P L* (> Comperit  
*L m. 2*). auare *L P*.

11. Vita *P*. fantes *L* fausces *P*.

12. *om.* non *P*. siuit *L* sunt *P*. cybum  
*B P*.

13. set *Lom. P*. egi *P*.

14. Perdica > Perdita *L m. 2*. reperans  
*MSS*.

## Moralitas

- 15 Nemo sibi satis est, eget omnis amicus amico;  
Si non uis aliis parcere, parce tibi.

## Addicio

- Ventris amica gula commouit iurgia membris,  
Ingluue reddit membra nociua sibi.  
Interdum feriens interficit, et sine uelle,  
20 Qui nocet, ipse sibi sepe nocere potest.

## 52. Du contens du ventre et des membres.

- Piés et mains au ventre tancerent  
Et a dire li commencerent  
Par ataine et par dangier:  
Glous, tu ne fais fors que mangier,  
5 De dormir et de devourer  
Quancques nous poons labourer.  
Or apren a faire besongne  
Ou quier qui a mengier te doingne,  
Car plus ne nous entremetron  
10 De toi, ne conseil n'i metron  
Que tu aies morsiau de pain.—  
Le ventre, qui ja avoit fain,  
Pour Dieu que si facent leur prie;  
Cils dient que non feront mie,  
15 Et cils qui ne menja noient  
Fu tost laches et recreant.  
Secours prie une autre fois,  
Mès la value d'une nois,  
Tant priast hier, hui et demain,  
20 Ne li donnerent pié ne main.  
Li ventres si concquis devint  
Que chaleur faillir li convint,  
Et quant ce virent piés et mains  
Si voudrent estre plus humains,  
25 Et li ont tendu a mengier;

18. Igluue *L.* uotua *B.* notua *P.*20. *Harvieu* reads *Cur for Qui in B.*5-8. *om. P.*7. *besongne L.*15. *noiant L.*, *neant P a b*; Le ventre qui  
ne menga point *c.*16. Fu tantost en tres mauvais point *c.*17. leur quist com autre foy *a b*, requiert  
une *c.*19. hui yer *P.*22. Que tantost mourir lui *c.*

Mès li ventres en fait dongier  
Com cils qui user ne le puet.  
Ventre et membres morir estuet.

La moralité.

- Nuls tant soit fors ne viguerous  
30 Ne puet a soi souffire seus.  
Li uns de l'autre mestier a;  
Soi gart qui autre grevera.  
Je tien a mauvès ribaudiau  
Qui fet après la mort chaudiau,  
35 Et quant il n'est nuls besoing donne,  
Et au besoing ne s'abandonne.  
Qui donne tot donne deus fois,  
Esprouvee est lors bonne fois;  
Mès qui donne trop a son ventre,  
40 Espinne de luxure y entre  
Et en fait les membres doloir,  
Les membres a li mal voloir;  
Pour ce les membres se courroucent,  
Forment contre le ventre groucent.  
45 Salemon nous deffent sans flauve  
Que ne regardiens le vin flauve.  
Pour le vin qui est trop beü  
Sont les yaus trouble et esmeü,  
Soutillant en suffosion  
50 En eclipse de vision;  
Mès le vin qui est attrempé  
Est de l'ame vie et santé.  
Toutes voies ne devons destruire  
Nostre corps, ce nous pourroit nuire,  
55 Mès li donner sa soustenance  
Selonc ordenee puissance.  
Se ne faisiés a li secours  
La mort y courroit tout le cours.  
Guerre ne faciés si ague,  
60 Car tieux cuide ferir qui tue.  
Le nuisement que fait a autre  
Revient a li lance sous fautre,

26. Et il le regarde senz aualer *b*.

33-88. *om. a b c*.

46. regardons au *P*.

48. yeux *P*.

52. est *P*.

53. toutefois *L*.

57. faisiens *L*.

59. faciens *L*; esgue *P*.

62. seux *L*.

- Qui de nuire se efforçoit.  
 Chascun en son estat fors soit;  
 65 Ne face Dieu de son estomach,  
 Car il aroit eschac et math.  
 Saint Augustin si nous tesmongne  
 Qui es escriptures mist grant poinne,  
 Que ce que un chascun plus aime  
 70 C'est son dieu que souvent reclaime.  
 S'aimes sus toutes riens ta gorge,  
 Se sera ton dieu, par Saint George.  
 S'aimes sur toutes riens deniers,  
 C'est tes dieus, tes desirs pleniens.  
 75 S'aimmes sur toutes riens delit,  
 C'est ton dieu qui tant t'abellit.  
 S'aimmes sur toutes riens avoir,  
 C'est le dieu que tu vues avoir.  
 S'aimmes sur toutes riens honneur,  
 80 C'est ton dieu, ton plaisir greigneur.  
 S'aimmes outre tout vaine gloire,  
 Ce est ton dieu, ce est chose voire.  
 S'aimmes sur toutes riens boidie,  
 C'est ton dieu qui te mainne et guie.  
 85 S'aimmes sur toutes riens biauté,  
 C'est dieu a qui fais fiauté.  
 S'aimmes sur toutes riens bonté,  
 C'est Dieus qui es chieus est monté.

### LIII. DE SIMEA ET VVLPE

(*Illustration*)

- Symea de turpi queritur nate, porrigit aurem  
 Vulpes, nec recipit mente sed aure preces.  
 Symea sic fatur: 'Natis ut michi dedecus ornem,  
 Sufficiat caude pars michi parua tue.  
 5 Quid prodest nimia campos insculpere cauda?  
 Quod michi prodesset, est tibi pondus in hers.'  
 Illa refert: 'Nimio dampnas de pondere caudam;

65. estomasth *P*.

77-78. om. *L*.

83. boudie *P*.

86. feaute *L*.

88. dieu q'es ciels (cieulx) *L (P)*.

tit. symea *B P*.

1. symea *B P*. autem ? *P*.

2. set *L*.

3. factur *P*.

3. deditus *B P* dedetus *L*. oruem *L*.

4. cande *P*. perua *L*.

5. pro desset *B P*. muna *P*.

6. prodesset *t* > prodesset est *L* et *P*.

7. caudem *B (P illegible)*.



- Est brevis estque levis, hec duo dampna queror.  
 Malo uerrat humum quam sit tibi causa decoris,  
 10 Et tegat immundas res bene munda nates.  
 Moralitas  
 Id nimium nimioque nimis ditaret egenum,  
 Quod minimum minimo credis, auare, minus.  
 Addicio  
 Struthio nec uitulus, salmo placet esca, gulose;  
 Non infrunito fertilis esca lepus.  
 15 De minimo magnus succurrere debet egenti;  
 Ventre saginato pauperis instat opus.

53. Du singe et du renart qui li pria qu'il li donnast de sa keue.

- Le singe qui a son ort cu  
 Vouloit faire targe ou escu,  
 Dist a Renart: Biaus amis chiers,  
 Donne moi ce que je te quiers  
 5 De ta queue une partie,  
 Car s'elle estoit en deus partie  
 En auriens nous assés andui.  
 Et tu vois qu'el poise ennui  
 Et comment elle te traine;  
 10 Bien la dois avoir en haine.  
 Toutes ces ordures en ters  
 Et par chemins et par sentiers.  
 Merci je cri a jointes mains,  
 Donne m'en la moitié ou mains.—  
 15 Le renart qui pas ne voudroit  
 Que nuls homs a tort ou a droit  
 Emportast de li bonne chose,

9. uerrat *expunged* L. quem MSS.  
 10. regat B. in undas > in mundas L.  
 11. minimo minimum MSS.  
 12. munus L.  
 13. Struttio B Structio L P Sturrio *Her-*  
*vieux.* ne[c] *Herieux as though B had ne.*  
*uinculus > uiculus L m. 2. escat L.*  
 14. in firmito P. infirmito *Herieux.* fer-  
*cilis MSS. lupus > lepus L.*  
 15. succurre P.  
 16. instat > instant L m. 2.

- iii.* pria qui L; queue L.  
 1. cul P b c.  
 2. et P a; escul c.  
 4. requiers L a b c.  
 6. my partie a.  
 7. aurons a b c; endui L P b, tout duy c.  
 8. a annui L a (b c).  
 11. en trais P a, en tiers b; Toutes en  
*torches ses ordures c.*  
 14. au L c; *verse om. b.*

Au singe repont et oppose:

- Tu dis que ma queue est pesant,  
 20 Mès miex de moi nuls ne le sent.  
 Elle est trop grant ce me mès sus,  
 Ce poise moi que ne l'est plus;  
 Et tout soit il qu'elle me poise  
 Et trainne encor une toise,  
 25 N'avingne qu'en avingne riens  
 Uns si ors cus comme est li tiens.  
 Si l'é plus chier terdre en ces merdes  
 Que tu ton vesseus cul en terdes.—

La moralité.

Maintes gens maintes choses ont

- 30 Que petit de profit leur font  
 Dont uns hons souffreteus seroit  
 Riches, qui a li la donroit.  
 L'en ne puet le glout saouler  
 De chose qu'il puisse engouler,  
 35 Ne de veau ne de sturgon,  
 Ne de saumon ne de murion,  
 Ne de lievre ne de connin,  
 Se tout n'a, cuide estre honnin.  
 Le grant doit le petit aidier  
 40 De ce qu'il a trop sans plaidier.  
 Le ventre qui est saginé  
 Et de bon vin bien aviné  
 Doit secourir au disiteus,  
 Paistre celi qu'est souffretteus.

#### LIV. DE INSTITORE ET ASELLO

(*Illustration*)

Dum fora festinus lucro petit, instat asello

Institor et fessum pondere fuste premit.

Ille necem sperat nece promittente quietem,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 19. pesent <i>L</i> .  | 34. qui <i>L P</i> .  |
| 20. Mes nulz de moi mieux ne le sent <i>L b</i> .  | 37. livre <i>P</i> ; connun <i>L</i> .                          |
| 21. se li met sus <i>a b c</i> .   | 38. ne <i>P</i> ; honni <i>L P</i> .                            |
| 25. Nauiengne quen auiengne <i>L P</i> , Ne<br>vueil je pas quelle ament <i>a</i> , Ne vueil quen<br>ament de <i>b</i> , Ne vueil que amende de <i>c</i> . | tit. uisticore <i>L</i> . assello <i>B P</i> .                  |
| 27. hay <i>a</i> , ay <i>b c</i> ; tendre <i>P</i> .   | 1. fera <i>L P</i> (>fora <i>L m</i> . 2). festiusus <i>P</i> . |
| 30. Qui mout pou de <i>a</i> , Qui trop pou de <i>c</i> .  | assello <i>MSS</i> .  |
| 32. qui la lui <i>P</i> .  | 2. fusce > fuste <i>L m</i> . 2.                                |
| 33-44. om. <i>a b c</i> .  | 3. nete <i>P</i> .  |

Sed nece completa uiuere pena potest.

- 5 Nam cum bella facit et tympana pellis aselli,  
Hec lassatur et hec pulsa tonante manu.

Moralitas

Cui sua uita nocet, caueat sibi rumpere uitam;  
Non nece, sed meriti iure quiescit homo.

Addicio

- Pro requie non est mors expectanda sinistra;  
10 Non optare mori, sed uolo iuste mori.  
Mortem non optent trepidancia tedia uite;  
Posterior mordet durius atque ferit.  
Fertilis est signum substantia mortis amare;  
Pacificis opibus instat amara quies.

#### 54. Du marcheant et de son asne.

- Un marcheant vet au marchié,  
Son asne devant li chergié,  
Et pour ce qu'il ne s'arest point,  
Souvent le semont et le point  
5 De l'aguillon, pour tost aler.  
Adonc se prist a esmaier  
Li asnes, et dit: Las chetis,  
Miaux voudroie estre mors que vis,  
Se fusse hors de ceste painne!—  
10 Ainsi se demente et demainne.  
Ne savoit mie l'arceprestre  
Que promis avoit ja son mestre,  
Pour li trouver noviau labour,  
Sa pel pour en faire un tabour;  
15 A un menestrier si donroit  
Si tost com li asnes mouroit,  
Ou pour faire piau de naquaire  
Que li menestrier feroit braire.

5. cum > cui *L m.* 2. asselli *MSS.*

6. lassatur *MSS.* conante *L.*

7. Cum *B L* (> Cui *B m. 2*).

8. set *L.*

9. expectanda *L.*

10. obtare *L.* set *L.*

11. obtent *MSS.* *Hervieux.* trepidencia *L.*

13. Fertilis *L.* substacia *P* substencia >  
substantia *L m. 2.*

14. amare *L.*

6. adenaler *a*, ademaler *b*; Lasne se print  
ademanter *c.*

7. asnes dit et las *B P*, asnes et dist *L a b*;  
Et a dire helas *c.*

11. Le poure ane qui ne savoit *c.*

12. li ot ia son maistre *P*; Que son maistre  
promis avoit *c.*

17-18. om. *a b c.*

## La moralité.

- Il est a maintes gens avis  
 20 Que mort les mette en paradis  
 Pour la painne que il ont soufferte;  
 Mès Diex regarde la deserte.  
 Deserte, non pas mort ne painne,  
 A repos homme et femme mainnie.  
 25 Nuls ne doit pour avoir repos  
 Fermer en la mort son propos.  
 Ne puet chaloir que mort endure  
 De morir, mès que il bien mure.  
 Cils a qui ennuie sa vie  
 30 Desirer la mort est folie,  
 Car puis la mort par aventure  
 Aura il nouvele plus dure.  
 Plantureuse et grace sustance  
 Est de fort mort senefiance  
 35 Quant en a faculté paisible,  
 Ainsi le lisons en la bible.

## LV. DE CERVO, BOBVS ET CANIBVS

## (Illustration)

- Motus uoce canum ceruus fugit, auia silue  
 Deserit, aura tenet, claustra bouina subit.  
 Bos ait: 'Aut luci latebras aut deuia silue  
 Tucius intrares, hinc piger, inde leuis.  
 5 Huc ueniet custosque boum stabulique magister,  
 Si duo uel tantum te uidet alter, obis.'  
 Ceruus ait: 'Michi uestra necem clemencia demat,  
 Condite me latebris, dum iuuet umbra fugam.'  
 Hunc tumulat fenum, presepe reuisit arator,  
 10 Frondibus et feno munit alitque boues.

25-36. om. a b c.

27. Que puet P.

28. muire L.

30. sa P.

33. grasse substance L.

34. Et P.

tit. D terno . . . canubus P.

1. ania B ama P.

2. bonina L.

3. luti &gt; luci B lucit P luta ? &gt; luti? L m. 2.

laterbras &gt; latebras P. douia &gt; deuia L m. 2.

4. hic MSS. lenis P.

5. Hic MSS. uemet P. cristos L. bonum  
MSS. (bonu > bonum ? L m. 2).

6. obit L.

7. nostra B P.

8. Condice L. latibris B latibus P laribus  
> latebris L. iubet MSS.

9. remisit MSS.

10. freno B L ferno P. minuit MSS.

- Hic redit et ceruus uitasse pericula gaudet,  
 Bobus agit grates, e quibus unus ait:  
 'Est leue uitare cecum, si uenerit Argus,  
 Argum si poteris uincere, uictor eris.  
 15 Centum sunt oculi, cui se debere fatentur  
 Et domus et serui totaque iura loci.  
 Res tua te reperit Argum, res altera cecum;  
 Qui tibi dormitat, scit uigilare sibi.'  
 Hic silet, Argus init stabulum bobusque ministrat,  
 20 Plus equo tenues uiderat esse boues.  
 Dum munit presepe cibo, dum fulgurat ira,  
 Ausa uidere diem cornua nuda uidet.  
 'Quid latet hic, quid,' ait, 'uideo?' sentitque latentem,  
 Et bona fortune munera letus habet.  
 Moralitas  
 25 Exulis est non esse suum, uigilare potentis,  
 Stertere seruorum, uelle iuuare pii.  
 Addicio  
 Dulcis amor proprii facit omnes sollicitari;  
 Non eodem cursu res aliena placet.  
 Hoc impinguat equm, domini uestigia trita;  
 30 Aspectus domini stercora crassa facit.

**55. Du cerf qui issi du bois qui se cuida sauver chiés un vilain.**

- Le cerf qui chiens avoit oy  
 Yssi du bois, si s'enfoiy  
 En un vilaige tout a plain,  
 Si s'en entra chiés un vilain  
 5 Qu' oncques le vilain ne li sot;  
 La s'en entra ou des buefs ot  
 Qu' arent la terre du villain;  
 Muça soi en un tas de fain,  
 Aus buefs pria mout humblement,

11. seruus *P*.

13. lene *L*. tecum *P L* (> cecum *L m. 2*).

14. uittor *B*.

16. inra *B*.

17. tecum *MSS*.

18. uigilate *L*.

20. cennés *P*.

21. fulgerat > fulgurat *L m. 2. ita P*.

22. uide *P*.

26. Cernere *MSS*.

29. impingat *B Hervieux* impugnat *L*.

equum *Hervieux*.

30. Aspectu *B* jtris *P*.

1. Un cerf qui ot oy les chiens *c*.

2. fouy *L P a b*; Du bois sen fuit tou  
 hors du sens *c*.

5. ne le *L a b*; riens nen *c*.

7. au *a b c*.

8. Musa *P*; un fais destrain *L*, un fais  
 de fain *a*.

9. moult doucement *P*.

- 10 Com cils qui cremoit durement,  
Que li de la mort garantir  
Vuillent a ce leur consentir.  
Lors dit uns des bues li plus biaux:  
Biaux amis, il te venist miaus
- 15 Au bois estre que ci encore;  
S'en ceste estable venoit ore  
Uns de nos mestres nous veoir,  
Il t'en pourroit bien mescheoir.—  
Li cerfs respont: Seigneur, merci;
- 20 Pour Dieu lessiés moi mucier ci.  
Mès que vous ne m' ancuses mie,  
Si m'aurés sauvee ma vie.—  
Ainsi le cerf ou fain se tient.  
Estes vous que li bouviers vient
- 25 Qui des buefs se doit donner garde;  
Conjoie les, mès ne regarde  
Le cerf mucié ne n'aperçoit;  
Le fain ou il est le deçoit.  
D'erbe et de foin les buefs atourne,
- 30 Puis lesse les buefs et s'en retourne.  
Cils qui cuide bien estre passés  
Aus buefs rendi graces assés,  
Quant un des buefs dire li ose:  
Eschaper t'est legiere chose
- 35 Se le mestre ne vient Argus,  
Qu'em dit qu'il a cent yaus et plus.  
Cent en a il bien vraiment,  
Car tout l'ostel communement,  
Fils et filles et autres gens,
- 40 Vallés, baiasses et sergens  
Et la maisnie a li seuvoile  
Quant li predom dort et sommoile.  
Et se cestui vaincre savés,  
Ou conchier, gaingnié avés.—
- 45 Cils se test, et Argus souvint,

12. leur *om.* *L*; Luy vueillent ca lieu *a* (*b*) *c.*

22. sauve la *P a b c.*

25. doit *om.* *P*; prendre *a b c.*

26. Conroie *L a b.*

31. bien cuide *P.*

34. Escher *P.*

36. ou plus *L P a b*, plus de cent yex *c.*

40. Vallez *L a*, Varlez *b*, Varles *c*; beasses  
*L a b*, chamberieres *c.*

41. souvoille *P*, sourvoille *a*, surveillance *b*,  
veul veille *c.*

44. conchie *B*, conchier *L P a b*, Un bon  
couchier *c.*

45. sen vient *a*, survint *b*, seurvint *c.*

- De ses bues en la creiche vint  
 Pour esgarder que riens ne leur faille,  
 Si vit que trop povre vitaille  
 Avoient ses bestes eüe;  
 50 Leur portion leur a creüe,  
 Et quant aus bues du fain donnoit,  
 Dou cerf qui la se reponnoit  
 Vit les cornes qui furent grans;  
 Si les retint li paisans,  
 55 Et les cornes et la personne  
 Dou cerfs que fortune li donne.  
 La moralité.  
 N'est pas sieus qui est essiliés.  
 Poissans homs voile et est veilliés.  
 Li sergant espovanter vuelent  
 60 Et les deboinaire aidier vuelent.  
 Chascun a plus grant cuisançon  
 Par sen, par pais, et par tençon  
 Le sien garder plus que de l'autre.  
 Plus ameroit garder son piautre  
 65 Que d'autrui ne l'or ne l'argent.  
 Ne vous attendés au sergent  
 De bien garder vostre destrier,  
 Mès li sires qu'en a mestier.  
 Et pour ce nous dit Aristote:  
 70 Sces tu qui fait la grace crote  
 Et le bon fiens qui est en l'estable,  
 Et au cheval fait bonne table  
 Et le fait en biauté gregneur?  
 Ce fait la trace dou seigneur,  
 75 Quant souvent son cheval regarde,  
 Y va, y vient, et s'en prent garde,  
 Ne s'en attende pas au paige;  
 Ne li chaut fors de bon buvrage.—

47. garder *a b c*.51. bues *B*.59. seulent *a b c*.60. debonnaire *L P a b c*; seulent *b*.61-78. *om. a b c*.68. que quem *na P*.69. aritoste *B P*.70. grasse *L*.

## LVI. DE CAPONE ET ACCIPITRE

(Illustration)

- Querere diffugium domino ueniente, caponem  
 Audax accipiter dum uidet, inquit ei:  
 'Quid fugis? Exulta dominum dum sentis adesse,  
 Cuius in aduentu plaudere nitor ego?'  
 5 'Me,' capo respondit, 'fratrum diuersa meorum  
 Terret pena, tibi non timor ullus adest.  
 Nil magis horrendum quam flebilis aula tyranni,  
 Qua pietas omnis cum ratione perit.  
 Raptores famulique truces scelerumque ministri  
 10 Iniustus dominis impietate placent.  
 Qui sine ui, sine fraude manent, hii fraude necantur;  
 Nullo dampnantur crimine sepe boni.  
 Sic fratres periere mei, te reddit amicum  
 Impietas domino nequicieque uigor.  
 15 Hii proprias lauere gulas in sanguine, passos  
 Martirium sepelit uenter auarus eos.  
 Illius ergo timens aspectum credo latere  
 Tutius ut morti me rapuisse queam.'
- Moralitas
- 'Non amat insomptes, sed somptes aula tyranni,  
 20 Complacet iniusto cultor iniquus hero.
- Addicio
- Infelix dominus riuali pellice gaudet;  
 Mancipiis uitam uerba magistra domant.  
 Cum malus audit herus mendosi uerbula serui,  
 Impietate tumet tota proterua domus.

tit. capono *P.* ancipitre *MSS.*1. Quere *B* Quocere *P.* reniente *B.*  
 ancipiter *MSS.* uidet > uidet *B.*4. plādere *L.*5. uicorum *B P.* nicorum *L.*6. uullus *P.* after *l. 6* Moralitas *L P* la  
 moralite *B.*7. quem *MSS.* tyrannū > tyranni *L m. 2.*9. cruces > truces *B* ocruses *P.*10. diuinis *L.*11. uetantur *B* netantur *L P.*13. perire *MSS.* dedit *P.*14. Impietatis > Impietas *L m. 2.*15. passi *MSS.*16. Martirum *B P* Martyrum *L.*18. Tucius *B P.* queem *P.*19. set *L.*20. in iuste *B P.* iniquis *L.*21. pellice *Herrieus.*22. Mancipus *L.*23. nerbula *L.*



## 56. De l'ostoir et du chapon.

- L'ostour dit: Or tost agrapon  
 Ce gras, ce blanc et biau chapon.—  
 Le chapon tantost s'enfol,  
 Mestre ne oisiau ne conjoï.
- 5 L'oistour li dit: Ci bien te mire,  
 Car ie voi ci venir ton sire;  
 Fai grant joie quant vois le tien  
 Comme je fais quant voi le mien.—  
 Le chapon dit: J'é grant engaigne
- 10 Quant voi de mes freres la painne,  
 Mès adès es si asseur  
 Que nulle fois n'auras peeur.  
 Nuls plus grant duel ne va tirant  
 Qu'estre en la maison de tirant,
- 15 Ou il n'a raison ne pitié  
 Ne loiauté ne amitié.  
 Au seigneur niaise gent soupplie,  
 Selonc seigneur duite maisnie;  
 Et cils qui dient verité,
- 20 Loiauté, sont decapité.  
 Cils qui tient bonne opinium  
 Souvent vet a destruction.  
 Mes freres n'ont point de duree;  
 Tous ont eu la teste copee.
- 25 Pour ce que mauvitié as mis  
 En toi, yes au seigneur amis;  
 Il t'a apris a pourchacier  
 Les oisiaus et penre et chacier.  
 La viande ont faite partir
- 30 De mes freres qui sont martir.  
 Ou ventre qui les abeli  
 Au mengier sont enseveli.  
 Quant voi mon seigneur, me tapis  
 Que ne soie mangiés et pris,
- 35 Que je ne soie mis ou hate  
 Avec mes freres con enhaste.—

1. *this fable om. a b c.*9. *iai L, iay P.*16. *aumitie B.*17. *written in margin in 15th century hand L.*21. *opinion L P.*26. *added in 15th century hand L.*36. *quen L.*

## La moralité.

- Tousjours vuet dou tirant la sale  
 Non pas bonne gent mais la male,  
 Le mauvès, le crueux sergent  
 40 Plet a la felenesse gent.  
 Au mauvès plet la ribaudaille;  
 Le bon seigneur aus bons l'en baille.  
 Quant il oit volentiers mentir,  
 De impieté sieut retentir  
 45 Toute la gent et la maison  
 Ou sens ne habite ne raison.

## LVII. DE LVPO, DE PASTORE ET DE CANE

## (Illustration)

- Cum pastore lupus sociabile fedus iniuit,  
 Interius totus dissociatus ei,  
 Dansque dolum sub melle lupus fert: 'Dulcis amice,  
 Sum pauidus crebra garrulitate canis.  
 5 Ille suo nostrum latratu fundit amorem,  
 Ille bonum pacis dissociare cupit.  
 Si me securum, si me uis reddere tutum,  
 Obses tutele sit datus ille michi.'  
 Exhibito uigili lupus intrat tutus ouile,  
 10 Dilanians miseras opilionis oues.  
 Moralitas  
 Pacis amatorem simulat se perfidus hostis,  
 Cautius ut munus exciiale ferat.  
 Addicio  
 Hostem percipies, gladium si dederis hosti;  
 Hostibus ullis non est adhibenda fides.  
 15 Priscis temporibus super hiis est publica fama;  
 Preteriti ratio scire futura facit.

37. *precedes* La moralite L.

tit. chane P.

1. iuuit L.

5. fondit P.

10. Dilamans L.

12. Cancius L. unius > minus ? B inuius  
P munis L. exciiale MSS.15. his *Hervieux*. punica L pu(bli)ca m. 2.  
*in margin.*

16. ractio P.

## 57. Du loup, du pasteur et du chien.

- Sire Ysangrins fist aliance  
 Au pasteur par grant decevance;  
 Soubs le miel li baille la fraude,  
 Mauvès venin desous messaude,  
 5 Et li dit: Mon chier ami dous,  
 Nuls autre chose ne me doubs,  
 Mès que dou chien l'abaïement,  
 Qui m'abaïe si malement.  
 Il fait devisier nostre amour  
 10 Par abai qui fait grant clamour.  
 Il fait nostre amitié blecier,  
 Le bien de pais fait depecier.  
 Si me vues mettre en seurté  
 Par ta pitié, par ta meurté,  
 15 Baille le moi pour un bon plaige,  
 De seurté me soit bon ostaige.—  
 Tantost com li loups fait la gaite  
 Les brebis en leur part agaite.  
 Les brebis depute au bergier,  
 20 Leur vie leur fait abregier.  
 La moralité.  
 L'anemi se faut comme ame  
 Afin que soien en diffame  
 Et mis a grant confusion,  
 Pour qui fait celle fiction.  
 25 Se a anemi bailles ta hache  
 Ne te tien mie pour bien sage.  
 Pour chose qu'il vuille prier  
 A toi ni dois de riens fier.  
 Ce dit renommee commune:  
 30 Se vues eschiever noise aucune,  
 Memoire aies du preterit  
 Qui fait le futur averit.  
 Le preterit ce avisera  
 De ce que ou futur sera.—

1. *this fable om. a b c.*9. *deviser L.*19. *bregier B, begier P.*22. *soient L, soient P.*23. *seven letters cancelled after grant B.*

## LVIII. DE BUTICVLARIO ET IVDEO

(Illustration)

- Fert Iudeus opes, set onus fert pondere maius,  
 Intus adurit eum cura, laborque foris.  
 Ergo metu dampni sibi munere regis amorem  
 Firmat, ut accepto preduce tutus eat.
- 5 Regius hunc pincerna regit, cor cuius adurit  
 Auri dira fames, que parat ense nephas.  
 Silua patet, subeunt, Iudeus in ore sequentis  
 Cor notat, 'Ipse sequor,' inquit, et ille negat,  
 Et gladium nudans, 'Nemo sciet,' inquit, 'obito.'
- 10 Ille refert: 'Scelus hoc ista loquetur auis.'  
 Prosilit a dumo perdix, hanc indice signat;  
 Alter ait: 'Scelus hoc ista loquetur auis?'  
 Et rapit ense capud et opes metit et scrobe funus  
 Celat; agit celeres annus in orbe rotas.
- 15 Perdices domini cene pincerna ministrat,  
 Ridet et a risu uix uacat ipse suo.  
 Rex audire sitit, hic differt dicere causam;  
 Fit locus, ambo sedent, hic petit, ille refert.  
 Rex dolet et leto mentitur gaudia uultu,
- 20 Regis concilium consiliumque sedet.  
 Pincernam crucis esse reum sententia prodit.  
 Crux punit meritum iure fauente cruci.

Moralitas

Vt perimas quemquam, nullum tibi suadeat aurum,  
 Nam decus et uitam mesta rapina rapit.

Addicio

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| tit. buticulario <i>L</i> (-ci-expunged).                            | 15. sene <i>P</i> . piscerna <i>B P</i> (>piscerna <i>P</i> )            |
| 1. mams <i>B P</i> (>manis <i>B</i> ) manis <i>L</i> .               | piscerna <i>L</i> .  |
| 5. Regnis hunt <i>L</i> . piscerna <i>MSS</i> .                      | 16. et <i>om. L</i> add. <i>m. 2</i> . a <i>om. P</i> . uocat <i>P</i> . |
| 6. dura <i>P</i> .   | 17. Rer <i>P</i> . sicit <i>L</i> . discere <i>B P</i> .                 |
| 7. pater <i>B P</i> . iudei more <i>MSS</i> .                        | 20. Regis consilium <i>B P</i> . consilium <i>om. P</i> .                |
| 8. et <i>om. L</i> add. <i>m. 2</i> .                                | 21. curcis <i>P</i> .  |
| 9. undans <i>B P</i> . sciat <i>MSS</i> . abito <i>P</i> .           | 22. puniunt <i>B P</i> puniuit>punit <i>L m 2</i> .                      |
| 11. Proxilit <i>B P</i> . diuina>diuino <i>L m. 2</i> .              | faueuce <i>B</i> faeute <i>L P</i> .                                     |
| perdax ?>perdix <i>B</i> perdrix <i>L</i> . iudice <i>B L</i> .      | 23. pernnas <i>B</i> perunas <i>L</i> . quiquem <i>B P</i>               |
| 13. capit <i>L</i> . anse <i>P</i> . opus <i>L</i> . strobe <i>B</i> | quisquan <i>L</i> . uullum <i>P</i> . sudet>suaderet <i>L</i>            |
| storbe <i>P</i> . fimus <i>B L</i> ( <i>P illegible</i> ).           | <i>m. 2</i> .  |
| 14. sceleres <i>B L</i> scelere <i>P</i> . amnis <i>B P</i>          |  |
| animus>anrus <i>L m. 2</i> .   |  |

- 25 Percipiet funus letale uorax gladiator;  
 Qui ferit ense minus prouidus, ense perit.  
 Sanguinis effusor humani sanguine pallet;  
 Interfectori sanguinis unda fluit.

58. Du boutillier et du juif. . . . .

- Uns juif marchant pourtoit  
 Grans richesses; si se doubtoit,  
 Et s'en ala au roi requerre  
 Conduit pour aler par sa terre.  
 5 Au roy pour ce bon argent donne;  
 Son boutillier li abandonne  
 Et baille le roi par conduit;  
 Et cils le moinne et le conduit.  
 Mès convoitise qui le blesce  
 10 De l'avoir et de la richesce  
 Que il scet que le juif porte  
 Le fait entrer en voie torte.  
 Cils qui avant aler devoit  
 Va derriers; le juif le voit,  
 15 Si se doubte, et li dit: Amis,  
 Se je vous é arriere mis,  
 Ne vous desplaise ne ennuit  
 Mès alés avant mes en nuit,  
 Car miex que moi savés la voie.—  
 20 Et cils qui le juif convoie  
 Va derriers et l'espee sache,  
 Et cuide que nuls ne le sache.  
 Au juif dit: Tu y morras,  
 Et tout ton avoir me lairas.—  
 25 Cils a cui riens ne vaut crie  
 Vit de perdris une niece  
 Devant euls voler d'aventure:  
 Boutillier, dit il, je te jure

25. funis *B P Hervieux finus L.* letabile>  
 letale *L m. 2.*

27. effusor *in eras. L.*

28. nuda *P.*

1. Un riche juif si portoit *c.*

5-7. seven verses substituted *c.*

9-14. ten verses substituted *c.*

16. Et ie vous ai *L*, ai *P*, ay *a b.*

19. que ie *a*, que ge *b.*

25. crier *P b.*

26. le voleter *P*, une volee *c.*

28. Au boutillier dit *a b c.*

- Que ces perdris t'encuseront  
 30 Au roy, et pendre te feront.—  
 Cils qui tout ce rien ne prise  
 Dou juif a la teste prise,  
 Corps et tout cela et couvri,  
 Et la male au juif ouvri.  
 35 S'a la richesce toute prise  
 Et s'en retourne en son service  
 Sans faire nule mention  
 Du murtre et de l'occision  
 Qu'il ot faite par son desroi.  
 40 Puis fu bien uns ans o le roi;  
 Un jour a servir le convint  
 De perdris, et puis li souvint  
 Des autres perdris, si s'en rit,  
 Dont il mout folement mesprit  
 45 Qu'a poinne s'en pot il tenir  
 Et sen plus pour le souvenir  
 De ce que le juif ot dit.  
 Le roy enquier pourquoy il rit;  
 Mès cils ne li vout mie dire,  
 50 Et si ne cesse encor de rire  
 Si fort que au roi point ne plet;  
 Mès n'en fet samblant, ains se tet  
 Que plus n'en a ores parlé.  
 Autre fois a li rois parlé,  
 55 Si li dit: Varlet, di me voir,  
 Je vuel la verité savoir;  
 Di moi dont si grans ris te vint  
 L'autrier, et de quoi te souvint  
 Quant devant moi ainsi rioies,  
 60 Pour po de ris ne te crevoies.—  
 Et cils qui au roy mentir n'ose  
 Li conte mot a mot la chose  
 Dou juif, comment il l'occist,  
 Et comment le juif li dit  
 65 Que les perdris qui la voloient

30. prendre *L*, Encore pendre *a*, penre *c*.31. niant *L*, neant *a b*.39. Qui ot *B*.41. Sept jours *a*.42. *verse inserted before 43 a (b c)* De ce  
que li juifs li dist.44. mout *om. L*; *this verse om. a b c*.45. *this verse om. a*.53, 54. parole *a c*.60. tocioies *a c*, te tuoies *b*.

- Devant le roi l'encuseroient.  
 Li juif li dist verité;  
 Par perdris fut iniquité  
 Congnelle et li fais scellis.
- 70 Li rois qui fu moult esmeüs  
 Si assambla ses conseilliers,  
 Si fu jugiés li bouteilliers  
 Dou roi et des barons a pendre,  
 Qu'onques homs ne le pot deffendre.  
 La moralité.
- 75 Trop est cils fos, a dire voir,  
 Qui tue homme pour son avoir,  
 Car tel avoir bien le recors  
 Tost toute honneur et vie et corps.  
 Qui de glaive fiert, perira;
- 80 Ja de ce quittes n'en ira.  
 Se en son sanc fait home floter,  
 Tués iert, ce puet bien noter.

## LIX. DE ATHENIENSIBVS VOLENTIBVS HABERE REGEM

*(Illustration)*

- Fabula nata sequi mores et pingere uitam,  
 Tangit quod fugias quodque sequaris opus.  
 Rege carens nec regis inops, sine lege nec exlex,  
 Absque iugo gessit Attica terra iugum.
- 5 Libertas errare negans se sponte coegit,  
 Et pudor ob legem fortior ense fuit.  
 Ne libitum facerent, regem plebs libera fecit,  
 Et que non potuit pellere iussa tulit.  
 Rex cepit lenire pios, punire nocentes, '  
 10 Queque leuanda leuans, queque premenda premens.  
 Res onerat nouitas, ciues in lege nouelli,  
 Quod leuiter possent, uix potuere pati.

78. Tout couste *a*, Tolt tout *b*, Tost tout *c*.79-82. *om. a b c*.80. ne sera *L*.'tit. athenensibus *B P*.1. pingere *or* pungere *P*.2. sequeris *MSS*.3. nareus *P*.4. attita *MSS*. (> attrita *L m. 2*).6. farciore *L*.8. tullit *B*.9. leuire *MSS*.10. leuans quque *P*. prementa *B P*(> premenda *B*).11. times > ciues *L m. 2*.12 uis *L*. ceruite *MSS*.

Vrbem triste iugum querula ceruice gerentem  
Esopus tetigit consona uerba mouens.

Moralitas—Addicio

- 15 Delicias lecto dum capra uolendo reuoluens  
Verrit, deterius sepius ipsa iacet.  
Delicias uerrendo petens prurigine sicca  
Ardorem nocuum sentit inesse cuti.  
Sperne uoluptates, nocet empta dolore uoluptas;  
20 Illecebras carnis posterat ipse dolor.

59. Des gens de la cité d'Athenes.

- Nous trouvons a la fois en fable  
Chose qui est mout convenable.  
Les gens de la cité d'Atheinnes  
Jadis furent en conseil saines,  
5 Obéissoient a leur loy  
Sans coaction ne deloy.  
La leur failli leur grant savoir  
Que prince et roi vodrent avoir,  
Et ce perdirent leur franchise,  
10 Leur volenté en autrui mise.  
Leur loy par honte estoit gardee,  
Comme le roy feist par espee.  
Pour ce que la leur appetit  
Ne gouvernast grant ne petit,  
15 Et que fuissent miex en aroy,  
Demandant furent a Dieu roy.  
Dieu leur fist protestation  
S'ammettroit a la dicion  
Du roy iceuls et volenté,  
20 Leur corps et avoir a planté  
En toutes ses necessités;  
Ce fut la pure verités.  
Le roy en faisant ses justices  
Biens commendoit, punissoit vices.

14. Regis opus MSS. after l. 14 only  
Moralitas MSS. after l. 17 Addicio B om.  
LP.

15. reuoltinens L.

17. uerrenda L. purngine B (purn-in  
erasure) P priurigine L.

18. notuum MSS. tuti MSS. corr. Her-  
vieux.

20. Illicebras B P.

1. this fable om. a b c.



- 25 Pour iceste non nobleté  
Se tindrent pour desbareté,  
Et convint souffrir le dongier.  
Cest exemple n'est mençongier.  
La moralité.  
De ce parler plus je me tès.
- 30 La chievre qui est en un tes  
De chaume, quant elle trop grate,  
Mal gist par le fait de sa pate.  
Cils qui grate sa seche roingne,  
Quant puis li cuit, douleur empoingne.
- 35 Delice qu'angendre douleur  
Est desirree par fouleur.  
Trouverés ou livre des Rois  
Comment emprunt si grant desrois.  
Le pueple qui voudrent avoir
- 40 Un roy pour garder leur avoir  
Et leur corps, pour devant aler,  
Pour monter et pour avaler,  
Mener du peuple la bataille,  
La gouverner sans nulle faille,
- 45 Pour aler devant ou venir,  
Bien s'en sevent a quoy tenir.  
Jules Cesar disoit: Venés—  
Aus barons a lui assenés:  
Il vous estuet avant aler,
- 50 Et je demourré pour galer.—  
Ne disoit le prince asaillant:  
Ainsi font li autre vaillant.

# LX. DE LVPO QVI INVENIT QVODDAM CAPVT PICTVM

(*Illustration*)

Dum legit arua lupus reperit caput arte superbum;  
Hoc beat humanis ars preciosa genis.  
Hoc lupus alterno uoluit pede, uerba resoluit:  
'O sine uoce genas, o sine uoce caput.'

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 29. ce parle <i>P</i> .                                      | 1. DUum <i>P</i> . Cum <i>L</i> . arce <i>MSS</i> . |
| 30. test <i>P</i> .  | 2. Hec <i>MSS</i> .                                 |
| 31. elle est trop grace <i>B P</i> .                         | 4. the second uoce is probably an error for         |
| tit. quiddem <i>B P</i> quoddem <i>L</i> . pittum <i>B P</i> | mente.  |
| pictum <i>L</i> .  |   |

## Moralitas

- 5 Fuscet et extinguit cordis caligo nitorem  
Corporis; est animi solus in orbe nitor.

## Addicio

- Pulchritudo silet nisi uenerit utile factum;  
Proficit absque bono nullus in orbe decor.  
Pulchritudo nitens nil prodest, gloria uana;  
10 Illustres animos nutrit in orbe labor.  
Apparens species fratres sunt atque chimera;  
Fallax ergo decor atque chimera nichil.

## 60. Du loup qui trouva une teste pointe.

- Parmi les champs s'en va courant  
Le loup que treuve devourant;  
Trouva lors une belle teste  
De quoi cuida fere grant feste;  
5 Trop bien estoit pourtraite et painte;  
L'en y ot mise couleur mainte.  
Ne sembloit qu'il y oust nul vice,  
Faite estoit par grant artifice.  
Le loup qui cuida trouver proie  
10 Des deus piés la muet et tornoie,  
Comme regarde et environne;  
Nulle chose n'i trouva bonne:  
Joes veés ou n'a nulle vois,  
Voix en la teste je ne vois.  
15 Las moi, comment m'est mescheü!  
Bien sui mescheant et deceü;  
Il me convient par cuer souper.—  
Engouffir commence et ronper;  
De courous estoit rompieus  
20 Qui volt estre delicieus.

## La moralité.

David dit que homme de delices  
Lor somme ont dormi comme nices,  
Car riens n'ont trouvé en leur mains,

5. Fustat *MSS.* caligo uitorem *L.*

*MSS.* (>chimera *L m. 2*).

6. uitor *L P.*

7. uenter *L (expunged)* above it uenitur  
*m. 2.* fattum *B.*

1. *this fable om. a b c.*

5. pointe *L.*

10. Illustres *P.* nutrit nutrit *B.*

12. Nuulle *B.*

11. Apperans *P.* sinit *P* sinut *L.* chimeta

18. Engoufer *L*; romper *L*, roupper *P.*

- Ne tout, ne le plus, ne le main.  
 25 Mès cils qui fet misericorde  
 L'enmainne et tire a sa corde,  
 Et la treuve depuis la mort  
 Qui saiges est a ce se amort.  
 Biauté ne vaut riens sans bonté.  
 30 Nuls ne doit estre haï monté  
 S'il n'aimme bonté et labour.  
 Se il sieut toujours le tabour,  
 Vielle, quiterne demainne,  
 La cornemuse, la douçainne,  
 35 La harpe, le leu, la citole,  
 La dance, soulas et querole,  
 Et ne quiert fors que le bon jour,  
 Estre toute jour au sejour  
 Et ne vult mès que nient faire,  
 40 Le timpre oïr et la naquaire,  
 Et les trompes qui font grant son,  
 Hors estre adès de cusançon.

## LXI. DE NISO ET COLVMBA

(Illustration)

Addicio

- Ethera circundante niso leuiterque uolante,  
 Pullus adest, genuit huncque columba sibi.  
 Dogmata neglexit fetus retinere parentum,  
 Orto lete carens compare solus erat.  
 5 Precipitavit enim nisus hunc pedibusque terebat,  
 Obstupuit pullus, ut foret esus aui.  
 Pullus ait, mansuete loquens: 'Auis inclita, pulchra,

32. suist *L.*33. cf. *Ys.* 20. 22-24.35. leun *L.*, lus *P.*39. noiant *L.*

1 circumdanti *Robert.* uiso leuiter que *B*  
 uiso leuiterque *L* in soleuiter que > in solonter  
 que *P* insolonter *Robert* corr. *Hervieux.*  
 uolente *L.*

2. Dullus *P* (*B* originally ?) hunc quae  
*Robert.*

3. Dognata *P.* fecus *P* fletus *L* secum  
*Robert.*

4. Orco lete *B P* (Orco laetè *Robert*)  
 Ortolete *Hervieux* (the sense seems to be  
 'cheerfully leaving the garden').

5. uisus or nisus *B* uisus *P.* hñt *L.* pedibus  
 tenuitque *Robert.*

6. ne *Robert.*7. aues *P Robert.* molita *L.*

- Etati parcas, obsecro, parce michi.  
 Vngues infixi plumis sunt causa timoris;  
 10 Nobilis es, numquam degenerare uelis.  
 Nobilitas pennata nitet tibi corpore toto;  
 Iusta michi, dulcis et pia causa fauet.  
 Diluuium magnum uolucres ab olim sociauit,  
 Optatam pacem ramus in ore tulit.  
 15 Spiritui sancto placuit mea grata figura;  
 Est regina poli nomine grata meo.  
 Te pietas animet, dulcissime, parce precanti,  
 Spondeo de pullis munus habere meis.  
 Humane leges arrident simplicitati,  
 20 Dulcis ab hac species nostraque nomen habet.  
 Non uernacula, set nummis est empta magistri  
 Mater, et aduersus iura fouere parat  
 Frater, oportebit aquileque subire tribunal;  
 Iuribus insudans te tribulabit herus.  
 25 Sparsit amicitias dominus cum indice tanto,  
 Quem fauor annectit; iudicis umbra nocet.  
 Munera sumpta ligant, subuertunt munera sumpta;  
 Declinat; do, des; iudice tutus herus.  
 Hiis nisus auditis infigit cruribus unguis,  
 30 Amplexatur eam subpeditando celer.  
 'Nil tibi proficient oblectamenta loquacis  
 Lingue; quod dominus contulit, assit,' ait.  
 'Non facit iniuriam proprio qui iure iuuatur;  
 Sum predalis auis, uiuere preda michi.  
 35 Stulticiam nequeo teneris quam suscipis annis  
 Dissimulare tuam; que luis ipsa bibe.

10. et *L* et>es *P*. uitet *B* nictet *L*.  
 12. Lustra *B*.  
 13. olin *L*.  
 14. Obtatam *L* · *P* Ob-tatam (*the hyphen in erasure*) *B*. corr. *Robert*. ramis *B* *P* *Robert*. tuli *Robert*.  
 17. moveat *Robert*. parte *B*.  
 20. ad hoc *P* *Hervieux* adhoc *Robert*. habent *P*.  
 21. Non est . . . nummis empta *MSS*. corr. *Hervieux*. sed *P*. magnis *Robert*.  
 22. Mater a et *B*. in te iam (*om. aduersus*) *Hervieux*. uiua *L*. foue *P* *Robert*.  
 23. Pater *Robert*. oportebat>oportebit *L* m. 2.  
 24. Parochus *Robert* (iibus *P*). in sudens *P* *Robert*. detribulabit>tetribulabit *L* m. 2.

25. indice *P*.  
 26. annetti *P* annecti *Robert*.  
 27. subvincunt *Robert*.  
 28. jat do des *P* *om. Robert*.  
 29. uisus *B* ]sus *P* *om. Robert*.  
 29. insigit *L*. curribus *B* *P*. ungeies *B* *P* unguis *Robert*.  
 30. jexatur *P*. *om. Robert*. supedicando *P* *Robert* subpeditando *B* *L* *Hervieux*.  
 31. proficiant *P* *Robert* *Hervieux*. oblectamenta *MSS*. corr. *Robert*. loquatis *L*.  
 32. contilit *P* concilit *Robert*.  
 33. In facit *P* conficit *Robert* fecit>facit *B* m. 2. et que *L* del. et and que>qui m. 2.  
 34. in *P* *om. Robert*.  
 35. quae *Robert* auis *L*.  
 36. quam . . . propria *Robert*.

- Ordine seruato sic conformatur amor  
 Verus amor; se prediligat omnis homo.  
 Ad presens oua cras pullis sunt meliora;  
 40 Pollicitis nemo dicior esse potest.  
 Spes que differtur animas affligit et urit;  
 Stultorum numerum uerba polita beant.  
 Non timeo iusta michi suffragante querela;  
 Vitam demo tibi, gaudeo iure meo.  
 45 Impedimenta solent crebro mediare propinqua;  
 Non bene se sebat cui patet anus hians.  
 Ecce studendo magister adest lucente fenestra,  
 Esse nisum miluum rem speculando putat.  
 Diruit hic bellum, fugat atque nisum predicando,  
 50 Rursus adest, pullum rursus obumbrat auis.  
 Presbiter accurrit, alitem capit ede retentum;  
 Compeditibus capitur, libera suauis auis.  
 Predando dominus, nusquam prebendo dolebit:  
 Sic sit, asseritur traditione patrum.

## Moralitas

- 55 Accumulanda malis non sunt mala mente sagaci;  
 Sollerter uideat, ne fluitando cadat.

## &lt;Addicio&gt;

- Dicitur ille sagax quicumque pericla secunda  
 Cautius euadit, quemque pericla docent.  
 Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum;  
 60 Que memorata placent prisca, futura docent.

37. Et ad me *Robert.* seruata>servato  
*L m. 2.*

41. init *om. Robert.*

42. munorum ? *B.* pollita>polita *L m. 2.*

43. querelam *Robert.*

45. cre crebro *P . . . crebro Robert.*

46. sescelat>se celat *B* se cebat *L* (se  
 sebat *P*) cesserat *Robert.* apus hyanis>  
 hyans *L m. 2.*

47. lutente *B P.*

48. milium *B* millium *P* milum *L.*

49. Dimunt *B* Dum nit *P.* Duninit *or*  
 Diminit *L* Dum vidit *Robert corr. Hervieux.*  
 bellum bis (*the second expunged*) *B.* predi-  
 cado *L.*

50. pullium *MSS. corr. Robert.*

51. atcurrit *B.* a litem>alitem *L m. 2.*

52. compidibus *P.*

53. Praedone: dominus *Robert.* nusquam  
 predando *B* predendo *L P* (praedendo *Robert*)  
*corr. Hervieux.*

54. Sit sic *Robert* Sic sic *L.* assentur *P.*

55. suum *P.* sag [ *P* sagaces *Robert.*

56. Sollercer *L.* ui dat>ui deat *P.* ue  
*B.* flunerando ?>fluitando *L.*

57. pericla cadat (*expunged*) secunda *L.*  
 Addicio *om. MSS.*

58. Cancius *L.* euaoit ?>euadit *L m. 2.*

58. decent *B P* (>docent *B*) docent>  
 decent *L* decent *Hervieux.*

59. tantum *P Robert* cantum *L.*

60. placent; prisca *Robert.*

## 61. De l'esprevier et du coulon.

- Un esprevier en l'air voloit  
 Et prendre sa proie voloit.  
 Encontra un josne pigeon:  
 Dieus aie, or ne vi je on
- 5 Que eusse si bonne aventur ;  
 Je voi bien Dieux a de moi cure,  
 Si a il de toute autre beste;  
 De cestui vuil faire ma feste.—  
 Le pigeonnet, qui juenes ere,
- 10 Passa la doctrine sa mere,  
 Car il s'en estoit esvolé  
 En lieu detroiles acolé.  
 L'esprevier tantost l'abati,  
 Batant disoit: Je te chati.—
- 15 Le pigeon ot mout grant peur  
 Quant vit son devoureeur.  
 Le pigeon dit: Cuer deboinaire,  
 Vuilliés vous un petit retraire;  
 Vous estes nobles et gentis,
- 20 Ne soiés doncques entalentis  
 De moi faire telle vergoingne,  
 Et gentilesce vous semoingne.  
 Tant deboinaire estre puisses  
 Qu'ostes tes ongles de mes cuisses;
- 25 Aies pitié de ma jonesce,  
 Ja toi villenie ne blesce;  
 Ne vailles point desgenerer,  
 Mès le bien tourjours esperer.  
 Tu es si biaux a regarder,
- 30 Ta biauté me devroit garder.  
 Qui a bonne cause l'en loie;  
 Bonne cause é, dont é grant joie.  
 Ja fui je en ta compaignie  
 En l'arche Noé la polie,
- 35 J'aportai la pais et la treve  
 En un biau rain qu'estoit en sceve.  
 Ma forme prist Sains Esperis,

tit., 1. esprivier L.

1. *this fable om. a b c.*

11. envole P.

17. tres debonnere L.

23. debonnaire L P.

34. noel P.

35. greve P.

- Cest exemple me soit meris.  
 Et nostre Dame me fu nommee  
 40 Par mon biau nom qui tant agree.  
 Douce sui et tres deboinare,  
 Il n'a point de fiel en ma paire.  
 En moi n'a tant ne quant d'amer,  
 Pour ce me dois tu plus amer.  
 45 Parfondement a toi soupire:  
 Pardonner me vailles ton ire.  
 Aies doncques de moi pitié,  
 Vueilles que j'aie t'amitié.  
 Tres dous, lesse moi aler joer,  
 50 A ma mere m'en vuil loer,  
 Et si m'en loré a mon frere  
 Mon compaignon, et a mon pere;  
 Un te promet de mes pijons  
 Après l'iver quant vient li jons.  
 55 Je te crie pour Dieu merci;  
 De peur é le cuer merci.  
 Aie pitié de ma juenesce;  
 Les drois ont chiere ma simplesce;  
 D'elle pall'em en l'evangille  
 60 Ou n'a ne mauvitié ne guile.  
 Ne furent pas né de ceans  
 Mes peres, ains Mestre Jehans  
 De son argent les acheta  
 Qui de sa bourse le geta.  
 65 Pour ce voudra a toi plaidier  
 Et chascuns li voudra aidier  
 Par devant le roi des oisiaus;  
 Aseür ne sera ta piaus,  
 Formera contre toi libelle,  
 70 Se n'est preudomme qui s'en melle;  
 Tu seras tous desconfortés,  
 Tes anemis sera mortés,  
 Traira le juge a sa cordele,  
 Pance ci jouvence tres belle.  
 75 Le juge qui est favorable  
 Doit mout estre espoventable.

41. debonnaire *L P.*48. Villes *B*; raie *P.*56. ai *P.*59. parlen *L.*62. peres *om. P.*72. mortelz *L.*

- Mestre Jehan li a donné,  
 Si font autre clerc couronné,  
 Et il leur donne venoisons,  
 80 Et mon mestre li donne oisons.  
 Dons pervertissent jugement,  
 Se le saige de ce ne ment.—  
 Ce dit respondi l'esprevier:  
 Morir puisse d'un grant levier,  
 85 Se riens fais pour ton preschement;  
 Mangeré toi isnellement.—  
 Si le fier et bat de sa pate,  
 Et le coulön fait chiere mate:  
 Cuides tu que pour ta parole  
 90 De dessus toi tantost m'envole?  
 Le bien que Dieu m'a envié  
 Ne sera pour moi renié.  
 Tu sces que suis oisiaus de proie;  
 N'est cest eschoite doncques moie.  
 95 Droit blasmer celui ne voudroit  
 Qui joit et use de son droit.  
 Se tu as faite ta folie,  
 Si la boi, par Sainte Marie.  
 Oncques ne firent compaignie  
 100 Juenesce et sans, plus ne l'oublie.  
 En charité si a tel ordre  
 Qu'a soi se doit chascuns amordre  
 Plus que autrui; ne faites doubte,  
 Ceste passe loiauté toute.  
 105 De promesses me fais assés,  
 De promettre n'es pas lassés.  
 Mieux vaut "tien" que deus "tu l'aras,"  
 En promesses vient bien baras.  
 Pour ce nous dit la sainte paige:  
 110 Qui vit en esperance, enraige,  
 Vit, demeure en grant tourment;  
 Esperance le cuit forment.  
 Le fol fait lie belle parole,  
 Tant ai je apris a l'escole.  
 115 Riens ne doubte, j'é bonne querelle,

86. Mengerai *L.*91. die ma envoie *P.*100. sens *L.*106. nest *B.*



- Par la dame, mere et pucelle.  
 Chascun s'esjoit a son semblant.  
 Cuides tu se je vois emblant  
 Un coulon, une torterelle?
- 120 L'un bon boire l'autre rapelle.  
 Ainsi fait mon roy, le grant aigle;  
 Prent oisiaus en forment ou saigle,  
 Vit de proie, si com je fais,  
 Le preu emporte sous le fais.
- 125 Lesse moi de mon droit joir,  
 De ce ne te dois esboir,  
 Quar ce qu'en tient l'en doit tenir;  
 La vie te convient fenir.  
 Le gerfaut, l'oiteur, le faucon
- 130 M'ont aprise ceste leçon.  
 Selonc seigneur maisnie duite,  
 Mon seigneur m'aprist ceste luitte.—  
 L'en dit qu'entre bouche et cuillier  
 Sieut venir souvent encombrier.
- 135 Mal se cache cui le cul pert;  
 Quant l'en le voit tout en apert.  
 Vesci le mestre a la fenestre:  
 Qu'est ce, dit il, que puet ce estre?  
 Helas, je voi la un escoufle
- 140 Qui mon coulon trestout engoufle.—  
 Tantost depice la bataille;  
 L'esprevier fuit comment qu'il aille,  
 Vient depuis le coulon requerre,  
 Durement l'abat contre terre.
- 145 A tant è vous le chapellain  
 Qui le demainne en tieu pellain  
 Qu'il le prent vif en un buchier.  
 Le mestre ne chesse huchier:  
 Or tost aportés l'oisillon,
- 150 Esprevier ou esmerillon.—  
 Et l'en li fait tantost uns giés  
 Ou il fu mout bien herbegiés.

116. le dame *B.*122. ou en *L.*130. Monlt aprinse *L.*135. se ceuvre a qui *P.*136. an aspert *P.*141. despice *L P.*148. cesse *L P.*

- Le saige parlant nous ottoie  
 Que le predeur devandra proie;  
 155 Le dit commun n'est pas tous faus.  
     La moralité.  
 Qui mal pense, a li vendra maus.  
 Fos est qui a mal acumule,  
 Le mal qui panse boise nulle.  
 Cils qui a perils eschapé  
 160 Gardoit que puis ne soit hapé,  
 Qui ne chiee secundement  
 Ou peril d'ou premierement  
 Est eschapés, qui ne reçoive  
 Honte laquelle puis il boive.

LXII. DE MVRIBVS CONSILIVM FACIENTIBVS  
 CONTRA CATVM

(Illustration)

Addicio

- Concilium fecere diu mures animati;  
 Peruenit e rapido magna querela cato:  
 'Murilegus nos sepe legit comeditque legendo;  
     Cum nostris natis sic sumus esca sibi.'  
 5 Omnes conueniunt, detur campanula furi;  
     Sic improuisus non erit interitus.'  
 Contio tota probat sanctum laudabile dictum;  
     Nil fit, et abscedit garrula tota cohors.  
 Ecce uetusta, sagax, uenit obuia claudica consors,  
 10 Que cito non potuit accelerare pedem.  
 'Dicite, felices, que sit concordia uestra';  
     Inserit ex gestis omnia † filiis actus.

155. La moralite follows 156 in L.

tit. consilium B P. facientibus om. L P  
 Robert. catra P.

1. Consilium B P. mure B P.
2. e om. P Robert.
3. comedit B P.
4. natis L. sit B P. simus MSS. Hervieux  
 corr. Robert.
5. capanula L campanula P.
6. Concio Robert.
8. sic > fic L. ab sedit P. gacula P.


9. uetusta P uestuta > uetusta L m. 2.  
 clauda et > claudicat L m. 2. claudica B  
 claudica[ P claudicans obvia venit Robert.

11. nostra P Robert.

12. Iuserit B P. filiis actus B P filus actus  
 (-t-expunged) L silus acus Hervieux filiis  
 actus omnes (om. omnia) Robert. The translation  
 seems to suggest filus acus, 'thread,  
 needle,' which may be correct, possibly in the  
 sense of 'exactly,' i.e., as the thread fits the  
 needle; or perhaps one should read omnia  
 fila acu, i.e., fits every thread in the needle.

- Arguit hos ueterana loquax: 'Quis forte ligabit  
Sedulitate sua tympana dicta cato?'  
15 Querunt qua faciant concepta medullitus arte;  
Non est qui faciat premeditata sagax.

## Moralitas

- Nil prodesset enim sensato condere iura,  
Constanti uultu ni tueretur ea.  
Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus;   
20 Nil prodest abs re magna futura loqui.

## 62. Des souris qui firent concile contre le chat.

- Les souris firent parlement  
Ou il ot grant grumellement  
La ou dut venir souri mainte.  
Du chat fu faite la complainte:  
5 Le chat ne nous cesse rungier,  
Dieu le puist en enfer plungier;  
Il manjue nos enfans;  
De li nuire nous avançons.—  
Un conseil vous donré, dit l'une,  
10 A mon dit s'acordoit chascune;  
L'en liera une campenelle  
A son col, qui si nous reuelle,  
Ainsi pourrons nous contraitier  
Quant il nous voudra agaitier,  
15 Quar nous orrons tantost le son.—  
A chascun pleist ceste leçon.  
Or s'en retournent faisant feste,  
Chascune d'aler estoit preste.  
A tant es vous une viés souris  
20 Qui estoit tous alangouris;  
Elle estoit et vielle et boiteuse,

13. has MSS. *Hervieux* corr. *Robert*. loquax  
*P.* l'iga[ *P.* ligat haec *Robert*.

15. facient MSS. (>faciant *P.*).

15. medullatus *L.* arte om. *P.* *Robert*.

16. q////>qui *B.* que *P.* premedicata  
MSS. *Hervieux* (premeditata *B.*).

17. sensato *Robert*. intueretur MSS. (>ni  
tueretur *B.* m. 2.).

19 = *Horace*, *A.* *P.* 139 (quoted above on  
XXIII 9). mys *P.*

20. has >abs *L.* m. 2.

1. this fable om. a b c; Addition in margin  
*B.* *L.*

3. avoir *P.*

16. cest aleccion *P.*

19. vies om. *L.*

- De demander fu curieuse  
 Ce qui estoit fait au concile,  
 Ou avoient esté deus mile.  
 25 L'en li dit de fil en aiguille  
 Vesci Calabre, veés ci Puille,  
 Oncques deliberation  
 N'ot mès si grant discretion.  
 La vielle dit: Qui la livra?  
 30 Et qui au chat tout droit ira?  
 Qui menra ceci a effet?  
 Tout ne vaut rien se il n'est fet.—  
 La moralité.  
 Riens ne vaudroit faire les drois  
 Se n'estoit puissans et adrois,  
 35 Qui les fait garder et tenir.  
 D'une montaingne sieut venir  
 Une souris quant est enfee.  
 Qui en parlant fait grant poncee,  
 Et puis après fait pou de fait,  
 40 En parler ne scet qu'il se fait.

## LXIII. DE GALLO ET MVRE

(Illustration)

Addicio

- Mus genuit murem, dogmatizavit eundem:  
 'Filia pulchra michi, dogmata disce patris.  
 Cum procul exieris lusura foramine nostro,  
 Occurrente tibi milite, ficta probo.  
 5 Miles adest gallus armatus cuspide rostro;  
 Orans in cinere balbitat ipse catus.  
 Sis secura, tibi non sit formidine miles,  
 Subdolanus ypocrita te uorat ipse catus.'

28. destruction *L* (discretion in 15th century hand in margin).

29. lira *L*.

30. que tout droit au chat *P*.

32. La moralite om. *L*.

36. cf. fable No. 23.

38. plaint *L*.

tit. Galle *L*.

1. domatizavit > dogmatizavit *L m. 2*.

2. eundem *B P*. eandem *Robert*.

3. luxura *P* lustrura *Robert*. foramina *MSS. corr. Robert*.

4. occurrenti *P*. militi *Robert*. ficta *B P* ficto > ficta *L m. 2* fide *Robert corr. Hervieux*.

5. Milles *P*.

6. balbutit *Hervieux*.

7. secum *P Robert*. Moralitas om. *MSS*.

## &lt; Moralitas &gt;

- Ypocritis adhibenda fides non est neque fictis;  
 10 Iustis mellita uerbula sepe nocent.  
 Dissimulare student conceptum mente uenenum;  
 Duplicibus uerbis sepe uenena fouent.

## 63. Du coq et de la souris.

- La souris au petit souris  
 Dit: Souefment es de moi nourris;  
 Joer voudras, ma fille chiere,  
 Et t'en istras de ma taisniere.  
 5 Enconterras un chevalier,  
 Fort et puissant, en un paillier.  
 Tu enconterras un pseudomme  
 Que ou foier toute jotr gromme,  
 Et gist en la cendre chaudette,  
 10 Et en orant toujours barbette.  
 D'autre part est le biau cochet.  
 Prise seras au trebuchet  
 Se vers toi faintement habite  
 Le chat, le couvert ypocrite;  
 15 Se ne te gardes, mangera  
 Toi trestout et devourera.  
 Mès du chevalier n'aies garde;  
 Mès le faus samblant qui se farde  
 Ne s'efforce de bareter  
 20 Par ourer et par barbeter.  
 N'ajoute foi a ypocrite;  
 Cils les het qui es chieus habite.  
 Aus bons font fausses envaies  
 Par paroles belles, polies;  
 25 Les piteus font comme orfenin,  
 Dessous la langue ont le venin;  
 En leur faintise se tapissent  
 Et venin en leur cuer norrissent.

9. Ypocritus B P (> Ypocritis B). adhy-  
 benda P. ficus or fitus B fitus P.

10. Iustus > Iustis L Multis Robert.

12. Dublicibus P Dupplicibus L. uerba  
 MSS. (> uerbis ? L) verbis Robert.

1. ot P; this fable om. a b c.

4. tan iras P.

5. Encontreras L.

7. encontreras L.

22. les let L; cieux L; cieulx P.

23. envoies P.

24. belles et L.

25. orphelin P.

26. velim P.

## LXIV. DE RVSTICA ET IUVENCA

(Illustration)

Addicio

Rustica nutriuit sibi uaccam tempore longo,

De cuius fouit femina lacte domum.

Sanctus ei proprius aderat, quem sepe rogabat,

Fiat ut incolumis pulchra iuuenca sibi.

5 Omnibus hec sanctis uitulam commendat, ut ipsam

Custodire uelint; fit cibus ipsa lupo.

Moralitas

Instruit exemplum communia sepe neglecta,

Auribus erectis propria namque sonant.

Corditus ut propria curantur non aliena;

10 Corda peritorum propria sepe mouent.

Est conuertendum sanctorum semper ad unum,

Iob paciens ueluti clamat ore suo.

## 64. De la femme qui nourrissoit sa vache et le commendoit chascun jour a un saint.

Une femme avoit une vache

Et la norrissoit en sa crache.

Aucune fois l'anvoioit pestre,

Chascun jour ot un saint pour mestre

5 A qui el la recommendoit.

De son lait manjoit et vendoit.

Disoit: Sire Saint Nicholas,

Hui ma vache ne chiece en las

Du loup, d'autre mauvese beste,

10 Vuilliés li aidier, Saint Sulvestre,

Saint Dominique, Saint François.—

Tous les jours le disoit ançois;

tit. in nenta ? P.

1. longinquo tempore vaccam Robert.

3. quam L.

4. ut columis B P. iuuenta B P.

5. ipsi Robert.

6. tibet P. tamen esca Robert.

7. neglecta B L (negl[ P negari Robert).

10. monent B L.

11. couertandum L.

12. velva Robert. clamittat B. The refer-

ence is probably to Job, V, 1 in the Vulgate:

Voca ergo, si est qui tibi respondeat, et ad aliquem sanctorum conuertere.

tit. la recommendoit L, et el la commendoit P.

1. this fable om. a b c.

5. commendoit P.

8. chie P.

10. sevestre L, silvestre P.

12. enscois P.

- Ains que la vache fust gitee  
 Un saint donnoit la destinee,  
 15 Si que toute jour revenoit  
 Sainne, dont grant joie menoit.  
 La bonne femme et li maris  
 Par le saint estoient garis  
 A qui orent devotion  
 20 Le jour, sans nulle fiction.  
 Si avint une matinee  
 Que la vache fust hors gitee,  
 Si la commanda a tous sains  
 Que revingne son chatel sains,  
 25 Que de sa vache ne recoive  
 Perte, ains encores de son lait boive.  
 Si avint que celle journee  
 De mauls loups fu elle estranglee.  
 Son bon argent li devint piautre,  
 30 Li uns sains s'atendoit a l'autre.  
 La moralité.  
 Si veons que a chose commune  
 Nulle personne ne s'aüne,  
 Et la propre chose resvoile  
 Et vient souvent devers l'oroile.  
 35 Lisons ou livre Job le saige:  
 Soions de si grant vasselaige  
 Que nous a un saint singuler  
 Nous avoons sans reculer;  
 Qui ne le fet repentira  
 40 Soi, quant de vie fenira;  
 A tart se pourra repentir,  
 Quar tout convient anientir.  
 La priere qu'est singuliere  
 Est plus entrant et plus pleniere.  
 45 Le singuler sieut plus mouvoir  
 A bon preu et bon estouvoir  
 Que ne fait generalité.  
 Dame de grant benignité,  
 Vous estes par tout exceptee,

16. avoit *L.*26. encor *L.*44. Et *P.*45. La moralite following this verse as well  
as 30 *L.*49. exceptee *P.*

- 50 Tous chastes saiges a vous bee;  
 Car vous estes la droite adreesce,  
 De paradis la forteresce.  
 Nuls ne vous doit dissimuler,  
 Mès vous doit l'en accumuler
- 55 Avecques tous sains et toutes sainte,  
 Ainçois devés estre emprainte  
 En cuer de chascun souffretteus  
 Entre toutes et entre tous,  
 Car chascun a vous se rallie;
- 60 Vostre baniere desploie  
 Est toujours pour desbareter;  
 L'ennemi ne puet contester  
 Ou l'en voit vostre confenon.  
 Saiges sommes se a vous venon;
- 65 Mere de Dieu, nous secourés,  
 Ou trestous sommes devourés.

## EPILOGUE

C'est la sustance de cest livre.

- Or vous ai conté mainte fable,  
 Ou maint bon mot et profitable  
 Puet chascun oïr et entendre  
 Qui a la fin se voudra prendre.
- 5 Mès aus bourdes ne gardés mie;  
 Toute la mouelle et la mie,  
 Tout le sen, toute la substance,  
 Vous enseigneront sans doubtaunce  
 Les derreniers vers de la fable,
- 10 Car il sont trestout veritable;  
 Et du françois et du latin  
 Prenés vous sam plus a la fin;  
 Il n'i a nulle fauseté,

62. contreter *L*, contralier *P*.

7. sen et *L*.

Tu. substance de ce romans *L*. Addicion  
 in margin *B L*.

12. sens *L*, sans *P*.



- Et pour ce l'é je translaté;  
 15 Pour les dammes tant seulement  
 L'ai du latin trait en rommant,  
 Exquelles excellent clergie,  
 Ne tres eminent, n'affiert mie;  
 Mès est proprement leur ouvraige  
 20 De Dieu servir de bon coraige,  
 Et de leur belle portetüre  
 Avoir et diligence et cure,  
 Et que facent chose plaisant  
 A leur maris en euls aisant.  
 25 Et li mari doivent entendre  
 Aus armes et lettres aprendre;  
 Mès des armes doivent savoir  
 Plus les amer sus tout avoir;  
 Et pour ce dit Justiniens,  
 30 Qui fist les livres anciens:  
 Je vuil mes chevaliers adrois  
 Plus saichent armes que les drois,  
 Mès l'un et l'autre est bon ensamble.  
 Si doit l'en mettre, ce me samble,  
 35 Noble homme quant il a sept ans  
 Que aus lettres soit entendans  
 Jusques a quatorze ans ou a quinze;  
 Puis li soit la leçon aprinse  
 Des armes et la congnoissance  
 40 Quant chevauche et est hors de enfance.  
 Pour viter peresce et repos,  
 Revenons a nostre propos.  
 Ce livre fit chier a tenir,  
 Ci convient Ysopet tenir.  
 45 Je vous aferme et creant  
 De ce ne mentiré neant,  
 Que estudier en Ysopet  
 N'est pas euvre de mignopet;

15. les gens layes *a b c*.16. romment *L*.17-42. *om. a b c*.28. seur *L*.38. aprie *L P*.40. et hors est *L*, est *om. P*.44. Si *L*; isopet *P*, Esopet *a*.

45-84. *om. a b c*; in *b c* the Prologue to *Avionnet* follows immediately; in *a*, which does not contain *Avionnet*, these words occupy remainder of f. 36r: Amen. Explicit Esopus putat qui dicit ysopus [cf. Foerster, *Lyoner Ysopet*, p. xlii].

45. afferme *bñ L*.

- Car l'en y treuve verité,  
 50 Combien que fable recité  
 L'ait; ce n'est pas a merveillier,  
 Car qui en logique vuet veillier,  
 Il trouvera que de premisses  
 Fausses, ensamble bien assises,  
 55 S'ansuit vraie conclusion.  
 Yceste est vraie opinion;  
 Mès aucunement verité  
 Ne puet engoudier fausseté,  
 Car ce qui est ne puet non estre,  
 60 Et ce qui n'est pas puet bien nestre;  
 Et l'espine porte la rose,  
 De l'aunier ist bien douce chose.  
 La rose pres est de l'ortie.  
 La terre qui est bien gaingnie  
 65 Porte bon blef et pourte varge,  
 Bon et mauvès ensamble charge.  
 L'en ne se doit si abregier  
 Tantost l'un pour l'autre arregier  
 Jusques l'en viegne a la meurté,  
 70 Et puis puet l'en par grant seurté  
 D'une part mettre le bon blé,  
 Les chardons soient assemblé,  
 Et les varges, pour ou feu mettre.  
 Ainsi le nous dit a la lettre  
 75 Li Sauverres de tout le monde;  
 Pour ce est que la ou il habonde  
 Multitude de humain lignaige,  
 Sembleroit que ce fust outraige  
 Qui n'auroit deboinaireté  
 80 Pour cause de pluralité.  
 Car qui voudroit tout effacier,  
 Les bons y faudroit enlacier.  
 Ne puet estre qu'en mainte gent  
 Ne soient aucun bel et gent.

55. Sainsinc B P.

63. porte L, pour ce vuarge P.

74. en la letre P.

77. et P.

78. doumage P.

79. debonnairete L P.

80. pularite P.

## [ LXV. DE VIRO ET VXORE

- Dum uir et uxor amant, uxorem priuat amato  
 Parca uiro, nec eam priuat amore uiri.  
 Coniugis amplectens tumulum pro coniuge uexat  
 Vngue genas, oculos fletibus, ora sono.
- 5 Hanc iuuat ipse dolor, nequit hac de sede reuelli  
 Grandine seu tenebris seu prece siue minis.  
 Ecce reum dampnat iudex, crux horrida punit.  
 In cruce custodit tempore noctis eques.  
 Hic sitit, ad tumulum uocat hunc et clamor et ignis,
- 10 Orat aque munus. hec dat et ille bibit.  
 Egrum nectareis audet cor inungere uerbis,  
 Hunc uocat ad primum cura timoris opus.  
 Sed redit et dulces monitus intexit amaro  
 Cordi. uicta subit castra doloris amor.
- 15 Vir metuens furi furem, suspendia furis  
 Visit, sed uiduam tactus amore petit.  
 Hanc ligat amplexu fructumque ligurit amoris.  
 Hinc redit ad furem, sed loca fure carent.  
 Hic dolet, hoc questu dolor hic instigat amicam:
- 20 Non bene seruato fure, timore premor.  
 Rex michi seruandum dederat, me regius ensis  
 Terret, et extorrem me iubet esse timor.  
 Hec ait: Inueni, que spem tibi suscitet, artem.  
 Vir meus inplebit in cruce furis honus.
- 25 Ipsa uiri bustum reserat, pro fure cathenat  
 Ipsa uirum, restem subligat ipsa uiro.  
 Huic merito succumbit eques, succumbit amori  
 Illa nouo, ligat hos firmus amore thorus.  
 Sola premit uiuosque metu penaque sepultos
- 30 Femina. femineum nil bene finit opus.]

[Förster: *Lyoner Yzopet*, XLVIII.]

## 65. D'un homme et de sa femme.

- Ça se traie cilz qui a femme  
 Si chier con a son corps et s'ame,  
 Et si orra une matire  
 Qui aus maris est bonne a dire.
- 5 Uns preudons et sa femme estoient

*little as in c; om. a b.*1. *three verses substituted in c.*2. *quil a b, quils ont c.*3. *une lectzon lire b, Viengnent ouir une matiere c.*4. *aux amans c.*

- Qui par samblant mout s'entramoient;  
 Et quant ly preudons deffina  
 Sa femme tel dueil en mena,  
 Qui onc ne se vult deporter,  
 10 Ne nuls ne l'en puet conforter  
 Ne faire cesser de son plaint;  
 Mais sus la tumble mout se plaint  
 Senz repos nul ne senz sejour,  
 Que ne s'en part ne nuit ne jour.  
 15 Pour priere ne pour menace  
 Ne se mouvoit de celle place,  
 Et dit qu'elle ne se mouvra  
 Jamais d'illeuc, ains y morra.  
 Adonc fu uns lierres pendus,  
 20 Et que il ne fust despenduz  
 Fu la garde baillee et mise  
 Sur un chevalier, en tel guise  
 Que se il le larron perdoit  
 Il seroit pendus la en droit.  
 25 Cilz au larron garder bailla,  
 Tant se pena et travailla  
 Qu'il ot soif, et aler ne scot  
 Fors la ou les complaints ot  
 De celle qui crie et qui brait,  
 30 Et pour le feu celle part vait.  
 Boire quiert, et a boire a heü.  
 Mout li plaist ce qu'il a vetü;  
 Au partir li deist: Douce amie,  
 Si grant plains ne vous affiert mie;  
 35 Laissiés vostre plorer ester,  
 Vous n'y povés rien conquerer.—  
 Au pendu va que il garda;  
 Quant il fu la, si regarda,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 9. Conques <i>c</i> ; sen <i>b c</i> .  | 25. veilla <i>c</i> .   |
| 10. Que nuls ne la puet <i>b</i> , Pour nul tant la<br>sceust <i>c</i> .                          | 27. sot <i>b c</i> .  |
| 12. Ains <i>c</i> ; tombe au mort <i>b c</i> .  | 29. si crie et brait <i>b</i> , De la femme qui si<br>fort brait <i>c</i> . |
| 16. vueult (vult) mouvoir de sa <i>b (c)</i> .  | 31. De leane demande <i>a c</i> ; a eu <i>b c</i> .                         |
| 17. sen mounera <i>b</i> , bougera <i>c</i> .   | 32. verse <i>om</i> , <i>b</i> .  |
| 20. De paour qu'il ne feust <i>c</i> .  | 34. pleur <i>b c</i> .  |
| 22. A un <i>c</i> .   | 36. ne <i>b</i> ; riens <i>b c</i> .  |
| 23. il <i>om</i> . <i>b c</i> ; larront <i>a</i> ; despendoit <i>b</i> ,<br>yert perdu <i>c</i> . | 37. garde <i>b</i> , gardoit <i>c</i> .                                     |
| 24. En lieu de lui seroit pendu <i>c</i> .  | 38. il le voit et le regarde <i>b</i> , regarde et il<br>le voit <i>c</i> . |

- Puis le relaisse et s'en revient  
 40 Vers celle dont au cuer li tient.  
 De belles parolles la paist  
 Tant qu'a celle s'amour li plaist,  
 Et puis au larron s'en retourne.  
 Quant il le vit, petit sejourne,  
 45 Ains revient et acole et baise  
 Celle qui samble que li plaise,  
 Con cilz qui s'amour li promet;  
 Mais quant cilz au retour se met  
 Pour celui que garder devoit,  
 50 Senz le larron les fourches voit,  
 Qu'il avoit esté despenduz.  
 Pasmés chay tous estenduz,  
 Si ne fu mie de merveille.  
 Puis vint arrieres, si conseille;  
 55 Du fait a dit a celle femme  
 Que li roys sus corps et sus ame  
 Ly avoit ce pendu livré;  
 Jamais n'en sera delivré  
 Que li roys ne le face pendre,  
 60 Si ne s'enfuit senz plus attendre.  
 Celle qui s'amour ot lié,  
 Et qui l'autre ot tost oublié  
 Que souloit a baron avoir,  
 Ly dist: Je ay trouvé, de voir,  
 65 Engin par quoy serés gueriz.  
 Ne gist cy en droit mes mariz;  
 Nous le deffouirons et prendrons,  
 En lieu du larrons le pendrons.—  
 Si le deffouy et pendi,  
 70 Oncques autres n'y attendi.  
 Cils qui ce vit et regarda  
 Que lui ainsi de mort garda,

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 42. Tant quil et samour <i>b</i> .                  | 62. Du tout oublie son eignour <i>c</i> .        |
| 44. point ny <i>b</i> , pon y <i>c</i> .            | 63. au baron <i>a c</i> .                        |
| 48. <i>verse om. b</i> ; au retourner se <i>c</i> . | 66. Yey en droit gist <i>c</i> .                 |
| 49. Le larron que <i>c</i> .                        | 67. pandrons <i>a</i> ; Desterrer le fault et le |
| 50. Qui fust emble <i>c</i> .                       | prendre <i>c</i> .                               |
| 56. sur arme <i>b</i> ; Et dist que le roy sus son  | 68. pendre <i>c</i> .                            |
| ame <i>c</i> .                                      | 69. Cils <i>a</i> .                              |
| 60. Sil <i>b c</i> .                                | 71. Le chevalier vit et regarde <i>c</i> .       |
| 61. lamoit par amour <i>c</i> .                     | 72. le garde <i>c</i> .                          |

- Si la prist puis par mariage,  
 Si ne scé je s'il fit que sage.  
 75 Autant puet il de soy attendre,  
 Con du premier, qu'elle fist pendre.  
 Femme seulle, se m'est avis,  
 Deçoit a gens mors et vis.  
 A paines a bon finement  
 80 Euvre de femme, ou cilz livre ment.

## [LXVI. DE IUVENE ET THAYDE

- Arte sua Thays iuuenes irretit, amorem  
 Fingit, et ex ficto fructus amore uenit.  
 A multis fert multa procis, ex omnibus unum  
 Eligit, huic ueri spondet amoris opes.  
 5 Sum tua, sisque meus, cupio. plus omnibus unum  
 Te uolo, sed nolo munus habere tuum.  
 Percipit ille dolos et reddit qualia sumpsit:  
 Sis mea, simque tuus. nos decet equis amor.  
 Viuere non uellem, nisi mecum uiuere uelles.  
 10 Tu michi sola salus, tu michi sola quies.  
 Sed falli timeo, quia me tua lingua fefellit,  
 Preteriti ratio scire futura facit.  
 Vitat auis taxum, quam gustu teste probauit.  
 Fallere uult hodie, si qua fefellit heri.  
 15 Thayda si quis amat, sua, non se, credat amari.  
 Thays amore caret, munus amantis amat.]

[Förster: *Lyoner Ysopet*, XLIX.]

## 66. D'une femme et d'un jouvenceau.

- Une femme yere en un país  
 Qui estoit nommee Thais.  
 Mout belle damoiselle estoit.  
 Grant paine et grant cure metoit  
 5 Qu'a ces jouvenceaux peust plaire,  
 Et si disoit pour mieux attirer  
 A chascun qui si chier l'eüst,  
 Que du sien rien ne receüst.  
 La damoiselle un en eslut,

75-76. *verses om. b.*78. *Decoipt et grifve b, Decoit et griefve c.*79. *definement b c.**tille as in c; om. a b.*1. *ot b c.*2. *appellee b.*5. *ses b c.*7. *si chier ne leust b c.*8. *Qui a; nen seust b.*9. *a un sesbastoit b.*

- 10 Qui entre les autres li pleut,  
 Qu'elle vult qui fust ses amis;  
 Et dist qu'en lui a son cuer mis:  
 A vous m'ottroy, a vous me don  
 Senz attendre nul guerredon;  
 15 Jamais autre, se Dieux me gart,  
 Fors vous, en mon cuer n'aura part.—  
 Cilz qui entent et scet de voir  
 Qu'elle dit pour lui decevoir,  
 Pense a lui decevoir encontre;  
 20 Mais grant samblant d'amour li monstre,  
 Et li dist: Ma tres doulce amie,  
 De ce ne vous doubtés mie,  
 Que nulle autre tant ne me plaist.—  
 Einssi de parolles la paist:  
 25 Je me doubte, dit il, toutevoye  
 Qu'ancores deceüz ne soye;  
 Autre foyz m'avez deceü,  
 A parolles bien l'ay scetü;  
 Par vous autres faiz trespassez  
 30 Me congnois es futurs assés.—  
 Cil sembla l'oysel qui eschieve  
 L'erbe qui scet qui au goust grieve.  
 Se femme vous puet conchier,  
 Autel voudray faire huy comme hier.  
 35 Tu ne doiz ja croire putain;  
 Pour ce, s'elle te dit: Je t'aim,—  
 Ne fait fors decevoir la gent;  
 Elle ne t'aime pas, mès l'argent.

### [LXVII. DE PATRE ET FILIO.

Est pater, huic natus. hic patri cedere nescit,  
 Nam fugienda facit et facienda fugit.  
 Mens uaga discurrit et menti consonat etas:  
 Mentis et etatis turbine frena fugit.

10. plaisoit *b*.  
 12. quelle y a *b*; Et lui dist mon tres  
 doulx amis *c*.  
 16. corps *b c*.  
 19. a la *b*, Pense la *c*.  
 22. Tant me plaises nen *b*, Tant vous  
 ayme nen *c*.

26. ny *b*.  
 29. *this verse follows 30 in b*.  
 31-32. *verses om. a*.  
 32. soit qui au goust li *b*.  
 33. accrochier *c*.  
 34. Autel hui fera comme *b*, Elle vous  
 voudra escorchier *c*.

- 5 Ira senis punit pro nati crimine seruos,  
 Instruit ista senem fabula nota seni.  
 Cauta bouem uitulumque manus supponit aratro.  
 Hic subit, ille iugum pellit. arator ait:  
 Gaude, letus ara, tu quem domat usus arandi.
- 10 A boue maiori discat arare minor.  
 Non placet, ut sudes, sed des exempla minori,  
 Qui pede, qui cornu pugnat abire iugo.  
 Sic domat indomitum domito boue cautus arator,  
 Sic ueterem sequitur iunior ille bouem.
- 15 Proficit exempli merito cautela docendi,  
 Maiorique sua credat in arte minor.]  
*[Fürster: Lyoner Ysopet, L.]*

### 67. D'un pere et d'un enfant.

- Uns preudons ot un fil moult jeune  
 Qui nulle chose terrienne  
 Ne vouloit pour son pere faire,  
 Ainçois faisoit tout le contraire.
- 5 A bien faire ne a aprendre  
 Ne vouloit penser ne entendre.  
 Ly preudons qui battre ne l'ose,  
 Si s'est pensez d'une chose  
 Qu'il ot jadiz oïr conter,
- 10 Qu'uns gaignieres qui vost dompter  
 Un toreau, le mit a la charue  
 Ou son buef, et li toreau rue,  
 Qui le jof n'avoit pas appris;  
 A arer ne se fust ja pris.
- 15 Mais il voit le buef ansien  
 Qui are et trait bien au lien,  
 Et le fiert le vilain et point  
 Ne cilz ne s'en effroye point  
 Et voit que cil qui l'atisoit
- 20 De l'aguillon, si lui disoit:  
 Are, buef, si feras que saige;  
 Are qui d'arer as l'usaige;  
 Apren ce toreau a arer,

*ille as in c; om. a b.*

8. empenses est *b*, sest pourpense *c*.

10. un seigneur *c*; doubter *a b*.

13. jeu *b c*.

17. et li vilains point *a*; bouvier *c*.

18. A arer bien et a point *b*.

19. cilz qui latisoit *b c*.

21. saiges *a*.

22. *verse om. a.*



- S'il n'are, il puet bien comparer.—  
 25 Einsî le jure et li promet.  
 Ly toreaux a arer se met,  
 Qui or iert a tenir si fort  
 Qui lançoit des piés et du corps.  
 Au preudomme de ce souvint,  
 30 Et puis a sa mesnie vint;  
 Devant son fil l'un fiert et chace,  
 L'un ledange, l'autre menace,  
 Si les tourmentoit et menoit  
 Qui n'y a nul qui paour n'ait,  
 35 Et dit qu'il n'i a nul si fier,  
 Si le fait un pou courroucier,  
 Qu'il ne le chatie bien et bate  
 Et que de lui l'orgueil n'abate.  
 Li filz qui ce regarde et voit  
 40 Si se pourpense et se pourvoit  
 Qu'ainsi pourroit il de lui faire,  
 Si s'en vout des or mès retraire  
 De mal, et changier son courage.  
 Pour autrui chasti devient saige.  
 45 Bon example fait bon a prendre;  
 A grant doit obeïr le mendre.

### [LXVIII. DE CIVE ET EQVITE

- Ciuis, eques sub rege uigent. hic prelia regis,  
 Hic dispensat opes. hic uir et ille senex.  
 Inuidie perflata genis innata doloris  
 Flammis fax iuuenem torret honore senis.  
 5 Regis in aure truces figit de ciue susurros:  
 Est tibi non pastor, sed lupus ille senex.  
 Ditant furta senem, creuit sua copia furtis,  
 Est sua de censu gaza recisa tuo.  
 Firmabo mea uerba manu, sua furta fateri  
 10 Hunc faciam. bello iudice uerus ero.

24. Se il nare bien comparer *b c.*  
 25. Le puest se li jure et promet *b*, Le  
 pourras ce jure et promet *c.*  
 28. Qui vuoit *c.*  
 30. maingnie *b*, tous ses servans *c.*  
 35. liems *a.*

37. Qui ne *a.*  
 38. Et que *a.*  
 44. Et des or mais estre plus sage *b*,  
 Par autray chastoy devint caige *a.*  
 45. Moult *b.*

- Cum moueant obiecta senem, plus debilis etas  
Hunc mouet ac senii crimine uisus hebes.  
Parcunt iura seni, si pro sene pugnet amicus,  
Cui nullius odor fenoris arma probat.
- 15 Mendicat pugilem, sed abest qui pugnet amicus.  
Nam refugit uiso turbine falsus amor.  
Dum fortuna tonat, fugituios terret amicos,  
Et quis amet, quis non, sola procella docet.  
Cena trahit ciuem, differt nox una duellum,
- 20 Sollicitat mentem iusta querela senis:  
Quos meritis emi, multos michi fecit amicos  
Longa dies, cunctos abstulit hora breuis.  
De tot amicorum populo non restitit unus,  
Quamque dedi multis, nemo repensat opem.
- 25 Rebar pace frui, mea paci congruit etas.  
Sed mea turbauit gaudia liuor edax.  
Hosti multa meo palmam pepigere. tepesco,  
Ille calet. careo uiribus, ille uiget.  
Arma parum noui, se totum prebuit armis.
- 30 Est michi uisus hebes, uisus acutus ei.  
Nil michi prebet opem nisi iuste gracia cause.  
De fragili queritur preside causa potens.  
Corporis eclipsim timet alti copia cordis,  
Nam fragili peccat mens animosa manu.
- 35 Si turpes nitide mendax infamia uite  
Infigit maculas, quid nituisse iuuat?  
Desperat iugetque senex. hunc lenit arator,  
Qui senis arua nouat, annua lucra ferens.  
Me stimulat pietas pro te perferre duellum,
- 40 Est michi pro domino dextra parata meo.  
Ecces dies oritur, locus est tempusque duello.  
Stant pugiles. inhiant mente manumque sibi.  
Est equiti fedum, quod stet, quod pugnet, arator,  
Seque putat uictum, ni cito uincat eum.
- 45 Nil de se retinet uirtus oblita futuri,  
Dextera corporeas prodiga fundit opes.  
Ictus ipse suos steriles expendit in usus,  
Et feriens hostem se magis ipse ferit.  
Sed proprie uirtutis opes abscondit arator
- 50 Dum locus expense detur et hora sue.  
Aut motu fallit aut armis temperat ictus,  
Predicitque minas frontis utrumque iubar.

- Dormitans uigilat et cessans cogitat ictus,  
 Et metuens audet dextra notatque locum.
- 55 Hec mora non artis ratio, sed culpa timoris  
 Creditur. arte fruens esse uidetur inhers.  
 Gaudet eques uicisse putans, spernitque bubulcum,  
 Sudoremque suum tergit ab ore suo.
- 60 Ecce moram nescit, equitem speculata morantem  
 In cubiti nodum rustica claua ferit.  
 Huius plaga loci tocius corporis aufert  
 Robur. cedit eques seque cadente sedet.  
 O noua simplicitas! sedet ipse uocatque sedentem,  
 Et nisi surgat eques, surgere uelle negat.
- 65 Surge, bubulcus ait. Cui miles: Surgere nolo.  
 Alter ait: Sedeas, meque sedere licet.  
 Turba stupet. Prefectus adest, equitique moranti  
 Imperat, aut surgat aut superatus eat.  
 Heret eques. Prefectus ait: Te uicit arator.
- 70 Pugna cadit. Regi panditur ordo rei.  
 Rex ait: Incisum nodo, prefecte, duellum,  
 Dedecus explanet ille uel ille suum.  
 Pugna reedit, milesque sedet uelut ante sedebat.  
 Surge, bubulcus ait. Non uolo, reddit eques.
- 75 Cultor ait: Dum stare negas, ego stare negabo.  
 Surgere si temptas, surgere promptus ero.  
 Ambo sedent, ridet populus, presesque bubulco  
 Intonat: Aut pugnes aut fuge. tempus abit.  
 Cultor ait: Surgat. caderet, si surgere uellet.
- 80 Percute, preses ait, percute, surget eques.  
 Te decet aut illum uicti sibi ponere nomen.  
 Hoc michi non ponam nomen, arator ait.  
 Surgo, surge, miser! nam turpe ferire sedentem  
 Est michi, sitque tibi turpe sedendo mori.
- 85 Sic ait et timidum mulcet. rogat ille furentem:  
 Parce precor. uincor. supplico. uictor abi.  
 Leta nouat fortuna senem. senis unicus heres  
 Scribitur et dignas intrat arator opes.  
 Ius superat uires, sors aspera monstrat amicum.
- 90 Plus confert odio gracia, fraude fides.  
 Fine sui uersus gemino quod cogitat omnis  
 Fabula declarat datque quod intus habet.]

[Förster: *Lyoner Ysopet*, LX.]

## 68. Du chevalier et du villain.

- En son hostel avoit un roys  
 Un chevalier et un bourgoys.  
 Ly bourgoys l'ostel maintenoit,  
 De l'argent garde se prenoit.  
 5 Li autres aus armes aloit,  
 D'autre chose ne se mesloit.  
 Ly roys ot le bourgoys mout chier;  
 Mout en pesa le chevalier,  
 Et dit que du bourgoys dira  
 10 Tel chose au roy que lui nuira.  
 Un jour a le roy appelé  
 Et lui a dît tout a cellé  
 (Car nul chevalier ne doit mie  
 De nulli dire villennie):  
 15 Sire, fait il, vous ne savez  
 Dou vilain qui ceans avez;  
 Lerres est vers vous et traïttes,  
 Quar saichés quant vous le preïttes  
 Il estoit en grant povreté;  
 20 Or a tel meuble et tel chasté  
 Que nombrés ne seroit pas tost  
 De ce que il vous emble et tost.—  
 Sire chevalier, dit ly roys,  
 Que dittes vous de mon bourgoys?  
 25 Je cuït qui n'ait de cy a Romme  
 De lui plus loyal ne preudomme.—  
 Sire, se ne me voulés croire,  
 Bien feray ceste chose voire;  
 Par devant vous de ce me vant.—  
 30 Viengne donc li bourgoys devant,  
 Dit li roys;—et li bourgoys vient  
 Et li chevaliers remaintient  
 Ly clin qu'il avoit maintenu.

*tille as in c; om. a b.*

5. aloit aux armes *c.*

6. ne *om. b*; Et bien estoit amez des  
 dames *c.*

8. Envie in *ot c.*

10. qui *b c.*

11. dist au roys en celle *b*, en cele *c.*

12. Le chevalier mal appelle *b*, en parle *c.*

13-14. verses *om. a.*

15. dist *b*, dit *c.*

16. Ce bourgois que *c.*

17. Votz lierres est et voz traïstres *b*, Et  
 vostre traître et larron *c.*

18. pristres *b*; Car quant il vint en vo  
 maison *c.*

24. Vous dittes mal *c.*

32. si se maintient *c.*

33. claim *b*; En ce quavoit dit du bourgeois

*c.*

- Ly bourgeois qui estoit chenu,  
 35 Debrisiés et de grant aage,  
 S'esbahit mout du grant outrage  
 Que li chevalier lui met sus,  
 Si s'esbahit encore plus  
 De ce qu'il a mauvais yeux,  
 40 Et que il est feibles et vieux.  
 Toutevoie se pense deffendre,  
 Si est alé son gaigne tendre,  
 Mais pour l'aage dont il yere  
 Octroie la court qu'il quiere  
 45 Autre champion, s'il lui plaist,  
 A l'endemain sans autre plaist.  
 Mout quiert li preudons et purchace  
 Qui pour lui la bataille face,  
 Mais cilz ne treuve nulz qui la praigne,  
 50 Tant se greuve ne tant se plaigne;  
 Ne pour denier ne pour maille  
 N'ose nuls faire la bataille.  
 Tant a fortune bonne duree,  
 A ly homs amis sanz mesuree;  
 55 Et quant bonne fortune cesse,  
 Ly faulx amis tantost le lesse.  
 Ly preudons qui fut mout pensis,  
 Au soir a table s'est assis;  
 Et sa mesnie environ lui  
 60 Courroucié sont de son ennuy,  
 Et mout dolent de son contraire:  
 Las, dit il, que pourray je faire?  
 Que sont my amy devenu?  
 Ne dont m'est cilz meschiez venuz?  
 65 Assez cuidoye amis avoir,  
 Or puis je veoir et savoir  
 Que n'en ay ne un ne demi;

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 34. <i>three verses substituted in c.</i>             | 49. <i>lempreigne b, latreprenne c.</i>       |
| 38. <i>Et encore sesmaye plus c.</i>                  | 50. <i>Tant se demante ne complaigne b c.</i> |
| 41. <i>pense a b c.</i>                               | 52. <i>prenne c.</i>                          |
| 42. <i>rendre c.</i>                                  | 53. <i>Tant comme bonne fortune (fortune</i>  |
| 44. <i>Encore lui a on ordene que il quiere a,</i>    | <i>bonne) dure b (c).</i>                     |
| <i>La court lui ottroye qui quiere c.</i>             | 54. <i>measure b c.</i>                       |
| 45. <i>compaignon b.</i>                              | 59. <i>maignie b, ses servans c.</i>          |
| 46. <i>sanz arrest b, Et quil se face sans arrest</i> | 64. <i>ce meschief venu b c.</i>              |
- c.

- Et ou sont alé tant d'ami  
 Qui maistre et seigneur me clamoient,  
 70 Et disoient que tant m'amoient?  
 De l'amour que li vens m'emporte  
 Trop me grieve et me desconforte.  
 De ce qu'ay perdu mes amis  
 Vigoureux est mes ennemis,  
 75 Joennes, fors et d'armes prisiés,  
 Et je foibles et debrisés.  
 Noncques d'armes n'aprins a suivre,  
 Si cuidoye mieux en payx vivre;  
 Si ne sçay neant de bataille,  
 80 Et il en scet assez sanz faille.  
 Chaux est, j'é frois; et la veue  
 Ay mauvaise, et il a ague.  
 Briefment, je n'y voy nulle voye  
 Ne chose qui aidier me doye,  
 85 Fors ce que j'ay bonne querelle,  
 Et cilz mauvaise qui m'appelle.  
 En paix cuiday fenir ma vie,  
 Or ne puis, ce me fait enuie.  
 Or me gart Dieux par sa puissance,  
 90 Et me deffende de mescheance.—  
 Ainsi li bourgoys se complaint,  
 Quant un bouvier qui o lui meint  
 Se dresse et li promet sanz faille  
 Que pour lui fera la bataille,  
 95 Et dit: Je suis vostre servant  
 Et pour ce suy venu avant;  
 Pitiés vostre servant esmuet,  
 Qui vous offre ce que il puet.  
 Par raison ne doit avoir blasme,  
 100 De bon cuer m'offre a vous, par m'ame.—  
 Ly bourgoys qui ce a ouy,  
 Ne doubtés pas, s'en esjoy,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 68. Quar celz que ge cuidoye ami <i>b</i> .                      | 91. preudoms <i>b</i> .                                       |
| 73. Quence <i>b</i> , Quainsi <i>c</i> .                         | 92. bouriois avec lui <i>a</i> .                              |
| 77. en suivre <i>a</i> .   | 95-96. <i>verses om. a b</i> .                                |
| 78. Qui <i>b c</i> .   | 96. <i>seil</i> pour ce.                                      |
| 81. ala <i>b</i> ; Je suis vieux say perdu la<br>veue <i>c</i> . | 97. sergent <i>b</i> ; Car pitie a ce fort mesment <i>c</i> . |
| 82. cilz la <i>b</i> ; Et le chevalier la <i>c</i> .             | 99-100. <i>verses om. a b</i> .                               |
| 87. finer <i>b c</i> .   | 102. senz <i>b</i> ; Petitement sen esioy <i>c</i> .          |

- Quar auques mieux que neant vault.  
 De telz armes comme il li fault  
 105 Arma li bourgoys son bouvier;  
 Armé ce fu ly chevalier  
 Si comme a chevalier avient.  
 Ly uns et l'autre ou champ vient;  
 Tuit sont prest ainssi comme il semble.  
 110 Et quant vint a l'aler ensamble,  
 Ly chevalier, qui ot desdoin  
 De combatre a tel villain,  
 Dit qu'il ne se prise neant  
 Se tantost noyent recreant;  
 155 Si l'assaut de si grant ayr,  
 Pour ce qu'il le cuide esbahir,  
 Que trop s'i eschauffe et s'y lasse;  
 Et li villains si bien s'en passe  
 Par couardie ou par sagesse,  
 120 Que non mehaignie ne non blece.  
 Trop bien scet endurer les cops.  
 Et li chevaliers, comme foux,  
 N'entent qu'a ferir et a batre,  
 Que le cuide tantost abatre.  
 125 Tant a feru, tant a maillé,  
 Qu'il se sent las et traveillé,  
 Qu'a force le convient suer;  
 Si print son viz a essuier.  
 Et ainssi comme il s'essuia,  
 130 Ly bouviers qui bien l'espia  
 Et congnut qu'il estoit lassé,  
 Lance un cop qui l'a tout cassé  
 O sa massue le bras destre,  
 Si qu'il ne puet en estant estre;

103. Aduis lui est que petit vault *c.*

104. Jay tieux armes *a.*

106. ce *om. b c*; refu *c.*

107. comme au *a.*

110. *verse om. b<sup>a</sup>* a assembler ensemble *c.*

111. desdaing *b c.*

112. soy a villain *b*; De soy combatre *c.*

114. tantost ne le rent *b*, tost ne le rent *c.*

115. Cil lassant de tres *c.*

116. Car tost le *c.*

117. Si seschauffe bien fort et lasse *c.*

118. le bouvier tres bien *c.*

120. Quil ne le mehaigne *b c.*

124. *verse om. b.*

126. Quil est si las *b*, Quil est tout las *c.*

128. son front *b c.*

129. il esuioit *b*, il scesuioit *c.*

130. lespioit *b c.*

131. Et bien dit quil est tout las *b*, Si voit  
 quil est trestout lasse *c.*

132. Fiert fort si quil lui a casse *c*, li a cas *b.*

134. Si qui ne *a*, Le chevalier qui ne puet  
 estre *c.*

- 135 Ains se laist du cheval cheoir.  
Et li bouviers se va seoir,  
Qui estoit plains de grant simplece.  
Au chevalier dit qu'il se drece,  
Ou il ja ne s'en levera;  
140 Et cil dist que il non fera:  
Einsy me serrai ge comme tu,—  
Dist le bouvier, qui un festu  
Le chevalier pas ne prisoit,  
Ne savoit pas com lui aloit.  
145 Chascun s'esbahist; le prevost  
Commande au chevalier tantost  
Que se lieve, ou vaincus s'en aut;  
Maiz cilz ne se muet ne n' assaut  
Son anemy si comme il doit;  
150 Et quant li prevosts tout ce voit,  
Au chevalier dit qu'il bataille  
Au bouvier, ou vaincus s'en aille.  
Cilz ne dit mot ne ne se muet,  
Comme cilz qui aidier ne se puet.  
155 Et li prevosts dist de rechief:  
Bien a ceste bataille a chief  
Ly bouviers mise et bien otiee.—  
Au roy a la chose monstree.  
Dit ly roys: Je vueil or en droit  
160 Que chascuns desreigne son droit  
Et face chascuns son devoir.—  
Ly bouviers lors qui esmouvoir  
Voult li chevalier qui se siet  
Ly escrie qu'il se liet:  
165 Non feray, dit le chevaliers.—  
Ne je ainsi, dit li bouviers;  
Se tu te sies, je me serray,

135. En estant se va laisser cheoir *c.*

142. Cilz dit que non prise *a.* Dist cilz  
qui ne le prise *b.*

143-144. *verses om. a b.*

145. Ne son pouvoir maiz le *a.*

146. que tost *b c.*

147. Se combatte ou vaincu senvoit *b,*  
Se combatte, ou vaincu se rende *c.*

148. ne ne saut *a,* nassaut ne ne meut *b,*  
fait semblant quil nentende *c.*

149. Nulle riens qui ou monde soit *c.*

151. qui *a.*

153. ne ne se muet *om. a;* Le ehlr point ne  
se meut *c.*

156. Bien ay *a;* a before chief *om. b.*

157. monstree *b,* outtree *c.*

160. desrene *b,* debate *c.*

163. Fait *a,* Veult *c.*

163-164. *four verses substituted in c.*

166. Ne moy aussi *c.*



- Se tu me fiers, je te ferray.—  
 Ly peuples qui ce leur oy dire  
 170 Et ly roys s'en prinrent a rire:  
 Bouviers, dit li roys, lieve sus;  
 Ran toy vaincus, ou en fay plus.—  
 A moy sire, fait li bouviers,  
 Ains se levera li premiers,  
 175 Mais il a paour de cheoir.—  
 Fiers, dist li roys, pur veoir  
 Se il se levera ou non;  
 Ou toy ou lui convient le nom  
 De vaincu avoir en cest point.—  
 180 Tel non, dit cilz, ne vueil je point.—  
 Ly bouviers, puisqu'il le convient,  
 Se lyeve et au chevalier vient:  
 Lyeve toy, dit il, mescheant,  
 Ne te vueil ferir en seant,  
 185 Car ce seroit honte a moy  
 Et plus grant reprouches a toy,  
 S'en seant te laisses tuer.—  
 Et cilz ne se vult remuer.  
 Ly bouviers sans plus atargier  
 190 A pris sur lui a deschargier;  
 D'une grant maque qu'il porte  
 Ly a toute l'eschine torte.  
 Cilz qui deffendre ne se pot  
 A devant tous dit le mal mot:  
 195 Mercy, pour Dieu, pas ne me tue,  
 Tu as la bataille vaincue.—  
 Ly bourgoys fut joyaux et lyez,  
 Et ses ennemis courrouciez.  
 Ce ne say je que fit ly roys

169. Tous ceuls qui lui oyrent *c.*  
 170. se pasmerent de *b c.*  
 171. Lors lui dist *c.*  
 172. Rend *b*, Rens *c.*  
 173. Auoy sire dist *b*, Non feray dit *c.*  
 174. Aincois *c*; li *om. c.*  
 176. Fiers le *b.*  
 179. a ce point *b c.*  
 180. Telz dist il ne veulz *b*, Par foy sire  
 nen auray point *c.*  
 181. Dit le bouvier incontinent *c.*

183. il *om. a*; Lieve sus *b c.*  
 187. Soy seant se laisee *a*, Se en seant  
 mourir testuet *c.*  
 188. Le ehlr point ne se meut *c.*  
 189. eschargier *b.*  
 190. Se prent sus *c.*  
 195. Merci crie pas *b.*  
 197. Le bouvier *c.*  
 198. Et le ehlr esalliez *c.*  
 199. si *b c.*

- 200 Du chevalier et du bourgeois;  
Mais li bourgeois fist du bouvier  
Hoir de sa terre pour loyer  
Du gage qu'a tel fin mena,  
Et pour ce que nulz enfans n'a.  
205 Droiz vaint, besoins amis demonstre;  
Amour vaut, barat nuit encontre.

201. son bouvier *b c.*

205. amour *c.*

204. Ainsi il len reguerdonna *c.*

## [AVIONNET-PROLOGUE]

- Or vous ai des fables apprises  
 Qui en Ysopet furent prises.  
 Avionnet, un autre livre,  
 D'autres bonnes fables nous livre  
 5 Profitables a escouter;  
 Pour ce d'aucunes adjouter  
 Me vuil encores entremettre,  
 Et du latin ens roumans mettre  
 Au preu de ceuls qui les orront,  
 10 Car aucun bien prendre y porront.  
 Dou latin des vers y aura,  
 Pour quoi le sen plus tost saura,  
 Par le latin sera trouvés  
 Dont le françois emprès ourrés.  
 15 Ne prende pas toute le hystoire,  
 Car seroit trop longue memoire;  
 Et ce le fais pour brevité,  
 Qui est amie verité,  
 Et pour ce que par aventure  
 20 Ne plaist mie longue escripture.  
 Plus est en benignité  
 Briefté, que n'est prolixité,  
 Et y mettre aucune chose  
 Que truis en tiexte ou en glose,  
 25 Car on doit tout mettre en escript  
 Ou en cuer le bien qu'est escript.  
 De ce me vuille secourir  
 Li Diex qui pour nous vout mourir,  
 Et la Dame qui le pourta;  
 30 En la nommer grant deport a.

1. Addition *prefixed B L*; fables damonnet  
*in margin in 15th century hand L.*

1. Or avez les *b.*

4. vous *b.*

6. aviter *P*; daucuns *mos c.*

8. romans *L*, roumant *b*, Romant *c.*

9. liront *P.*

10. aprendre *P.*

11-30. *om. c.*

11. latin .ii. vers *b.*

12. Sens plus pourquoy *b.*

13. Ou *b.*

14. latin apres *b.*

15-30. *om. b.*

15. prendre *L*, pren *P*; listoire *P.*

18. a uerite *L.*

22. Briete *B*, Brevete *P.*

24. Que ie truis en tieuste *L*; tieute *P.*

28. vost *L*, vout *P.*

## AVIANUS

## I. DE RVSTICA LVPVM DECIPIENTE. AV. I.

*(Illustration)*

Rustica deflenti paruo iurauerat olim,  
 Ni taceat, rapido quod foret esca lupo.  
 Credulus hanc uocem lupo audit et manet ipsas  
 Peruigil ante fores irrita uota gerens.

- 5 Nam lassata puer nimium dat membra quieti,  
 Spem quoque raptori sustulit inde fames.  
 Hunc sibi siluarum repetentem lustra suarum  
 Ieiunum coniunx sensit adesse lupa:  
 'Cur, inquam, nullam defers de more rapinam,  
 10 Languida consumptis sed trahis ora genis?'  
 'Ne mireris,' ait, 'deceptum fraude maligna  
 Vix miserum uacua deliquisse fuga.  
 Namque rogas predam que spes contingere posset  
 Iurgia nutricis cum michi uerba darent?'

*Moralitas*

- 15 Hec sibi dicta putet seque sciat arte notari,  
 Femineam quisquis credit adesse fidem.

*Addicio*

- Adam, Sansonem, regem Daudid et Salomonem  
 Femina decepit, cepit et arte sua.  
 Ingemiscit egens ubi non est femina saltem;  
 20 Feminus dulcis omnia uincit amor.

1. deflanti *P*.  
 2. Nil *L*.  
 5. laxata *L*.  
 8. senxit *L*.  
 10. set *L*.  
 11. deceptum *B*.  
 12. macua *P*.  
 13. rogat *B P*.  
 14. nutritis *B L*.

15. putatse que *L*.  
 17. sensonem *L*.  
 18b. ideo caue ne penitabit *P m. 2* in *erasure* uel penitabit *Hervieux*.  
 20. a fusion of *Vergil, Ecl. X 69 Omnia uincit amor: et nos cedamus amori*, and *Ovid, Amores, III, 2, 40 Captaque femineus pectora torret amor*.

## Av. 1. De la nourrice qui degut le loup de sa parole.

- Une nourrice enuioit  
 Ses petis enfés qui crioit,  
 Si jure que il se tera,  
 Ou elle au loup le jetera  
 5 Pour mangier et pour devourer  
 Se li ne lesse a plourer.  
 Le loup, qui la promesse oy,  
 Comme fol mout s'en esjoy;  
 Car bien cuide sans nulle faille  
 10 Que celle son enfant li baille.  
 Mès li enfés tourne a repos.  
 Cils qui a perdu son prepos  
 N'arreste plus en celle place,  
 Car peeur d'une part l'en chace,  
 15 Et d'autre part que fain la proie.  
 Sa femme li fait pou de joie  
 Quant tout vuit revenir le voit,  
 Com celle qui grant fain avoit;  
 Et li louns rien ne li aporte.  
 20 Par pou qu'el ne li clot la porte.  
 Ains le ledange durement;  
 Mès cils li respont simplement  
 Com cils qui plet ne vuet avoir:  
 Suer, fet il, je te fais savoir  
 25 Car a moi fouir a leü;  
 Une femme m' a deceü.—  
 La moralité.  
 Aussi a fait plus grant de moi,  
 Premier homme et David le roy,  
 Si fit elle le fort Sanson,  
 30 Et le tres saige Salemon.  
 Quant il vuet mettre son couraige,

*tit.* par sa *L.*

1. ennuioit *L P b*, conioit *c.*  
 4. gitera *L*, getera *P.*  
 6. Se il *L P b c*; le plorer *L*, son plourer *b c.*  
 12. propos *L b c*, pourpos *P.*  
 15. la proche *P*, fain qui lesproye *b c.*  
 17. tout vuist *L*, tout muit *P*, sans riens *c.*  
 20. *om. b.*

24. diray voir *c.*

25. Qua paine ma fouir valu *b*, Certes jay  
 grant travail eu *c.*

27. Ainsi *L.*

27-38. *om. b c, and two verses substituted:*

Ce compte reprent celx et blasme  
 Qui foy cuident trouver en femme.

31. y vuest *L.*

- Convient obeir fol et saige.  
 Mès la douceur de femme bonne  
 Passe de soulas toute bonne.  
 35 Le povre homme gemit et pleure  
 Se femme ne vient a bonne heure.  
 Tant comme femmes dureront  
 Povres esbai ne seront.

## II. DE CANCRO DOCENTE FILIVM AMBVLANTEM.

### AV. III.

#### (Illustration)

- Curua retrocedens cum fert uestigia cancer,  
 Hispida saxosis terga relixit aquis.  
 Hunc genitrix cupiens facili precedere gressu  
 Talibus alloquiis premonuisse datur:  
 5 'Nec tibi transuerso placeant hec deuia, nate,  
 Rursus in obliquos ne uelis ire pedes.  
 Sed nixu contenta ferens uestigia retro  
 Innocuos prono tramite siste gradus.'  
 Cui natus, 'Faciam, si me precesseris,' inquit,  
 10 'Rectaque monstrantem cercior ipse sequor.'  
 Moralitas  
 Nam stultum nimis est, cum tu prauissima temptes,  
 Alterius censor ut uiciosa notes.  
 Addicio  
 Cernere festucam mos est in fratris oculo,  
 In propriis oculis non uidet ipse trabem.  
 15 Que culpae soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse.  
 Turpe est doctori cum uiciosa facit.  
 Nullitus imponas onus importabile nulli;  
 Vellera que digito nulla mouere uelis.

tit. ambulante *MSS. Hervieux.*

1. con fer *L* confert *B P.*

2. saxosis *P.*

3. procedere *L.*

4. aloquiis *B P.*

6. Russus *P.*

7. contempta *B P.* retto *L.*

8. tranite *L.* gaudus *P.*

9. Qui *P.*

10. Rettaque *L.* monstrante *L.* moustran-  
 tem *B* monstratem *P.*

11. tu *om. P.* prauissima *B.*

12. sensor *P.* nocces *B P.*

14. Impropriis oculis *B.*

15, 16. compare *Cato, Dist. I, 30* Quae cul-  
 pare soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse; Turpe est  
 doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

15. ne tu *B P Hervieux.*

16. uictori *P Hervieux.*

16b. cum culpa redarguit ipsum *L (from*  
*Cato).*

## Av. 2. De l'escrevisse qui aprenoit son fils a aler.

- Une escrevesce de la mer,  
 Ainsi l'ai je oy nommer,  
 Aloit au mieux qu'elle savoit  
 De tant de piés comme elle avoit.
- 5 Sa mere dit: Fille, comment  
 Alés vous si honteusement?  
 Vous ne faites que reculer;  
 Autrement deussies aler,  
 Car c'est trop laidement alé.—
- 10 Bien avés or, mere, parlé,  
 Dit la fille, or alés avant,  
 Si que je vous aille suiant,  
 Mès que devant aler vous voie.—  
 Adont se met la mere a voie,
- 15 Mès en li a plus a reprendre  
 Qu'am celle qu'elle vuet aprendre.  
 La fille si va laidement,  
 La mere va plus sotement.
- La moralité.
- L'en doit avoir joie et mesure
- 20 Des biens que l'en a de nature.  
 Aucuns autre souvent reprent  
 De ce de quoi il plus mesprent.  
 Qui aucun juge de aucun crime,  
 Regart avant sus soi meisme.
- 25 Tieuls cognoit bien une putie  
 Qui d'un tref ne s'aperçoit mie.  
 Quant le bien ensengne le mestre,  
 Honte est s'il fest chose senestre.  
 Impose nuls importable fais
- 30 Se aussi bien tu ne le fais.

1. de mer *P b c.*4. *om. b.*6. fille ensement *c.*8. ducies *P.*10. auez ores parle *L.*12. suiuant *P.*14. en *P b c.*16. *om. L, but written above in later hand.*17. Se la fille va *b c.*19. joie *om. P.*19, 20, 25-30. *om. b c.*21. souuent autre *L*; reprennent *b c.*23. crimes *P.*24. meime *L*, meismes *P.*26. dou *L.*

## III. DE SOLE ET BOREA. AV. IV.

*(Illustration)*

Immitis Boreas placidusque ad sidera Phebus  
Iurgia cum magno conseruere Ioue,  
Quis prior inceptum peragat: mediumque per orbem  
Carpebat solitum forte uiator iter.

- 5 Conuenit hanc potius liti prefigere causam,  
Pallia nudato discutienda uiro.

Protinus impulsis uentis circumtonat ether,  
Et gelidus nimias detulit ymber aquas.

- 10 Ille magis duplicem lateri circumdat amictum,  
Turbida submotos qua trahit aura sinus.

Sed tenues radios paulatim crescere Phebus  
Iusserat ut nimio surgeret igne iubar.  
Donec lassa uolens requiescere membra uiator  
Deposita fessus ueste resedit humo.

*Moralitas*

- 15 Tunc uictor docuit presenciam numina Titan  
Nullum premissis uincere posse minis.

*Addicio*

Sermones opera uincunt laudabiliora;  
Absque bono fine uerbula pauca ualent.

## Av. 3. De la comparaison et contens du soleil et du vent de bise.

Devant Jupiter en l'assise  
Au soloil se compara bise,  
Et dit que plus puet et vaut miaus:  
Or soit vetü, dit li soulaus,

- 5 Par ce messaige qui vet la;  
Que qui ce mantel que il a

tit. *om.* L. solo P.

1. sydera L.

2. conseruare P.

6. distucienda L discucienda B discuci-  
cianda P.

7. circumtonat L.

9. circumdat L.

11. Set L. cenues B sennes P. febus P.

12. Iuserat > Iusserat L m. 2. surget om.

P. ignem L.

14. recedit L rescedit P. *Moralitas after  
line 13 L om. B P.*

15. minmia L munniera B munmera P.  
tutan B P. *Addicio after line 14 L after line  
15 B P.*

18. ualant P.

iii., 2. souloil L.

2. bisee P.

5. va la P.

5-6. six verses substituted c.



- Li porra par sa force oster,  
 Cil en doie le honneur porter.—  
 Ainssi l'ont andeus acordé
- 10 Devant dant Jupiter leur dé.  
 Dont fist bise l'air tourmenter,  
 Plouvoir, greeiller et venter,  
 Pour li son mantiau arrachier.  
 Tant com cils puet du corps sachie
- 15 A li joindre se poinne si  
 Qu'oncques du col ne li issi;  
 Ançois quant plus le vent l'empoint,  
 Il plus a son costé le joint,  
 De celle part ou sent le vent,
- 20 Qui malement le va grevant.  
 Au mantiau forment se ralie.  
 Li soulaus de l'autre partie  
 Se leva si cler et si chaut  
 Que tous li mondes art de chaut.
- 25 Cils qui ot chaut a terre pose  
 Robe et mantel, et se repose,  
 Lès li sa robe et ses drapiaus,  
 Pour le tamps qui ere chaut et biaux.
- La moralité.
- Cils qui plus hautement menacent
- 30 Faillent souvent a ce que chacent.  
 L'en sieut par debonaireté  
 Vaincre plus que par cruauté.  
 Se tu vues avoir pacience,  
 Tu vaincras et sans decevance.
- 35 Redoubter la haute parole  
 Sens fait louable est chose fole.

8. doit lonneur emporter *P*.  
 13. Pour arrachier lui son mantel *c*.  
 14. Mais cilz de le bien atachier *b*, Mais il  
 sen garde bien et bel *c*.  
 15. Et joindre a soy *b*, Car entour lui  
 latache sy *c*.  
 21. *om. b c*.

22. *verse inserted b c*: A la tempeste  
 departie.  
 23. et si hault *b c*.  
 24. Que le messagier meurt de *c*.  
 27. En lombre empres lui ses *c*.  
 28. qui estoit trop chaud *c*.  
 31. debonnairete *L P b c*.  
 33-36. *om. b c*.

IV. DE DVOBVS SOCIIS QVOS VRSA DISSOCIAVIT  
AV. IX.

(*Illustration*)

- Montibus ignotis curuisque in uallibus artum  
Cum socio quidam suscipiebat iter,  
Securus, quodcumque malum fortuna tulisset,  
Robore collato posset uterque pati.
- 5 Dumque per inceptum uario sermone feruntur,  
In mediam preceps conuenit ursa uiam.  
Horum alter facili comprehendens robora cursu  
In uiridi trepidum fronde rependit onus.  
Ille trahens nullo iacuit uestigia gressu,
- 10 Exanimem fingens sponte resedit humi.  
Continuo predam cupiens fera seua cucurrit,  
Et miserum curuis unguibus ante leuat.  
Verum ubi concreto riguerunt membra timore,  
Nam solitus mentis linquerat ossa calor,
- 15 Tunc olidum credens quamuis ieiuna cadauer  
Desiit et lustris conditur ipsa suis.  
Sed cum securi paulatim in uerba redissent,  
Liberior iusto qui fuit ante sagax,  
'Dic, sodes, quidnam trepido tibi retulit ursa,
- 20 Nam secreta tibi multaque uerba dedit.'  
'Magna quidem monuit, tamen hoc quoque maxima iussit,  
Et misero semper sunt facienda michi.

Moralitas

"Ne facile alterius repetas consorcia," dixit,  
"Rursus ab insana ne capiare fera." "

Addicio

- 25 Confidens homini maledicetur ore uidentis;  
Indubiam cunctis non adhibeto fidem.  
Fratribus in falsis exosa pericula subsunt;  
Subiectum multis lubrica rara fides.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| tit. dissociant B.                              | 15. quaius L. ieiunia P.                          |
| 1. Motibus B. ualibus P.                        | 16. coditur L.                                    |
| 3. quodque MSS.                                 | 18. fugax Avianus.                                |
| 5. uano P.                                      | 21. quidam P.                                     |
| 6. Im MSS.                                      | 25. Considens MSS. (> Confidens B).               |
| 8. Inuindi crepidum P. rependi rependit onus P. | maledicit > maledicetur L m. 2.                   |
| 9. triens L P trihens B.                        | 26. Indubiem P.                                   |
| 10. Examine P. sponse P.                        | 26. fidei > fidem L m. 2.                         |
| 11. cupians P. sena L.                          | 27. sub MSS. sunt added in late cursive hand B L. |
| 12. nuguibus P.                                 |   |

## Av. 4. De deus compaignons que l'ourse fist dessambler.

- Deus hommes ensamble se mistrent  
 Et par les fois s'entrepromistrent  
 Qu'am tous cas s'entracorderoient  
 En tous les lieux ou il vendroient.  
 5 Mès il n'orent pas mout ensamble  
 Alé, qu'il vidrent, ce me samble,  
 Encontre aus deus venir une ourse.  
 Li plus legiers se mist en course;  
 Oncques de foi ne li souvint,  
 10 Mès l'autre demourer convint,  
 Car sauver ne se puet par courre,  
 Mès toutevoies pour soi escourre,  
 Que la beste ne le manjuce,  
 En un tas de feuilles se muce.  
 15 De piés ne de mains ne se muet,  
 Ains fait samblant a miex qu'il puet  
 Qu'il soit mors. Estes vous la beste  
 Qui acourt et sus li arreste.  
 Aus ongles le va tournoient;  
 20 Quant voit qui ne se muet noient,  
 Si cuide qu'il soit mors pieça,  
 Ne le mordi ne ne bleça;  
 Car elle doubte qu'il ne pue.  
 Va s'en, que plus ne le remue.  
 25 Cils qui peeur eue avoit  
 Se lieve et ses compains le voit,  
 Si vient vers li et li enquiert  
 Qu'il fesoit et comment li yert:  
 Compains, dit il, qu'avés eül?  
 30 Longuement avés ci geti;  
 Dites, celle ource, que vous fist,  
 Quelle parole elle vous dit,  
 Ne quel consoil ce pot ore estre?  
 Longuement pour noient fust prestre,

1. ensembler *P*; mirent *c*.  
 2. leur *c*; sentrepromirent *P*.  
 4. illiroient *P*, seroient *c*, volorient *b*.  
 5. trop ensemble *L*.  
 6. vindrent *L P*, virent *b c*.  
 7. eux *L*, eulx *P b c*; un grant ours *c*.  
 8. venoit tout le cours *c*; two verses inserted in *c*.

14. feuille *L*, fuielles *P*.  
 15. ne de mains *om. L*.  
 16. au mieux *L P*.  
 20. quil *L c*.  
 31. cest ours *c*.  
 33-38. eight verses substituted in *c*.

- 35 Vous a tenu et confessé.—  
 Compains, dit l'autre, qui laissé  
 M'avés ainsi desloiaument,  
 Elle m'a dit que vraiment  
 Quant onc avec moi vous reçuy,  
 40 Je fis que fos et me deçuy.  
 Si m'a conseillé et loué  
 Que je trop mauvès t'ay trouvé.—  
 La moralité.  
 Autrefois garde je me prengne  
 Comment n'a qui je m'accompagne,  
 45 S'autel peril vuil eschiever  
 Ou encor me pourra grever.  
 Le prophetes ainsi nous somme:  
 Gardes, ne te fies en homme,  
 Neis en ton frere ne te fie;  
 50 Freres ne te rachete mie.  
 Ne baudroit l'estimation  
 D'argent pour ta redemption.

# V. DE MILITE CALVO PAVPERE. AV. X.

## (Illustration)

- Caluus eques capiti solitus religare capillos  
 Atque alias nudo uertice ferre comas,  
 Ad campum nitidis uenit conspectus in armis  
 Et facilem frenis uertere cepit equum.  
 5 Huius ab aduerso Boree spiramina prestant  
 Ridiculum populo conspiciente caput.  
 Nam mox adiecto nituit frons nuda galero,  
 Discolor opposita que fuit ante coma.  
 Ille sagax risus cum tantis milibus esset,  
 10 Distulit admota calliditate iocum,  
 'Quid mirum,' referens, 'positos fugisse capillos,  
 Quem prius equeue deseruere come?'

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 39. receu <i>b c.</i>   | 4. Etacie lem frenus <i>P.</i> uercere <i>L.</i>      |
| 40. deceu <i>b c.</i>   | 6. Riduculum <i>B P.</i> conspiciante <i>P.</i> capud |
| 42. La moralite after 41 in <i>L.</i>                             | <i>B P.</i>   |
| 47. Li <i>L.</i> , Les <i>P.</i>                                  | 7. unda <i>B P.</i>                                   |
| 47-52. om. <i>b c.</i>  | 8. cosma <i>P.</i>                                    |
|   | 10. caliditate <i>B P.</i>                            |
| 2. thomas <i>P.</i>   | 11. possitos <i>P.</i>                                |
| 3. mitiois > nitidis <i>L.</i> mericis <i>B</i> meritis <i>P.</i> | 12. enqueue <i>L.</i> eque uene <i>B P.</i> desernere |
| conceptus <i>P.</i>   | <i>L.</i>   |

## Moralitas

Ridiculo cuiquam cum sis absolvere temet  
Opposita ueri cum ratione stude.

## Addicio

- 15 Fuscata ceruice stude ne preuitearis;  
Crine capillata calua secunda patent.

## Av. 5. Du chevalier chauve.

Un chevalier qui pou chevox  
Avoit devant comme Saint Pols  
A un tournoiment porta  
Chevox mors que il emprunta.  
5 Mès un chevalier l'embraça  
Qui le hiaume li deslaça  
Et coiffe et chevox jus sachier  
Li dut au hiaume deslacier.  
Tuit cil d'environ qui ce virent  
10 Grant ris et grant moquois en firent;  
Car il n'avoit cheveus ou chief.  
Mès il tost fu a grant meschief;  
De nécessité vertus fit,  
Et en riant aus autres dit:  
15 Biau seigneur, la chevoleüre  
Qui estoit moie de nature  
M'est cheue et toute faillie;  
Se ceste dont s'en est saillie  
Et m'a leissié qui pas n'iert moie,  
20 N'est nuls qui mervoillie s'en doie.—  
La moralité.  
Nunls qui a soi farder met paine  
Ainsi grant honte li avaingne  
Comme au chevalier avint  
Quant fu surnommé Mar-y-vint.

13. Riduculo *B P.* scis *B P.* tu met *MSS.*

14. racione *L.*

15. Fustata *L.*

16. Crure *Hervicus.* capilata *P.*

1. ert pelez *c.*

2. Ne scay comment fu appelez *c.*

4. noirs *b;* two verses inserted here *c.*

6. arracha *b.*

7. Si rudement que au sachier *c.*

8. Coiffe et cheveux deust arrachier *c.*

10. bourdes en *c.*

20. merueillier *L b c,* merueillier *P.*

21-26. om. *b c.*

24. mal *P.*

- 25 A la fois ne se scet garder  
Qui s'efforce de li farder.

VI. DE RVSTICO QVI INVENIT THESA VRVM IN  
AGRO. AV. XII.

(*Illustration*)

- Rusticus impresso molitus uomere terram  
Thesaurum sulcis prosiluisse uidet.  
Indignans animo properante reliquit aratrum,  
Semina compellens ad meliora boues.  
5 Continuo supplex Telluri construit aram,  
Que sibi depositas sponte dedisset opes.  
Hunc Fortuna nouis gaudentem prouida rebus  
Admonet, indignam se quoque thure dolet:  
'Nunc inuenta meis non prodis munera templis,  
10 Atque alios mauis participare deos.  
Sed cum subrepto fueris tristissimus auro,  
Me primam lacrimis sollicitabis inops,  
Non me ridenti uultu sed cernere tristi  
Fas erit et uacua sint tibi uota tua.'

Moralitas

- 15 Vnius accepto peccat graue quisque talento;  
Quisquis ab hoc sumpsit, imputat hoc alii.

Addicio

- Non est altare bene pro reliquo spoliandum;  
Gracia reddatur unde iocunda uenit.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| tit. thesanrum <i>B</i> .                                     | 11. surrepto <i>L</i> . fuerit <i>MSS</i> . tutissimus            |
| 2. sultis <i>B P</i> . prosilluisse <i>B P</i> .              | <i>B L</i> cutissimus <i>P</i> .                                  |
| 3. Indignatus <i>P</i> .                                      | 12. primum <i>MSS</i> . sollicitabis <i>L</i> . ut ops <i>P</i> . |
| 4. compellans . . . melliora <i>P</i> .                       | 13. uidenti <i>P</i> .  |
| 8. indignans <i>MSS</i> .                                     | 14. Fac <i>P</i> .  |
| 9. iuuenta <i>L</i> iumenta <i>B</i> inmenta <i>P</i> . proit | 15. peccat . . . talento <i>P</i> .                               |
| <i>L</i> prodit <i>B P</i> .                                  | 18. Gratia <i>P</i> . unda > unde <i>L m. 2</i> .                 |
| 10. manis <i>L P</i> (> mauis <i>L m. 2</i> ). patici-        |   |
| pare <i>P</i> .   |   |

## Av. 6. Du vilain qui trouva le tresor en sa terre.

- Un vilain qui sa terre aroit  
 Aventure pas ne queroit,  
 Mès tant ala et tant revint  
 Que aventure li avint,  
 5 Qu'em terre trouva grant richesce.  
 Le vilain ses buefs y adresce,  
 A la richesce remuer.  
 Riches fu il, n'em pot muer.  
 Tant fu riches li paisans  
 10 Et d'esterlins et de besans,  
 Que plus riche ne fust a querre.  
 Mout en sot grans grés a la terre  
 Par cui, ce dit, le tresor a;  
 Bien la servi, bien le honnora.  
 15 Mès de celle dont ce li vint,  
 De Fortune, ne li souvint;  
 Oncques rien ne l'en mercia.  
 Fortune pas ne l'oublia;  
 Ains en ot et duel et despit,  
 20 Se li retoli sans respit  
 Quanqu'elle li avoit presté,  
 Si devint povre et endebté.  
 Adonc Fortune se li dist,  
 Que de sa meschance se rist:  
 25 Vilains, or t'ai je mis a point,  
 Quar tu ne m'as mercié point  
 De ce que je donné t'avoie,  
 Qui merciee estre en devoie.  
 Or m'en rirai, tu ploreras,  
 30 Que tousjours mès chetis seras.—  
 La moralité.  
 Du vilain ai bien oï dire  
 Que miex li fait, et cils l'a pire.  
 Son bienfaiteur doit l'en loer  
 Du bienfait, sans autre avoer.

1. villain en sa *L b*.8. Na plus cure de charruer *b c*.12. bon gre *b c*.17. *this verse repeated in P.*20. recoilli *L*, tolli *b*, a toleu *c*.26. *om. P.*30. chetif *L P*.32. Qui *P b c*; bien *b*; le treuve pire *c*.

## VII. DE IOVE ET SIMIA. AV. XIV.

*(Illustration)*

Iupiter in toto condam quesiueraſ orbe,  
 Munera natorum quis meliora daret.  
 Certatim ad regem currit genus omne ferarum,  
 Permixtumque homini cogitur ire pecus.

- 5 Sed nec squamigeri desunt ad iurgia pisces,  
 Et quidquid uolucrum purior aura uehit.  
 Inter quos trepide ducebant pignora matres  
 Iudicio tanti discucienda dei.

Tunc breuis informem traheret cum simia natum,

- 10 Ipsum etiam in risum compulſit ire Iouem.  
 Hec tamen ante alios rupit turpiſſima uocem,  
 Dum generis crimen ſic abholere cupit:  
 'Iupiter hoc norit, maneat uictoria ſi quem,  
 Iudicio ſuperest omnibus iſte meo.'

*Moralitas*

- 15 Nolo uelis rerum quicquam laudare tuarum,  
 Ni ſint alterius ore probata prius.  
 (19) Sic mos eſt hominum quicquam ſibi fecerit ipſe,  
 (20) Vile licet maneat, approbat ipſe tamen.

*Addicio*

- (17) Laus falerata nimis proprio ſordescit in ore;  
 20 (18) Incitat in riſum laus falerata ſibi.

## Av. 7. Du ſinge qui diſoit que ſes ſingos eſtoient li plus biaux.

- Jupiter qui de paradis  
 Roy appeler ſe fiſt jadis,  
 Fiſt par ſon ban crier et querre  
 En l'air et en mer et en terre  
 5 Qui de ſes enfans li feroit

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| tit. Symia L.                            | 10. et B P -que L. in irriſum ( <i>ir- expunged</i> ) |
| 1. queſiunat P.                          | P.  |
| 2. uacorum ( <i>uac-in erasure</i> ) P.  | 11. curpiſſima P. nocem P ( <i>n- or u- B</i> ).      |
| 3. Certain P.                            | 12. ſicut > ſic L.                                    |
| 4. Permiſtum que P.                      | 13. ſique B P ſi que L. Iuditiſ B L.                  |
| 5. desunt om. B P.                       | 15. quiſquam B P.                                     |
| 6. quiſquis MSS.                         | 17, 18 and 19, 20 the order of theſe couplets         |
| 7. repide > trepide P.                   | is reuerſed in the MSS.                               |
| 8. Iuditiſ L. tenti P. dicucienda > diſ- | 17. quiſquam P.                                       |
| cucienda B m. 2 L m. 2 dicucianda P.     | 18. ipe P.  |
| 9. con MSS.                              |   |



- Plus biau present, que il seroit  
 Honorablement recetis.  
 Tous li mondes s'est esmetis,  
 Hommes, femmes, bestes, oisiaus,  
 10 Et poissons de mer les plus biaux.  
 Chascuns fil ou fille aporta;  
 Neis celi qui le cul ort a  
 Son singetiaul y amena.  
 Li rois a la court joie en a;  
 15 Li rois li demande et enquier  
 Ou il va ne que leans quiert:  
 Je vous aport ci, par ma teste,  
 Le plus biau jouiau de la feste,  
 Et si ottroi que l'en me tonde  
 20 S'il a si bel enfant ou monde;  
 Mon fils est li biaux et joieus,  
 Les autres seurmonte tous seus  
 De biauté, si que il m'en samble.—  
 Li rois et tuit li autre ensamble  
 25 S'en gabent et moquent et rient:  
 Mout est fols li singes,—se dient.  
 La moralité.  
 Les autres choses doit l'en bien  
 Loer, non pas ce qui est sien.  
 Homme qui trop ses choses loe  
 30 Desert qu'am li face la moe.  
 De Seneque l'enseignement  
 Est que l'en loe escharcement  
 Et plus escharcement blamer.  
 Ne doit l'en autrui diffamer.  
 35 Le saint dit loe après la vie,  
 Homme après la mort magnifie,  
 Car un homme est tantost changiés,  
 De pechiés et de maus angiés,  
 Ou il puet tantost rancheoir  
 40 En loant, ce t'estuet veoir.

7. repus *P.*  
 13. singetiau *L.*, sigetoy lui aporta *P.*,  
 singeteau *b.*, singetel *c.*  
 14. roy et *b c.*  
 16. et que lieus *P.*  
 19. two verses substituted *c.*  
 20. following verse added *c.*: La ou il est  
 tout bien habonde.

21. Mes fils est si *L.*, Com mon filz est li  
 beaux danseaux *b.*  
 21-23. three verses substituted *c.*  
 29-40. om. *b c.*  
 32. Cest. . .chierement *P.*  
 34. blanmer *P.*  
 35. dit om. *P.*  
 39. recheoir *P.*

## VIII. DE PAVONE ET GRVE. AV. XV.

## (Illustration)

- Treiciam uolucrum fertur Iunonius ales  
 Communi sociam continuisse cibo,  
 Namque inter uarias fuerat discordia formas,  
 Magnaque de facili iurgia lite trahunt,  
 5 Quod sibi multimodo fulgerent membra decore,  
 Ceruleam facerent liuida terga gruem.  
 Et simul erecte circundans tegmina caude,  
 Sparserat archanum rursus in astra iubar.  
 Illa, licet nullo pennarum certet honore,  
 10 Hiis tamen insultans uocibus usa datur:  
 'Quamuis innumeras plumas uariauerit ordo,  
 Mersus humi semper florida terga geris.  
 Ast ego deformi sublimis in aera penna  
 Proxima syderibus numinibusque feror.'  
 Moralitas  
 15 Si quadam uirtute nites ne despice quemquam;  
 Ex alia quadam forsitan ille nitet.  
 Addicio  
 Omne decus tollit uentosa superbia uana;  
 Iactanti merito dedecus omne uenit.

## Av. 8. Du paon et de la grue.

- Ce dit li comptes que la grue  
 Ou les paons digne et menjue.  
 Quant mengié orent et beü  
 Si ont un chetif plet meü  
 5 De leur plumes et de leur elles

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Treiciem MSS. in nouius B in nomus P.    | 11. in muneris P. narrauerit P. |
| 2. continuisse L.                           | 12. terra MSS.                  |
| 4. iurgia P.                                | 13. deformis . . . pennis MSS.  |
| 5. Que MSS. multe modo P.                   | 14. muneribus que MSS.          |
| 6. lurida L. gruam P.                       | 15. nectis MSS. quamquam MSS.   |
| 7. temigna L temigua P temigna > tegmina    | 16. forsitam B L.               |
| B m. 2.                                     | 18. Iactanti P.                 |
| 8. Sperserat B L (Iraerat P.) lucet > licet |                                 |
| P.  | 2. O le paon disne L b c.       |
| 9. pannarum MSS. (pinnarum Avianus).        | 4. emu P.                       |
| 10. insultans P.                            | 5. ailles P.                    |

- Que li paons dit que plus belles  
 Les a assés que n'a la grue;  
 Et en tel guise li argue:  
 J'é belles plumes et estranges,  
 10 Je samble droitement estre anges;  
 De la queue tel com je l'é  
 Semble le ciel bien estelé;  
 Quant en roe la vuil estrandre,  
 Oisel ne se puet a moi prandre  
 15 De plumaige ne de biauté;  
 Tu ne veïs oncques auté!  
 Mès tu yes enfumee et jaune  
 Et yes trop aulte demi-aune.—  
 La grue respont comme saige:  
 20 Sire paons, trop biau plumaige  
 Avés, ne puet estre noié;  
 Mès il est trop mal emploié,  
 Car ne remaint fumier ne merde  
 Que vo belle queue ne terde;  
 25 En l'ordure adès vous tenés  
 Tous soiés vous bel empenés.  
 Mès je laidement emplumee,  
 Sale, jaune, toute enfumee,  
 Ai tiex pennes et telles elles  
 30 Que aus estoiles volent elles;  
 Si voi paradis la amont  
 Et trestous ceuls qui dedens sont.  
 Mès sans faille de un biau champ randre  
 N'est il rossignos ne chalendre  
 35 Qui a vous prendre se petüst  
 Sans faille mès qu'il vous pletüst.—  
 La moralité.  
 Se une vertu soit en toi mise  
 Les autres povres ne despise,  
 Car un autre a bien en soi  
 40 Tel chose qui n'est pas en toi;

9. Jai *L*, Jay *b c*.15-16. *two verses substituted c.*17. tu es *P b c*.18. es trop haute *P*, Si es trop haulte *b c*.23. Qui *L*.24. Que vos belles queues *L*, Ou *P*.29. ailles *P*.30. Que (je) vole jusques aux estelles (*b*)*c.*33. chant *b*.34. rocinols ne calendre *L*, rosignous ne  
 calendre *P*, rossignol ne kalendre *b c*.33. desprise *L b c*, despise *P*.

Et se tu te vues trop loer,  
 Tu te pourras bien emboer,  
 Que tu ne seras rien loés  
 Qui t'estoies haut encroés.

IX. DE QVERCV QVI NOLEBAT FLECTI CONTRA  
 VENTVM. AV. XVI.

(Illustration)

- Montibus in summis radicitus eruta quercus  
 Decidit insani turbine uicta nothi,  
 Quam tumidis subter decurrens alueus undis  
 Suscipit et fluuio precipitante rapit.  
 5 Verum ubi diuersis impellitur ardua ripis  
 In fragiles calamos grande resedit onus.  
 Tunc sic exiguo connectens cespite ramos  
 Miratur liquidis quod stet arundo uadis,  
 Se quoque tam uasto nedum consistere trunco,  
 10 Ast illam tenui cortice ferre minas.  
 Stridula mox blando respondet canna susurro,  
 Sicque magis cuncta debilitare docet:  
 'Tu rapidos,' inquit, 'uentos seuasque procellas  
 Despicias et totis uiribus acta ruis.  
 15 Ast ego surgentes paulatim demoror austros,  
 Et quamuis leuibis prouida cedo nothis.  
 In tua preceptis offendit robora membris,  
 Motibus aura meis ludificata perit.  
 Moralitas  
 Hec nos dicta monent magnis obsistere frustra,  
 20 Paulatimque truces exsuperare minas.

41-44. om. b c.

tit. conuertu MSS. uolebat B P.

1. sommis L somnis P.

2. in sanam P. incta nothi P.

3. Quem L. abluens L (in erasure).

5. ubis P. impellitur P. recedit L P (in  
 erasure L). ouus L.

7. tespite B L. cespite ramos om. P.

8. liquidus > liquidis P. stat MSS. 9 tan  
 L.

10. At P. torcite B forcite P.

11. cauna MSS.

12. cunca L.

13. rapidas MSS. senas que L.

14. Despicias B P. totas MSS. uisibus B L  
 uiubus > uisibus P. atta suis L.

15. ergo P. paultitim > pauletim P.

16. tedo MSS. nocthis P.

17. (praeptus . . . nimbus Avianus).

19. ditte P. mouent L. magnis P.

20. munas L.

## Addicio

Si fugis in bassum cupias transcendere sepe;  
Alta petunt uenti, tucius yma iacent.

## Av. 9. Du biau chesne qui ne se vouloit flechir contre le vent.

Un biaux chesnes qui plantés yere  
En un mont sus une rivièrre  
Si biaux, si fort, si grans estoit  
Que nuls vent il ne redoubtoit.  
5 Tant estoit grans arbres et haus  
De tous vens souffroit les assaus.  
Onc tant n'oserent empressier  
Que de riens se vousist plessier.  
Mès tant soufflerent et venterent  
10 Les vens, qu'a terre le porterent;  
Onc si bien ne se deffendi,  
A val en l'iaue descendi,  
Que oncques ne pot avoir secours.  
A val s'en va si com le cours  
15 De l'iaue le mainne; mès rosel  
Qui la estoient grant et bel  
L'empescherent qu'il ne passat  
Sans ce que nuls de euls se cassat.  
Au chesne grant merveille vient  
20 Dou rosiau, coment il se tient  
Contre l'iaue, contre le vent,  
Que il ne s'en va plus grevant;  
Mès de ce sa merveille enforce  
Par quel guise ne par quel force  
25 Il est ileuques detenus  
Entre les roseles menus,  
Qui n'ont ne vertu ne poissance;  
De ce a soi meisme tence.  
Li roisiaus qui ce oï tout  
30 Li dit: Foibles sui je, n'en dout;  
Mès ce m'a fait plus grant salu

21. *fingis* > *fugis* *L.* *transsander* *P.*3. *gros* *L P.*7. *empresser* *L b c,* *aproichier* *P.*8. *le fissent* *P.*12. *jus se rendi* *b.*15. *rosiau* *b c.*16. *Et jonc qui estoient en l'eau* *b c.*18. *quassat* *P,* *en cassat* *b c.*30. *moult* *b c.*

- Que ta force ne t'a valu,  
 Par quel en tel orguel estoies  
 Que nes un vent ne redoubtoies.  
 35 Si t'en est si bien avenu  
 Que tu en yes pour fol tenu.  
 Mès quant je voi le vent venir  
 Contre qui ne me puis tenir,  
 Mieus me vaut le col abeissier  
 40 Et moi tout bellement pleissier,  
 Que a plus fort de moi combatre.  
 Tu fusses encor a abatre  
 Se eusses volu soupploier,  
 Et toi contre plus fort ploier.  
 45 L'en doit au plus bas de la soif  
 Passer qui de bien faire a soif.  
 La moralité.  
 Fos est cils qui contre plus fort  
 Vuet contraitier ains le deport  
 Et par souffrir et escouter  
 50 Faice samblant de li doubter.

X. DE QVATVOR TAVRIS QVOS LEO DECEPIT EOS  
 DISSOCIARE FACIENDO. AV. XVIII.

(Illustration)

- Quatuor immensis quondam per prata iuuentis  
 Fertur amicitie tanta fuisse fides  
 Vt simul emissos nullus deuelleret error,  
 Rursus et e pastu turba rediret ouans.  
 5 Hos quoque collatis inter se cornibus ingens  
 Dicitur in siluis pertimuisse leo,  
 Dum metus oblatam prohibet temptare rapinam  
 Et coniuratos horret adire boues.  
 Sed quamuis audax factisque immanior esset,  
 10 Tantorum solus uiribus impar erat.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 34. mil vent <i>b c.</i>   | 1. in mensis <i>L.</i> ptrā <i>P.</i>        |
| 40. bleissier <i>P.</i>  | 3. emisos <i>P.</i>                          |
| 45-46. <i>om. b c.</i>   | 4. ex <i>L om. P.</i>                        |
| 48. Veult contraster mais le deport <i>b</i> , De<br>lui veult battaillier au fort <i>c.</i> | 5. Has <i>MSS.</i>                           |
| 50. Face <i>L</i> , Font <i>b</i> , On doit de lui plus fort<br>dompter <i>c.</i>            | 8. hortet <i>L.</i> adhīre <i>MSS.</i>       |
|  | 9. andax <i>L.</i> frīs (=fratris) <i>P.</i> |
|  | 10. Tantcirum <i>P.</i>                      |

Protinus aggreditur prauis insistere uerbis,  
Collectum cupiens dissociare pecus.  
Sed postquam dictis animos disiungit acerbos,  
Inuasit miserum diripuitque pecus.

## Moralitas

- 15 Tunc quidam ex illis: 'Vitam seruare quietam  
Qui cupit ex nostra discere morte potest.  
Neue cito admotas uerbis fallacibus aures  
Impleat, aut ueterem deserat ante fidem.'

## Addicio

- Sermones blandos blesosque cauere memento;  
20 Credulitas nimia simplicitate nocet.

## Av. 10. Des quatre toriaus que le lion deçut pour ce qui les fist dessambler.

- Quatre biaux toriaus estoient  
Qui si grant foi s'entreportoient  
Que l'un ne vouloit sans l'autre estre,  
Ne aler, ne venir, ne pestre;  
5 Car par foi furent adjousté,  
S'en furent assés plus doubté.  
Li lions mesmes les doubtoit,  
Qui plus hardis de un d'eus estoit;  
Si commance a estudier  
10 Comment les poussist conchier,  
Car trop volentiers s'en peüst,  
Dou quel que soit, se il peüst.  
Un jour les trouva, ce me samble,  
Qui pour peeur d'euls trestout tramble,  
15 Si leur dit: Seigneur, Dieu vous gart;  
Avés vous peeur de regart,  
Qui si vous estes assamblés?  
Peureuse gent vous me samblés,  
Et si estes et grant et fort;  
20 Ne sai bestes de vostre effort,  
Ours, lion, cheval, ne liepart,

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 13. quam uis <i>P.</i> dittis <i>P.</i>                             | 7. neis les redoubtoit <i>b.</i>                   |
| 14. dirripuit que <i>B P.</i>                                       | 8. hardis <i>om. B P.</i> ; fors estoit <i>P.</i>  |
| 15. quidem <i>B P.</i> seruire <i>MSS.</i>                          | 12. Son quelque <i>B.</i> Du <i>b c.</i>           |
| 16. uiam <i>P.</i> postest <i>P.</i>                                | 14. En un pre paissans tous ensemble <i>b (c).</i> |
| 17. Ne ne <i>B L.</i> fallacitur <i>B P</i> (>fallaciter <i>B).</i> | 16. paour ne <i>b c.</i>                           |
|   | 21. Que lions <i>b;</i> vers <i>om. c.</i>         |

- Que cil estoit a une part  
 Et l'un de vous de l'autre, sous,  
 Que il ne se deffendit de douls;  
 25 Mès vous estes de cuer failli.  
 Cuidiés vous dont estre assailli  
 Par moi tout seul, qui estes quatre?  
 Je ne m'oseroie combatre  
 A l'un de vous pour estre mors,  
 30 Quar je redoubte trop vos corps.  
 Si n'ai, se Dieu me doint santé,  
 De vous mal fere volenté;  
 Je vous assecur bonnement,  
 Alés partout hardiement;  
 35 Mès tant com vous irois ensamble  
 Serés vous couart, ce me samble;  
 Enseur que tout qui souls seroit  
 Meilleur pasture trouveroit.  
 Qui n'est seuls, ce vous di je bien,  
 40 Ce qu'il treuve n'est mie sien,  
 Car li autre y doivent partir.—  
 Tant leur a dit que departir  
 A fait les enfans des genices,  
 Dont par tamps se tendront pour nices.  
 45 Quant ce furent entre-lessié,  
 Le lion court tout eslessié,  
 Comme familleus et jeun  
 Si les occist tous, un a un.  
 Ainssi se treuvent decetü  
 50 Pour ce que trop tost on creü  
 Celi qui honnir les voloit,  
 Et par paroles les bouloit.  
 La moralité.  
 Si dit l'un: Qui em pais vuet vivre,  
 Nostre mort exemple li livre.

22. *om. P.*23. *seus L, part c; following verse inserted c:*  
 Et li uns de vous feust tous seuls.24. *deux L.*28. *meseroie B, mesaroie P.*34. *Halca P.*35. *ires P b c.*36. *this verse repeated in B.*43-44. *two verses substituted c.*45. *Que se P, Quant se b c.*46. *embessie b, eschauffe c.*47. *geun L b c, jeun P.*48. *occist tous en et un P b, estrangle un*  
*et un c.*50. *ont L b c.*51. *tous les a honnis b.*52. *vouloit P b; esblouys c.*



- 55 Trop de legier ne creie mie,  
Ne ne lest sens sa compaignie.  
L'en ne doit tousjours mie croire  
Belle parole qui n'est voire.—

# XI. DE ABIETE ET DVMO. AV. XIX.

## (Illustration)

- Horrentes dumos abies pulcherrima risit,  
Cum facerent forme iurgia magna sue,  
Indignum referens cunctis certamen haberi,  
Quos nullus meritis associaret honor:  
5 'Nam michi deductum surgens in nubila corpus  
Verticis erectas tollit in astra comas.  
Puppibus et patulis media cum sede locamur  
In me suspensos explicat aura sinus.  
Ac tibi deformem cui dant spineta figuram,  
10 Despectum cuncti preteriere uiri.'  
Ille refert: 'Nunc leta quidem bona sola fateris,  
Et nostris frueris imperiosa malis.  
Sed cum pulchra minax succidit membra securis,  
Quam uelles spinas tunc habuisse meas.'  
Moralitas  
15 Nemo sue carnis nimio letetur honore,  
Ne uilis factus plus sua facta gemat.  
Dicunt doctores quod rara concordia forme  
Securique status atque pudicicie.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 55. croie <i>L b c.</i>  | 8. Im <i>L P.</i> explicat ( <i>expli- in erasure</i> ) <i>L.</i>            |
| 56. Ne ne ne lest <i>L</i> ; laist sans <i>P</i> ; ceux ou<br>il se fie <i>b (c).</i>                                  | 9. deformam <i>MSS.</i> (>deformem <i>B L m.</i><br>2).                      |
| 57. mie toursiours <i>P.</i>   | 10. Despectam <i>MSS.</i>  |
| 57-58. om. <i>b c.</i>   | 11. uñt <i>B P</i> (>uñc <i>B</i> ). leto <i>MSS.</i>                        |
| tit. abite <i>P.</i>   | 12. fueris <i>P.</i>   |
| 3. cunctis <i>h</i> ( <i>h expunged</i> ) <i>B.</i> honori <i>MSS.</i>   | 13. minas>minax <i>L.</i> membra <i>L.</i>                                   |
| 4. Juod <i>P.</i>  | 14. Quem <i>MSS.</i>   |
| 5. de ductam <i>P.</i>   | 15. sine <i>B P</i> ( <i>suae B m. 2</i> ). letaur>letatur<br><i>P m. 2.</i> |
| 6. erectas <i>B.</i>   | 17. Dicun>Dicunt <i>L m. 2.</i>  |
| 7. Pauperibus <i>MSS.</i> peculis <i>P.</i> media <i>in</i><br><i>erasure L.</i> cede <i>MSS.</i> loquamur <i>B P.</i> |  |

## Av. 11. Du sapin et du buisson.

- Jadis ot, si com nous lisom,  
 Pris estoit encontre un boison  
 Uns sapins trop biaux et trop haus,  
 Et dit o boisson: Je vaus miaus  
 5 Trop que quar jusques aus estelles  
 Estens mes branches et mes elles,  
 Tant sui et grans et par creüs.  
 De cent lieues sui bien vetüs,  
 Quant sui en une nef en mer.  
 10 Tel arbre fait bien a amer.  
 Mès tu es uns nains acroupis,  
 Qui portés le menton ou pis;  
 Lais et drus et tous espineus,  
 Des autres li plus haineus,  
 15 De nuls biens ne te pues vanter;  
 Folie fu de te planter.—  
 Li boissons comme courreciés  
 Li respondi comme hericiés:  
 Tu parles seulement, amis,  
 20 Des biens que Dieu a en toi mis,  
 Mès tes mescheances tu celles;  
 Se tu yes haus jusques aus estelles  
 Et je suis nains petis et bas,  
 En ce ne gaignes tu pas,  
 25 Car mon bisexte, ma laidure,  
 Font que de moi nelui n'a cure.  
 Mès ce que tu es haus et lons  
 Te font ceper jusques aus talons.  
 Mieux me vaut dont ma petitesce  
 30 Que ta grandeur qu'ainsi te blesce;  
 Et li vens t'est injurieux,  
 Et nuls de moi n'est envieus.—

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 2. en coste un bison <i>P</i> .  | 15. ne <i>om. P</i> .  |
| 4. ie uous <i>B</i> ; au boisson ie vaus <i>L P</i> , je<br>miex vous <i>b (c)</i> .                           | 19. follement <i>b</i> .   |
| 5. Que toy <i>c</i> , Trop que tu <i>b</i> .   | 21. des meschances <i>P</i> .  |
| 6. brenches et mes failles <i>P</i> .  | 24. En tout ce <i>c</i> .  |
| 7. sui grans <i>L</i> ; et pargrans et parcreus <i>P</i> ;<br><i>pa written and cancelled before grans B</i> . | 25. Cai moi <i>B</i> , Car ma bassete et <i>b</i> , Car<br>ma petitesce <i>c</i> . |
| 8. precedes 7 in <i>P</i> .  | 28. coper <i>L P</i> , coupper <i>b c</i> .  |
| 13. Les et edrus <i>P</i> , Lais et sers <i>b</i> , Lait et<br>sec <i>c</i> .                                  | 31-32. <i>om. b c</i> .  |

## La moralité.

- Qui de ses biens vanter se vueut  
 N'oblit pas ce dont il se deut;  
 35 Car miex vaudroit uns lait homs sains  
 Que un biau de maladie plains.  
 Biauté ne vout riens sans sourté,  
 Ne grant noblesce sans meurté.

## XII. DE PISCATORE PISCICVLVM CAPIENTE. AV. XX.

*(Illustration)*

- Piscator solitus hamo deprendere pisces,  
 Exigui piscis uile trahebat onus.  
 Sed postquam superat uictum, adduxit ad auras  
 Atque auido fixum uulnus ab ore trahit.  
 5 'Parce,' prior supplex lacrimis ita dixit abortis,  
 'Nam quanta ex nostro corpore dampna feres?  
 Nam me saxosis genitrix fecunda sub antris  
 Fudit et in propriis ludere iussit aquis.  
 Tolle minas, tenerumque tuis sine crescere mensis;  
 10 Hec tibi me rursus littoris ora dabit.  
 Protinus immensi depastus cerula ponthi  
 Pinguior ad thalamum sponte redibo tuum.'  
 Ille nefas captum referens absoluere piscem,  
 Difficiles queritur casibus esse uices.  
 Moralitas  
 15 'Nam miserum est,' inquit, 'presentem amittere predam;  
 Stultis et rursus uota futura sequi.'  
 Addicio  
 Quisque tenet teneat quod cepit dextera prompta;  
 Ad presens oua sunt meliora feris.

33. vuest *L*, veult *P b c*.  
 34. Noublist *L*, Noblie *P c*; duest *L*, duest  
*P*, deult *b c*.  
 37. vaust *L*, vaut *P*.  
 37-38. *om. b c*.

1. homo > hamo *B m. 2*.  
 2. ouus *L*.

5. Perte *L*.  
 7. se *B P*.  
 8. impropriis *MSS*, iussut *L*.  
 10. russus *P*, lictoris hora *MSS*.  
 12. Puingior *P*.  
 14. querit *MSS*.  
 16. Stulticius *B P*, et > est *B m. 2*.  
 17. Quique *B L*.

## Av. 12. Du pescheur poisson prenant.

- Ci dit le compte que un vilain  
 Qui bien savoit peschier a l'ain  
 Avoit un petit poisson pris  
 Qui n'estoit mie de grant pris.  
 5 Li poissonnés pour Dieu li prie  
 Que ceste fois ne le tut mie,  
 Car s'il le tue ne n'ocist  
 Il y aura pou de profit;  
 Mès pour Dieu le leist encor vivre  
 10 Par tel convent se il est delivre,  
 Il croistra et amendera,  
 Et puis que amendé sera,  
 A sa lingne arrier recourra,  
 Si que reprendre le porra;  
 15 Vraiment que ja n'i faudra,  
 Et miex que devant li vaudra.  
 Cils qui du fere n'a coraige  
 Li respont et dit comme saige:  
 Le pescheur pour fol tendroie  
 20 Qui ainsi laisseroit sa proie;  
 Et cils est plus fols la mitié  
 Qui ce requiert qu'il a gitié.  
 La moralité.  
 Qui ce qu'il tient giette a ses piés,  
 Bien en doit estre courrociés.  
 25 Qui lesse ce qu'il a cheoir,  
 Il li en doit bien mescheoir.  
 Proverbe est: Qui tiegne, si tiegne,  
 Que mescheance ne li aviegne;  
 Plus aim de mon profit danree  
 30 Qu'a autre viegne grant maree.

## XIII. DE DVOBVS MIMIS ET IOVE. AV. XXII.

## (Illustration)

Iupiter ambiguas hominum prediscere mentes,

5. Le petit poisson si lui prie *c.*6. tue *P b*, ne meure *c.*7-8. *two verses substituted b.*7. tue ne occist *L c*, tue ne nossit *P.*8. profist *L*, pourfit *P.*15-16. *two verses substituted c.*21. mittie *L*, moytie *P*, moitie *b c.*25-30. *om. b c.*1. ambigas > ambiguas *L.* predicere *MSS.*

- Ad terras Phebum misit in arce poli.  
 Tunc duo diuersis pascebant munera uotis,  
 Namque alter cupidus, inuidus alter erat.  
 5 Hiis quoque se medium Tytan, scrutatus utrumque,  
 Obtulit, et precibus ut peteretur ait:  
 † 'Prestandi facilis; nam quodque rogauerit unus,  
 Protinus hec alter congeminata feret.'  
 Sed cui longa iecur nequeat saciare cupido,  
 10 Distulit admotas in noua dampna preces.  
 Spem sibi confidens alieno crescere uoto,  
 Seque ratus solum munera ferre duo.  
 Ille ubi captantem socium sua premia uidit,  
 Supplicium proprii corporis optat ouans.  
 15 Iam petit extinctus ut lumine degeret uno,  
 Alter ut hoc duplicans uiuat utroque carens.  
 Tunc sortem sapiens humanam risit Apollo,  
 Inuidieque malum retulit ipse Ioui,  
 Qui, dum prouentis aliorum gaudet iniquis,  
 20 Letior infelix et sua dampna cupit.  
 <Addicio>  
 In dampnum alterius spem tu tibi ponere noli;  
 Fallere qui satagit fallitur arte sua.

**Av. 13. De deus menestriers, l'un convoiteus et l'autre enuieus.**

Jupiter a terre envoia  
 Son fils, et si li ottroia  
 Qu'au pueple revelast leur comptes.  
 Les gens y ajournerent trestoutes,  
 5 Chascun pour li veoir y vient.  
 Phebus si grant feste li tient  
 Pour sa premiere venue  
 C'oncques si grant ne fu tenue  
 Ne si pleniére nulle part;

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 2. (ab arce <i>Avianus</i> ).                   | 16. introque <i>P</i> .                                   |
| 3. tuo <i>P</i> .                               | 17. appollo <i>B P</i> .                                  |
| 5. Tycam <i>MSS</i> .                           | 19. (Quae <i>Avianus</i> ).                               |
| 8. cum geminata <i>B P</i> .                    | 20. Lecior <i>B P</i> . Addicio <i>om. MSS</i> .          |
| 9. q longus <i>B P</i> . socia <i>L</i> .       |   |
| 11. aliene <i>P</i> .                           | 3. dit tous leurs secrez <i>c</i> ; doute <i>b</i> .      |
| 13. captentem <i>L</i> captentam <i>P</i> .     | 4. acourent <i>L</i> , aqueurent <i>b</i> ; De tous lieux |
| 14. obtat <i>MSS</i> .                          | gens sont arrivez <i>c</i> .                              |
| 15. (Nam <i>Avianus</i> ). tegeret <i>MSS</i> . | 7. premeraine <i>b c</i> .                                |

- 10 De mout biaux joiaus y depart.  
 A la court deus menestriers  
 Avoit, et joiaus et parliers;  
 Li uns d'eus estoit envieus,  
 Et li autres ere convoiteus.
- 15 Phebus leur dist qu'il demandassent,  
 Et il leur donroit, n'en doubtassent.  
 Accorder ne porrent ensamble,  
 Divers coraige les dessamble:  
 Demandés, dit Phebus encore,
- 20 Et je vous di et promet ore  
 Que le premier de vous aura  
 Ce que demander saura,  
 Et l'autre la moitié plus.—  
 Le convoiteus se trait en sus
- 25 Qui la moitié plus avoir veut;  
 Li envieus, qui mout se deut  
 Quant il voit que nuls homs amende,  
 A fait merveilleuse demande  
 Qui a ambedeus nuist et grieve,
- 30 Car il requiert que l'en li crieve  
 Un oil, si que li convoiteus  
 Perde les deus yaux ambedeus.  
 Tout ainsi comme il le requist  
 Le fist Phebus, qui mout s'en rist
- 35 Et moqua de leur mescheance.  
 La moralité.  
 Qui pour faire a autrui grevance  
 Se grieve tout premierement  
 Bien doit aler au dampnement.  
 Qui fait a soi mesmes dommaige
- 40 Pour nuire autrui, bien a la raige.

11. menestreux *b c.*12. si vous diray quieulx *b c.*17. porent ce me semble *L.*19. fait phebus *P.*27. que aucuns amande *P.*37. premierent *B*, premièrement *P.*39-40. *om. b c.*

## XIV. DE PVERO QVI LATRONEM DECEPIT. AV. XXV.

(Illustration)

- Flens puer extremam putei consedit ad undam,  
 Vana super uacuis fletibus ora trahens.  
 Callidus hunc lacrimis postquam fur uidit obortis,  
 Quenam tristicie sit modo causa rogat.  
 5 Ille sibi fracti fingens discrimina funis  
 Atque auri queritur dissiluisse cadum.  
 Nec mora, sollicitam traxit manus improba uestem;  
 Exutus putei protinus yma petit.  
 Paruulus exiguo circundans pallia collo,  
 10 Sentibus immensis delicuisse datur.  
 Sed post fallaci suscepta pericula nato,  
 Tristior amissa ueste resedit humi.  
 Dicitur hiis sollers uocem rupisse querelis,  
 Et gemitu summos sollicitasse deos:  
 15 'Perdita, quisquis erit, post haec bene pallia credat,  
 Qui putet in liquidis quod natet urna uadis.'  
 Moralitas  
 Nemo nimis trepide sibi res desideret ullas,  
 Ne, dum plus cupiat, perdat et hoc quod habet.  
 Addicio  
 Qui uidet infantem, nichilominus omnia nescit,  
 20 Que fortuna dabit, que feret ipse puer.

## Av. 14. De l'enfant qui conchia le lerron.

- Uns enfés lès un puis estoit  
 Qui en plourant se dementoit  
 Com cils qui ja iert barreterres.  
 Par la delès passoit uns lerres,  
 5 Si li demande qu'il avoit;  
 Cils qui ja bien mentir savoit  
 Li dit: Il m'est trop mescheü,

1. Flans P. putet B P<sub>1</sub> (> putei B). conce-  
 dit L P.

3. ob orcis L oborcis P.

11. Set B P. fallati B P. nata P.

12. recedit L P.

13. sollers B L.

14. gemittu L guemitu > gemitu B. som-  
 mos L.

16. liquidis P. ulna MSS.

17. tripide MSS.

20. fortunam L.

7. mal cheu P.

- Car dedans ce puis m'est chetü  
 Le plus biau pot de mon segneur,  
 10 Et le meilleur et le greigneur,  
 Par ma corde qui m'est rompue.  
 Par un pou que je ne me tue;  
 Jamais n'oserai retourner.—  
 Et li lierres sans sejourner  
 15 A toute sa robe jus mise,  
 Nus remest jusque la chemise;  
 Avalés s'est dedans le puis.  
 Mès la robe ne vit il puis,  
 Perdue l'a pour noient querre,  
 20 Car cils s'en va a tout grant erre  
 Qui le larron a deceü.

La moralité.

- Autrefois a l'en bien vetü  
 Le petit decevoir le grant,  
 Ainsi comme a fet cest enfant.  
 25 Soutils est qui a lerron emble,  
 De ce avés ci Courtois exemple.  
 Tiex porte de enfant le visaige  
 Qui est malicieus et saige.  
 Qui voit enfant ne voit neant;  
 30 Ce qui pou vaut puis est seant.

XV. DE CORNICE QVI BIBIT AQVAM SVBTILITATE  
 SVA. AV. XXVII.

(*Illustration*)

- Ingentem cornix siciens aspexerat urnam,  
 Que minimam fundo continuisset aquam.  
 Hanc enixa diu planis effundere campis,  
 Scilicet ut nimiam pelleret inde sitim,  
 5 Postquam nulla uiam uirtus dedit, admouet omnes

16. Nulz *L*; Or remaint jusques a la *b*,  
 Tout nu demeure en sa *c*.  
 25-30. *om. b c*.  
 25. qui ala emble *P*.  
 26. Courtois, *cf. Ya. 42.119*.

XV tit. subcillitate *B* suballitate *P*.  
 1. cornis *P*. sciciens *B P*.  
 2. nimiam *MSS*.  
 4. pellerent *L*.  
 5. addit *MSS*. (*ad- in erasure L*). admonet  
*MSS*.



Indignata noua calliditate dolos.  
 Nam breuis immersis ad crescens sponte lapillis  
 Potandi facilem prebuit unda uiam.

## Moralitas

- Viribus hec docuit quod sit prudentia maior,  
 10 Qua ceptum uolucris explicuisset opus.

## Addicio

Omne genus uirtutum nam prudentia uincit,  
 Virtutum mores regulat arte sua.

## Av. 15. De la cornille qui but l'iaue par son engin.

- Une cornille soif avoit.  
 En un champ une ourcelle avoit  
 Ou il avoit yave mout pou;  
 Elle n'avoit pas si lonc cou  
 5 Ne si lonc bec qu'elle y peüst  
 Avenir tant qu'elle y beüst,  
 N'a terre ne la peut verser.  
 Si se commence a pourpenser  
 Que puisque force ne li vaut  
 10 A engin pourchacier li faut.  
 Pierrettes prent et amoncelle,  
 Puis les porte et giete en l'eurcelle  
 Tant que l'iaue amonter convint  
 Si que la cornille y avint  
 15 Et en but tant comme il li post plere.  
 La moralité.  
 Qui de ce compte voudra traire  
 La mouelle dessous l'escorce,  
 Saiche mieux vaut engin que force.  
 Par engin et soubtivité  
 20 Fuiſt l'en diserte et povreté.  
 Se tu gouvernes par prudence  
 Tu ne pues avoir mescheance;

8. Potendi *P.* facillum *L.*

8. prebunt nuda *P.*

9. pudencia *P.*

1. corneille *b c* (and in verse 94).

2. rucel *P.*, pertuis *c.*

11-12. substituted in *c.*: Comment au  
 pertuis puisse foire Si assemble madame

noire Beaucoup de pierrettes ensemble Si  
 les bouta si com me semble.

12. prent et gette ou rucelle *P.*

13. amont *L.*, om. *P.*; Ens que leaue monter  
*c.*

14. Si que cornaille *P.*

15. quil li *P.*, com lui *b c.*

19-24. om. *b c.*

Et se prudence te conduit,  
Ja ne trouveras mal conduit.

XVI. DE SIMIA ET DVOBVS SIMINERCVLIS.  
AV. XXXV.

(Illustration)

- Fama est quod geminum profundens simia partum,  
Diuidit in uarias pignora nata uices.  
Namque unum caro genitrix eduxit amore,  
Alterius odiis exaturata tumet.
- 5 Ceperat ut grauior fetam terrore tumultus,  
Dissimili natos condicione rapit.  
Dilectum manibus uel pectore gestat amico,  
Contemptum dorso suscipiente leuat.  
Sed cum lassatis nequeat consistere plantis,
- 10 Oppositum fugiens sponte reliquit onus.  
Alter ab hirsuto circumdans brachia collo  
Heret et inuita cum genitrice fugit.  
Mox quoque dilecti succedit in oscula fratris,  
Seruatus uetulis unicus heret auis.
- Moralitas
- 15 Sic multos neglecta iuuant atque ordine uerso  
Spes humiles rursus in meliora refert.
- Addicio
- Quod uile est carum, quod carum uile putemus;  
Sic tibi nec cupidus, huic nec auarus eris.

Av. 16. Du singe et de ses deus singés.

Uns singes deus singés avoit;

tit. symia L. sinina P. syminerculis L.  
siminerculii P. possibly intended for simiercu-  
lis.

1. profundens MSS. symia L.
4. exaturata B P.
6. Dissimilli L. Dissimilis P. condicione L.
7. nichil L.
8. suscipiente P.
9. lassatis L. constitere P. plantis B P.
10. relixit MSS.

11. hirsuto MSS. circumdans L.
12. inuica L.
13. succedit P. ostula L.
14. uetulus P. immicus P.
15. neglecta B L. neglecta P. uerso om. P.
16. melior P.
18. Sid B P.

1. deus singes singes B.

- L'un plus que l'autre conjoioit,  
 L'un tenoit vis et l'autre chier.  
 Un jour issirent pour chacier;  
 5 Le singe veneur acueillirent,  
 Li brachet apres lui saillirent.  
 Le singe folie ne pense,  
 Volentiers se mest en deffense.  
 Le singé que il amoit tant  
 10 En son bras celi singe prent,  
 Car de l'autre ne li chaut gueres;  
 Mès il l'aort au cul darrieres  
 Com cils qui ne fu mie fols,  
 Si qu'il se met dessus son dos;  
 15 Maugré lui convient qu'il l'emport.  
 Li cors grieve au singe mout fort  
 Et le fes de ses deus singos,  
 Ne puet courre n'aler le tros.  
 Celi lesse qu'en son bras tient,  
 20 Et l'autre a porter li convient,  
 Quelque talent que il en oit,  
 Et lest celi qui plus amoit.  
 Pour ce est que la chose vile  
 Tu ne desprises ne n'avile,  
 25 Car ce qui est vil or en droit,  
 Puis devendra de bon endroit,  
 Et pourra venir a desir,  
 A estouvoir et a plesir.  
 N'i ose plus riens reclamer,  
 30 Si s'en prent a cestui amer,  
 Si le nourrist et le tient aise,  
 Il le porte et acolle et baise.

2. amoit *c*; Dont lun haioit et lautre amoit *b*.

3. Vis *om. P*.

6. Les braches *b*, Les braiques *c*.

7. qui de fourir pense *b c*.

9. Le singet *b*, Son singot *c*.

10. celui singet *L*.

11. Garde *B P*.

12. il a art *P*, il aert au coul *b*, Lautre se prent au col *c*.

15. emporte *P*; llaugre sien *b c*.

16. cours *L*.

20. emporter *P*.

21. il en nest *P*, en ait *b c*.

22. que *L*, que plus amest *P*.

23-28. *om. b c*.

30. Si se prent *L P b c*; two verses inserted *c*.

31. this verse omitted *B P*; a aise *b*, bien aise *c*.

32. le prent *P*.

## La moralité.

Maintes choses sont bien blasmees  
 Qui après ce sont bien amees,  
 35 Et tel est povre et haïs ores  
 Qui riche et amé iert encores.  
 Pour ce dit l'en, mien escient:  
 Qui enfant voit ne voit nient.—

XVII. DE ANTIQVO BOVE ET TAYRO IVVENCULO.  
 AV. XXXVI.

## (Illustration)

Pulcher et indomita uitulus ceruice resultans  
 Sculpentem assidue uiderat arua bouem.  
 'Non pudet, heus,' inquit 'longeuo uincula collo  
 Ferre nec expositis ocia nosse iugis?  
 5 Cum michi subiectas pateat discursus in herbas  
 Et liceat nemorum rursus opaca sequi.'  
 Sed uerbis senior nullam compressus in iram,  
 Vertebat solitam uomere fessus humum,  
 Donec deposito per prata liceret aratro  
 10 Molliter herboso procubuisse thoro.  
 Mox uitulum sacris innexum respicit aris,  
 Admotum cultro cominus ire uidet.  
 'Hanc tibi tristis,' ait, 'dedit indulgencia mortem,  
 Expertem nostri que facit esse iugi.  
 15 Proderit ergo graues quamuis perferre labores,  
 Ocيا quam tenerum mox peritura pati.'

## Moralitas

Est hominum sors ista magis felicibus ut mors  
 Sit cita, cum miseros uita diurna regat.

## Addicio

Ocia si uites, periere cupidinis artes,  
 20 Ac delicatis ocia busta parant.

34. apres sont ce *L*.36. riches et ames *P b*; est *b*.37-38. om. *b c*.38. noiant *L*; cf. Av. 14. 29.tit. om. *P*. tauro om. *B*.1. resultas *P*.2. Sulpentem . . . aruat bouam *P*.4. occia nosse *MSS*.5. peteat *P*.6. nemoris *B P*. opaca > opata *B* optata *P*.8. Vertebar *P*.9. Donc *L*.10. herbose *MSS*. procubuisset *P*.14. Ex parcem *B*.15. proferre *MSS*.16. quem *MSS*.18. Sit tua quem . . . negat *MSS*.19. perirere > periere *P*.20. delitatis (dilitatis *P*) . . . busca *B P*.  
occia *MSS*.

Semper quid facito ne te fallax inimicus  
 Torpentem capiat, per sua lora trahat.  
 Efficit ac nutrit labor hic animos generosos;  
 Proficit absque deo nullus in orbe labor.

**Av. 17. Du viel buef et du juesne toriau.**

- Un viel buef aroit a charrue.  
 Un toriau qui regibe et rue  
 Pour la juesnesce ou il estoit,  
 De li moquer s'entremetoit,  
 5 Et li a dit: Sire viellart,  
 Mout estes fols, se Dieu me gart,  
 Que ne faites que achener,  
 Vous travillier et vous pener,  
 Et de moi ne vous chaut noient  
 10 Qui ci me vois esbanoient  
 Par devant vous fraint et delivre,  
 Ainsiques franc puissiés vous vivre.  
 Se sans ce jo voussissiés estre,  
 Comme je qui joer et pestre  
 15 Vois la ou je vuil sans dongier  
 Et si a assés a mengier.—  
 Le buef qui a apris a trere  
 Et bien savoit qu'en devoit fere,  
 Sueffre et escoute sens mot dire,  
 20 Et tout en eust il duel et ire.  
 Avant que passat le semaine  
 Voit ce torel que l'en amainne  
 En un mostier pour mort souffrir  
 Et pour en sacrefice offrir  
 25 Si que il eschaper n'em puet.  
 Cils qui voit qu'a mourir l'estuet  
 Li dit: L'occive ou as esté  
 T'a ce peril ci apresté.—

21. *om. B add. in margin m. 1. aliquid MSS.*

2. qui reue *b.*

5. viellat *B.*

7. ahener *L.*, ahenner *b c.*

11. franc et *L b c.*, frain a *P.*

12. franc *follows* vous *P.*

13. ce y *b*, ce jouc *c.*

14. iouer est *P.*

16. ai *L P.*, ay *b c.*

25. il *om. P c.*

27. loysive *P.*, laise *c.*

## La moralité.

- Mieux vaut longuement painne traire  
 30 Que juesne morir sans riens faire.  
 Le labour fait noble coraige;  
 Si com dit Seneque le saige:  
 Se tu d'oiseuseté n'as cure  
 Tu n'auras accès de luxure;  
 35 Cils qui delicieusement  
 Vivront, morront isnelement.—  
 Fais donques aucun pou de bien,  
 Ou autrement, je te di bien,  
 Li anemis t'enlacera,  
 40 Vergongne et honte te fera.  
 Ne te pues si mediciner  
 Qu'il ne te face trainer;  
 Mès se tu te vues travaillier  
 Sans trop dormir, et bien veillier,  
 45 Et que vuilles a Dieu entendre,  
 Penser convient devendras cendre  
 Et seras mis en une fosse;  
 De sept piés est ce chose grosse.  
 Tu trouveras la medecine  
 50 Qui de mort runge la racine.

XVIII. DE VVLPE REPREHENDENTE PARDVM.  
 AV.XL.

## (Illustration)

- Distinctus maculis et pulchro pectore pardus  
 Inter consimiles ibat in arua feras.  
 Sed quia nulla graues uariarent terga leones,  
 Protinus hiis miserum credidit esse genus.  
 5 Cetera sordenti dampnans animalia uultu,  
 Solus in exemplum nobilitatis erat.  
 Hunc arguta nouo gaudentem uulpes amictu

31-50. *om. b c.*33. *doisiuete L, doiseute P.*38. *Outrement P.*45. *Que tu vueilles P.*46. *comment L.*1. *perdus L.*2. *ibant P.*6. *exemplum P.*7. *amittu B L amitu P.*8. *uarias MSS.*

- Corripit et uanas approbat esse notas.  
 'Vade,' ait, 'et picte nimium confide iuente,  
 10 Dum michi consilium purius esse queat.  
     Moralitas  
 Mirenturque magis quos munera mentis adornant,  
     Quam qui corporeis enituere bonis.  
     Addicio  
 Nobilitas sola est animum quod moribus ornat;  
     Nobile cor superat nobilitate sua.  
 15 Nobilitas morum prefertur corpori toto;  
     Nobilium ritus fama uetusta facit.  
 Omne hominum genus est per Christum nobilitatum;  
     Nobilitas eius transbeat omne genus.  
 Filius est missus ut seruos nobilitaret;  
 20 Applaudens illi nobilis omnis erit.

Av. 18. De Renart et de la ourse.

- L'ourse pour sa piau desguisee  
 En vouloit estre mieux prisee;  
 Autre dient, c'est une beste  
 Qui de la pel et de la teste  
 5 Resamble la belle panthere  
 A qui autre ne se compere,  
 Tant par y a couleur diverse;  
 L'en dit qu'elle repaire en Perse.  
 Et si dit par l'ame son pere  
 10 Que beste contre li ne se pere  
 De noblesce ne de biauté,  
 Car ou monde n'a pas auté;  
 Et pour ce le grieve et desdoingne  
 Qu'autre beste a li s'accompaigne.  
 15 D'ours, de cheval, ne de lion

9. *ninium P. confido MSS.*  
 11. *adornat > adornant B m. 2.*  
 12. *Que MSS. enituere L enituere bonis*  
*repeated P.*  
 13. *Nobilitas . . . et P.*  
 15. *prefretur P. in corpore MSS.*  
 17. *Homme . . . nobilitatum P.*

20. *erit om. P.*

- tit. Dou renart et de lourse L.*  
 1. *Lorpeau pour son poil desguise c.*  
 2. *prise c.*  
 3-8. *om. c.*  
 5. *pentelle P.*  
 9. *Et jure par larme c.*

- Ne doit l'en faire mention  
 Envers li, ce li est avis;  
 Tous li samblent sales et vis.  
 Le renart, qui tant scet de guile,  
 20 Vit que cils desprise et avile  
 Les autres, et se prise et loe,  
 Si li dit en faisant la moe:  
 Amis, cuides tu que miex vailles  
 Pour ta piau ou tant a de mailles,  
 25 Don les .ii. non mie les trois  
 Ne valent un petit pouiois?  
 Tu te fais de ta piau mout cointes  
 Pour les mailles qui y sont pointes,  
 Mès je ne pris riens tel pointure  
 30 Ne ne m'i fi ne m'asegure.  
 Se Dieu a en toi biauté mise,  
 Pour ce les autres ne desprise;  
 Car un leit saige est plus prisé  
 Que n'est un biau fol desguisé.—  
 35 Ainssi Renart celi reprent.  
 La moralité.  
 Biauté nulle a sen ne se prent;  
 Biauté ne vaut riens sans savoir,  
 L'un et l'autre fait bon avoir.  
 Telle est la tres vraie noblesce  
 40 Qui bonnes meurs ou cuer adresce.  
 Le noble cuer tretout seurmonte,  
 Le noble cuer les membres doubte.  
 Nobles sont fais d'ancienneté  
 Par biaux fais et par netteté.  
 45 Toutes voies tout crestien  
 Puet dire: Hors sui de lien  
 Et des bues de servitude,  
 Se Jhesu Cris es siens me habute,  
 Car de haut lieu vint sa noblesce,

19. regnart *c.*26. pouiais *P*, tournois *c.*30. nasegure *L P*, ne ne masseure *c.*32-34. *one verse substituted c*: Jay sens en  
 moy que trop mieulx prise.35. *this verse om. BP*; regnart *c.*37-72. *om. b c*; *first six verses of Epilogue*  
*follow.*38. *this verse repeated P.*40. *en cuer P.*



- 50 De paradis par droit adresce  
 Ou oncques vilains ne habita,  
 Ou vilenie nulle giste a.  
 Oncques vilains n'i demoura,  
 Ne cultiva ne labora.
- 55 Et toutes fois li nobles homs,  
 Afin que fust faite resons  
 De l'offense du premier pere,  
 Vint ci souffrir la mort amere.  
 Li fils de Dieu naturellement
- 60 Vost faire le rachatement  
 Pour ce que fussent anobli  
 Qui deüssent estre en obli,  
 Qui estoient a mort dampné,  
 Tuit cil qui estient de Adam né.
- 65 Par l'euvre de la Trinité  
 Fu le monde tout visité.  
 Mais li fils Dieu tant seulement  
 Prist vrai corps precieusement  
 Et descendi de sa hauteuse;
- 70 De son pere, de sa forteresce,  
 Descendi par porte doree  
 Ci aval en nostre contree.

XIX. DE MIMO NVPTIALI DIRECTO PER LITERAS  
 AD ROBAM HABENDAM. [*Not in Av.*]

(*Illustration*)

Addicio

Impetit ecce fores prebendari ioculator,  
 Clauigerum credens flagitat ausus herum.  
 Accedit dominus; flagrans oloserica uestis  
 Alterius falerat tergula iamque mimi:

5 'Promissam domini uestem fueram stipulatus;

59. filz dieu de *L.*

62. dusse *P.*

64. estoient *P.*

2. Clauigerom *P.*

3. Accedat *MSS. Robert corr. Hervicus.*  
 oloberica *L.* oloberita *B P Robert corr. Hervicus.*

4. fallerat *L Robert fallit Hervicus.* unum  
*Robert.*

5. fueram stipulatus *om. Robert.* stiplantus  
*P.*

tit. nupciali directo nupi (*nupi expunged*)  
*L.* post nuptias *Robert.*

1. increpat *Robert.* prebendati *MSS. Robert*  
*præbendati Hervicus.* ioculator *P* fabula-  
 tor *Robert.*

Ex hac non fient turgida dorsa michi.'

Moralitas

Non cognoscuntur homines pro ueste lutosa;

Non habitus monachum, set pia uita facit.

Dissimulare statum quandoque pericia magna est;

10 Uti cautelis sic aliquando iuuat.

Av. 19. D'un menestrier enuoié de l'espose pour avoir une robe d'un  
chenoine de Troies.

Uns menestrier venoit des noces

En disant: Or m'aïst Saint Joces,

Car je suis tres bien assené,

Solas en sera demené;

5 Assenés suis a vaillant homme,

Ne puis faillir a bonne somme

Ou au mains a bon garnement;

Ne fu si eureux garnement.—

Arriva soi chiés un chenoinne,

10 Lettre son affaire tesmoingne.

Le seigneur treuve en sa maison,

En son jardin en la saison,

Qui estoit vestu d'un buriau;

N'estoit pas fourré d'escuriau,

15 Mès estoit fourrés de moutons,

Dont sales en yver gentons;

Cuida que fust son porte-livre:

Sire, dist il, bien puissiés vivre!

Ou est le seigneur de l'ostel?

20 Li sires li baille un ostel.—

Certes il est en sa chapelle,

Ou patrenostre et miserelle

Dit, et vuet oir le service.—

Foi que je doi a saint eglise,

25 Dit le menestrier, il estuet

Que robe aie dou mieux qu'il puet,

6. curgida *L* gurgida *B P Robert.* mihi  
*Hervieux.*

8. moñchum *P.* sed *Hervieux.*

9. peritia *Robert Hervieux.*

10. sit *B P.*

1. *this fable om. b c.*

7. moins *L.*

8. si enuieux *L,* cy eureus *P.*

11. treuve *om. P.*

16. *this verse om. P;* goutons *L.*

24. sainte *L P.*

- Car messires a li m'envoie.  
 Li compains à mout tres grant joie,  
 La m'a tourné mon paiement.  
 30 Dehas ait il se il me ment!—  
 Helas, amis, trop tart venés!  
 Uns autres y est assenés;  
 Il emporte la bonne robe,  
 J'en cuidoie estre forment gobe.  
 35 Messires la m'avoit promise;  
 Plus ne me gardera de bise  
 Ne ventera sus mes costés.—  
 Le varlet dit: Ostés, ostés.—  
 Je m'en vois, dit le menestrier,  
 40 Eureus ne sui ne hui ne hier.  
 Chascune vielle son duel pleure.  
 Ne fais yci bonne demeure.—

La moralité.

- L'en ne congnoist pas la personne  
 Par la robe quant elle est bonne,  
 45 Ne pour la robe qui est sale,  
 Pour ce n'est la personne male.  
 Ainsiques bien sont amourettes  
 Dessous buriaus com soulds brunettes.  
 Robes qui sont de grant arroi  
 50 N'affierent qu'a royne ou a roy,  
 Ou ceuls qui sont de leur maisnie,  
 Con dit Jhesus le fils Marie,  
 Qui nous vuille si assener  
 Qu'avec li nous vuille mener.

28. tres om. L.

45. la la P.

51. lignice P.

53. vueille si enseingnier P.

**Av. Epilogue. Comment l'acteur a compilé ces livres avecques aucunes additions en l'onneur de madame la royne.**

- Or est tamps que je doie entendre  
 A Dieu loer et graces rendre  
 Pour cui je me suis entremis  
 De ce livret ci, ou j'é mis  
 5 Ce que me samble qui bon est  
 De Ysopet et d'Avionnet.  
 Aucune chose ai trespasé,  
 Et aucune autre ai amassé;  
 Ajousté y ai aucun compte.  
 10 La moralité tout seurmonte.  
 De venter ne vuil faire feste  
 Que j'aie fait tout de ma teste;  
 Mès en ai trouvé plus grant partie  
 De compilé, se Dieus m'aye,  
 15 Et du françois et du latin,  
 Qu'ont esté par lever matin  
 Translaté et par grant estude,  
 Par tieux qui n'ierent fol ne rude.  
 Je qui suis des autres le pis  
 20 Après le grain cuil les espis  
 Si comme fist Ruth la courtoise,  
 Qui fu dame sans nulle boisse.  
 Qui n'a le grain, praingne la paille;  
 Ainsi comme il est, le vous baille.  
 25 Toute science vient du Pere  
 De lumiere, de ce me pere;  
 En celi met mon parement  
 Le doubs Jhesu Crist, qui ne ment;  
 Tout bien de quoi homme est imbué  
 30 Estre li doit attribué.  
 Dire li devons comme estable:  
 Tes sers sommes non profitable;  
 Tout le bien qui puet estre dit  
 Descent de vous sans contredit;

4. jay c.  
 5. bon ait c.  
 6. de ammonnet L.  
 7-86. om. b c.  
 8. autre en masse P.  
 18. ne fol ne P.

20. cuilliez espis P.  
 21. ruth fist L.  
 22. this verse om. P; boise L.  
 23. praingne la om. P.  
 25. science uience uient B.

- 35 Toute chose avés fait pour homme,  
Ci devons dire toute somme:  
Vous Dieu tres deboinare fins,  
Nostre vie estes, nostre fins.—  
En l'onnour de ma dame chiere,
- 40 La royne a tres belle chiere,  
Madame Jehenne de Bourgoingne,  
Ou n'a ne mante ne vergoingne,  
Fille du duc d'icelle terre,  
Ceste matiere ai volu querre,
- 45 Pour li trouver esbatement,  
Aus juesnes gens enseignement;  
Et mesmement quant est yvers  
Et le tamps est fors et divers,  
Si que l'en ne puet chevauchier,
- 50 Ains se convient au feu cachier,  
Ne puet l'en mouvoir de la chambre;  
Lors est bon que l'en se ramembre  
D'aucun livre ou narration  
Ou n'ait de mal occasion.
- 55 Si comme dit Caton le saige:  
C'est de l'ver le vasselaige  
De regarder les jugemens  
Qu'ont esté fais es parlemens.—  
De ce me passe ci briefment
- 60 Sans faire lonc sermonnement,  
Car n'a mestier de ma doctrine  
La saige dame bonne et fine.  
Le saige devient par ouïr  
Plus saige et le sen conjoïr
- 65 Si comme Salemons l'escrit,  
Ainsi le trouvons en escript.  
Avoir la vuille en sa garde  
Le roy puissant qui trestout garde,  
Le roy Phelippe son seigneur,
- 70 Le lignaige sus tous greigneur,

37. debonnaire *L*, debonnaire *P*.41. iehanne *L P*.43. dou duc *L*, du roy de celle *P*.45. li *om. P*.43. dou duc *L* du roy de celle50. Ainsi *L*, chauffer *L*.51. *this verse in margin B.*54. naist de ma *P*.55. chaston *P*.60. sermonnent *B*.64. le *om. B P*.70. Leur *L*.

- Leur enfans, toute la lignié  
 De France, qui tant est prisié;  
 Qu'après les ennuis de ce monde  
 Soient ou tous soulas habonde,  
 75 Mon seigneur ne vuil trespasser  
 Le duc, mès li vuil amasser,  
 L'ainsné fil du bon roi de France,  
 Qui est de justice balance,  
 Madame Bonne sa compaignie,  
 80 Qui de bonté porte l'ensaingne.  
 Ne samble pas estre rimé  
 Qui n'est clerement exprimé,  
 De sa belle succession  
 De ses enfans pour qui prion,  
 85 Que Jhesu Cris le roi de gloire  
 Avoir les vuille en sa memoire.

*(The following by a later hand in B:)*

Cest le livre des fables de ysopet moralisé en  
 latin et en franchois ou il y a quatrevingts et trois histoires  
 Le quel est a monsr. Charles de Croy Comte De Chimay  
 CHARLES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES (OTHER THAN THOSE OF ANIMALS) IN  
THE FRENCH TEXT

- Adam Av. 18.64. [Av. 1.28].  
 Argus Ys. 55.35, 45.  
 Aristote Ys. 55.69.  
 Athenes Ys. 59.3.  
 S. Augustin Ys. 52.67.  
 Avionnet Av. Prol. 3; Epil. 6.  
 Bonne Av. Epil. 79.  
 Calabre Ys. 62.26.  
 Caton Ys. 36.76; Av. Epil. 55.  
 Cesar Ys. 59.47.  
 Chartrouisiens Ys. 47.6.  
 Courtois Ys. 42.119; Av. 14.26 (*Courtois d'Arras, jeu du XIIIe siècle*, éd. E. Faral, Paris, Champion, 1911; first published by Méon, *Fabliaux*, I, 356, Paris, 1808. It was already pointed out by Robert, *op. cit.*, I, 21, and II, 512, that this adaptation of the parable of the Prodigal Son is referred to in the two passages in our text.)  
 David Ys. 60.21; Av. 1.28.  
 Dieu *passim*.  
 S. Dominique Ys. 64.11.  
 S. Esperis Ys. 28.51; 61.37.  
 Fortune Ys. 42.67, 73, 91; 68.53, 55; Av. 6.16, 18, 23.  
 France Av. Epil. 72, 77.  
 S. François Ys. 64.11.  
 S. Fraubert Ys. 48.65.  
 S. George Ys. 52.72.  
 S. Gucriis Ys. 48.77.  
 Hersen (madame) Ys. 15.36.  
 Jehan (mestre) Ys. 61.62, 77.  
 Jehanne de Bourgoigne (la royne) Av. Epil. 41.  
 Jhesu Crist Av. 18.48; 19.52; Epil. 28, 85.  
 Job Ys. 64.35 (reference to Book of Job, V, 1 ff.)  
 S. Joces Av. 19.2.  
 Jupiter Av. 3.1, 10; 7.1; 13.1.  
 Justinien Ys. Epil. 29.  
 S. Marie Ys. 61.98. Av. 19.52.  
 S. Matherin Ys. 48.43 (a church in Paris).  
 Maubert (place) Ys. 48.66.  
 Montpellier Ys. 8.7.  
 S. Nicholas Ys. 64.7.  
 Noe Ys. 61.34.  
 Paris Ys. 48.37.  
 S. Pere Ys. 2.15; 29.14.  
 Perse Av. 18.8.  
 Phebus Av. 13.6, 15, 19, 34.  
 Philippe (le roy) Av. Epil. 69.  
 Picardie Ys. 18.39.  
 S. Pols Av. 5.2.  
 Puille Ys. 62.26.  
 Romme Ys. 25.22; 40.39; 68.25.  
 Ruth Av. Epil. 21.  
 Salemon Ys. 36.83; 52.45; Av. 1.30; Epil. 65.  
 Salerne Ys. 41.10.  
 Sanson Av. 1.29.  
 Seneque Av. 7.31; 17.32.  
 S. Silvestre Ys. 64.10.  
 S. Siquaut Ys. 47.20.  
 Thais Ys. 66.2.  
 Troyes Av. 19. title.  
 Ysopet Ys. 21.18; 24.38; Epil. 44, 47; Av. Prol. 2; Epil. 6.

NAMES OF ANIMALS IN FRENCH TEXT, WITH REFERENCE TO THE ROMAN  
DE RENART (MARTIN'S EDITION)

- Bernat l'archeprestre (l'asne), Ys. 17.29; (54.11): Ren. XI.2056.  
 Blanche la brebis, Ys. 31.7.  
 Brichemet le cerf, Ys. 31.5: Ren. I.412, 1564 (Brichemers).  
 Hauteve la grue, Ys. 8.8.  
 Hersen (?), Ys. 15.36: Ren. II. 1045 (Madame Hersent la louve).  
 Renart, Ys. 4.8; 13. title, 3, 4, 8; 15.4, 10, 18, 22, 25; 33. title, 1, 8, 16, 17, 23, 27, 31, 37. title, 2, 5, 10, 47; 43. title, 7, 17, 26; 35, 47, 56, 63; 53.3, Av. 18, title, Ren. I. and *passim*.  
 Rouveau li matin, Ys. 51.2, 5, 23: Ren. I. 1317 (Rooneax), 1558 (dant Rooneel le mastin); VI.353 (Roonaus li viels mastins).  
 Tiercelin le corbiau, Ys. 15.1, 10, 26; 34.2, 25: Ren. I.1318 (don Tiecelins li corbeax).  
 Ysangrin le loup, Ys. 29.10; 43.1 (Sire Ysangrin le connestable), 16, 48, 55; 47.1, 11; 51.1; 57.1: Ren. II.1036 (Ysengrin le connestable), and *passim*.

## LATIN GLOSSARY

The brief list appended contains only the most unusual words, such as do not occur at all in the ordinary Latin lexica, or else in a different form, or usage. The following works have been consulted in preparing this list: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; *Harpers' Latin Dictionary* (Lewis and Short); *Forcellini, Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*; *Georges, Ausführliches lateinischdeutsches Handwörter-*

*buch, Vol. I eighth edition, Vol. II seventh edition*; *Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*; *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. When it is said of a word, a form, or a meaning that it 'does not seem to occur elsewhere,' or that 'I do not find it elsewhere,' the statement is to be understood as applying to the above mentioned works only.

amphibolia. Aes. LI 27: De domino seruum duplex facit amphibolia. *If the text is sound, which is not quite certain, the meaning would seem to be, 'A two-fold uncertainty (i.e., in addition to the ordinary uncertainty of life to which everyone is subject, the additional uncertainty of being subject to the whims of a master) makes a master (i.e., of himself) into a slave.'*

antidotum. Aes. XL 31: Innuit antidotum fieri decursus amoris. 'Reward, recompense.' *This general, metaphorical sense seems not to be attested elsewhere.*

apparens. Aes. XV 13: Qui nimis apparens cupit (sc. esse) est inglorius ipse. 'Conspicuous, prominent.' *Compare Du Cange, s.v. Lex apparens.*

balbito. Aes. LXIII 6: Orans in cinere balbitat ipse catus. *Probably in the sense of balbutio, 'talk indistinctly, mutter,' here perhaps 'purrr.' Compare balpito (balbuto a) in Corp. Gloss. III 164, 57. The French translator took the word apparently in the sense of \*barbito, 'mumble through one's beard' (?). Compare Schol. Juv. cod. Leid. 3, 186 balbitondium.*

barberius. Aes. XXVII 20: Barberius ueteres et coquus atque canis. 'Barber.' *See Du Cange, s. v.*

bassum. Av. XVI 21: Si fugis in bassum cupias transcendere sepe. 'The deep, the depths.' *See Thes. L. L. and Du Cange, s.v.*

bucella. Aes. XII 33: Est melior panis michi letificata bucella. 'Cheek, cheekful, mouthful.' *See Thes. L. L. III 2227, 3 ff.*

buticularius. Aes. LVIII tit.: De buticulario et Iudeo. 'Butler.' *See Du Cange, I 795, col. 3.*

capriso (= caprizo). Aes. XXIX 7: 'Sta procul,' edus ait, 'caprisas gutture falso.' 'Play the goat, bleat like a goat.' *Compare Du Cange, s.v. caprizans.*

confortatiuus. Aes. XXVIII 18: Confortatiua spes solet esse metus. 'Giving comfort, or strength against.' *The word seems to occur elsewhere only in the literal sense of a stimulating medicine. See Thes. L. L. s.v.*



- discolus. Aes. XLVIII 16: Magnus honoretur discolus atque bonus. *The same as dyscolus, see Du Cange, s.v.*
- dogmatizo. Aes. LXIII 1: Mus genuit murem, dogmatizauit eundem. 'Teach, instruct.' *The construction dogmatizare aliquem seems not to occur elsewhere.*
- dulcorosus. Aes. XLVI 19: Attrahit ad finem dulcorosum bona uita. *The same as dulcis, the original of the French doux, see Du Cange, s.v.*
- dulcesso. Aes. VIII 10: Nil dulcessit eis omnis amare quies. *A variant spelling of dulcesco.*
- faueo. Aes. XXXIX 14. Discere uelle faueret moriturus homo. *This use of faueo with the infinitive in the sense of cupio seems to be an echo of Ovid, Her. VI 99 f. adscribi. . . se fauet, although the text is doubtful here and facit is frequently read. Compare also Ennius, Ann. 419 (Vahlen), spectare fauentes.*
- filus. Aes. LXII 12: *See the apparatus criticus ad loc. For filus instead of filum see Corp. Gloss. II 538, 13 and 550, 26.*
- formula. Aes. XXXIII 8: formula uasis, and 10 formula. *The word does not seem to appear elsewhere in the mere sense of forma.*
- nocumentum. Aes. XXXII 12: Ne facias aliis imprudenter nocumentum. 'Injury.'
- nullitus. Av. III 17: Nullitus imponas onus importabile nulli. 'By no means, not at all.' *Formed after the analogy of funditus, diuinitus. I find no other instances of the word.*
- obsons. Aes. III 4: Obsontes animos florida lingua polit. 'Evil, hurtful, harmful.' *Formed on the analogy of insons. I find no other instances of the word.*
- postero. Aes. LIX 20: Illecebras carnis posterat ipse dolor. 'Follow, succeed.' *I find no other instance of the word in this sense.*
- prebendarius. [Av.] XIX 1: Impetit ecce fores prebendari (*see app. crit.*)  
iocular. 'One who receives a stipend, prebendary.' *See Du Cange, s.v.*
- predux. Aes. LVIII 4: Firmat ut accepto preduce tutus eat. 'Guide, leader.' *See Forcellini and Du Cange, s.v.*
- relatiuus. Aes. XXXVI 34: Ore relatiuo dulcia uerba sonet. 'That makes return.' *I do not find this meaning elsewhere, but compare Du Cange, s.v. vice relatiua.*
- roba. [Av.] XIX tit.: ad robam habendam. 'Robe, garment.' *See Du Cange, s.v.*
- sectum. Aes. XXXVI 8: Regia secta premo. *The same as pauimentum sectile, 'mosaic.' I do not find the word elsewhere.*

siminerculus. Av. XXXV tit. De simia et duobus siminerculis (*see app. crit. ad loc.*). *The word seems not to appear elsewhere, and is perhaps corrupt.*

sincopo. Aes. XIII 12: Maiorem pauper sincopat arte sua. 'Cut down, humble.' *For sincopo, but this sense does not seem to occur elsewhere.*

subpedito. Aes. LXI 30: Amplexatur eam subpeditando celer (*see app. crit. ad loc.*). 'Conquer, subdue.' *See Du Cange, s.v. subpeditare. 'Vincere, superare, quasi sub pedes ponere.'*

suscula. Aes. XX 1: Vult lupus ut pariat maturum suscula fetum. *Metri gratia for sucula. This form does not seem to occur elsewhere.*

transbeo. Av. XL 18: Nobilitas eius transbeat omne genus. *Forcellini and Georges*, s.v. quote *Isidore, Orig. XIX 24. 8*, 'Trabea autem dicta quod in maiori gloria hominem transbearet, hoc est ultra et in posterum ampliori dignitate honoris beatum faceret.'

PLATE I

## PLATE I

*P* top of fol. 1<sup>a</sup>  
" bottom of fol. 1<sup>a</sup>  
" after Latin text of introduction  
fol. 1<sup>b</sup>  
" Aesop no. 1  
" " " 2  
" " " 3

*P* Aesop no. 4  
" " " 5  
" " " 6  
" " " 7  
" " " 8  
" " " 9

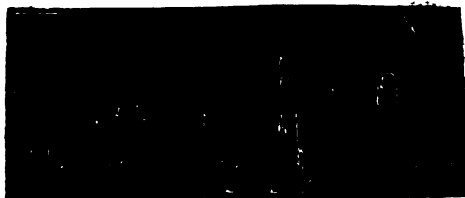
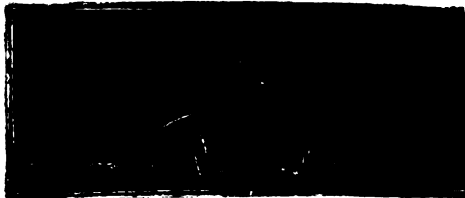
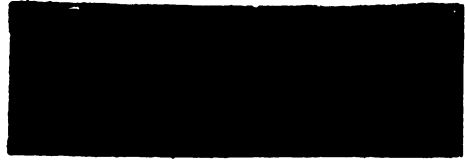
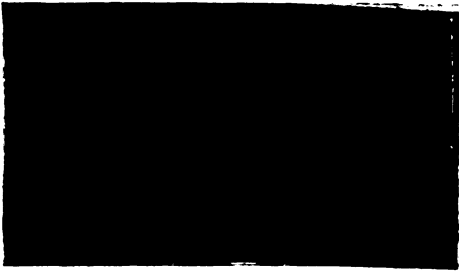




PLATE II

## PLATE II

*P* Aesop no. 10

" " " 11

" " " 12

" " " 13

" " " 14

" " " 15

" " " 16

*P* Aesop no. 17

" " " 18

" " " 19

" " " 20

" " " 21

" " " 22

" " " 23



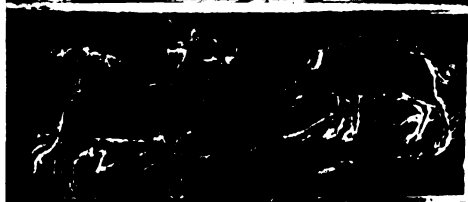


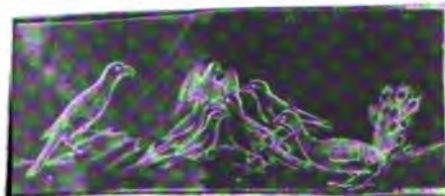
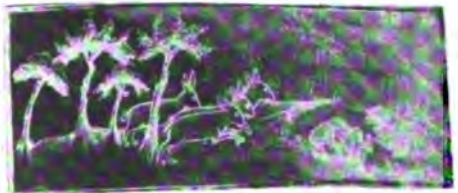


PLATE III

## PLATE III

P Aesop no. 24				P Aesop no. 30			
"	"	"	25	"	"	"	31
"	"	"	26	"	"	"	32
"	"	"	27	"	"	"	33
"	"	"	28	"	"	"	34
"	"	"	29	"	"	"	35

### III





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**PLATES**

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**PLATE IV**

## PLATE IV

<i>P</i> Aesop no. 36				<i>P</i> Aesop no. 43			
"	"	"	37	"	"	"	44
"	"	"	38	"	"	"	45
"	"	"	39	"	"	"	46
"	"	"	40	"	"	"	47
"	"	"	41	"	"	"	48
"	"	"	42	"	"	"	48



# IV

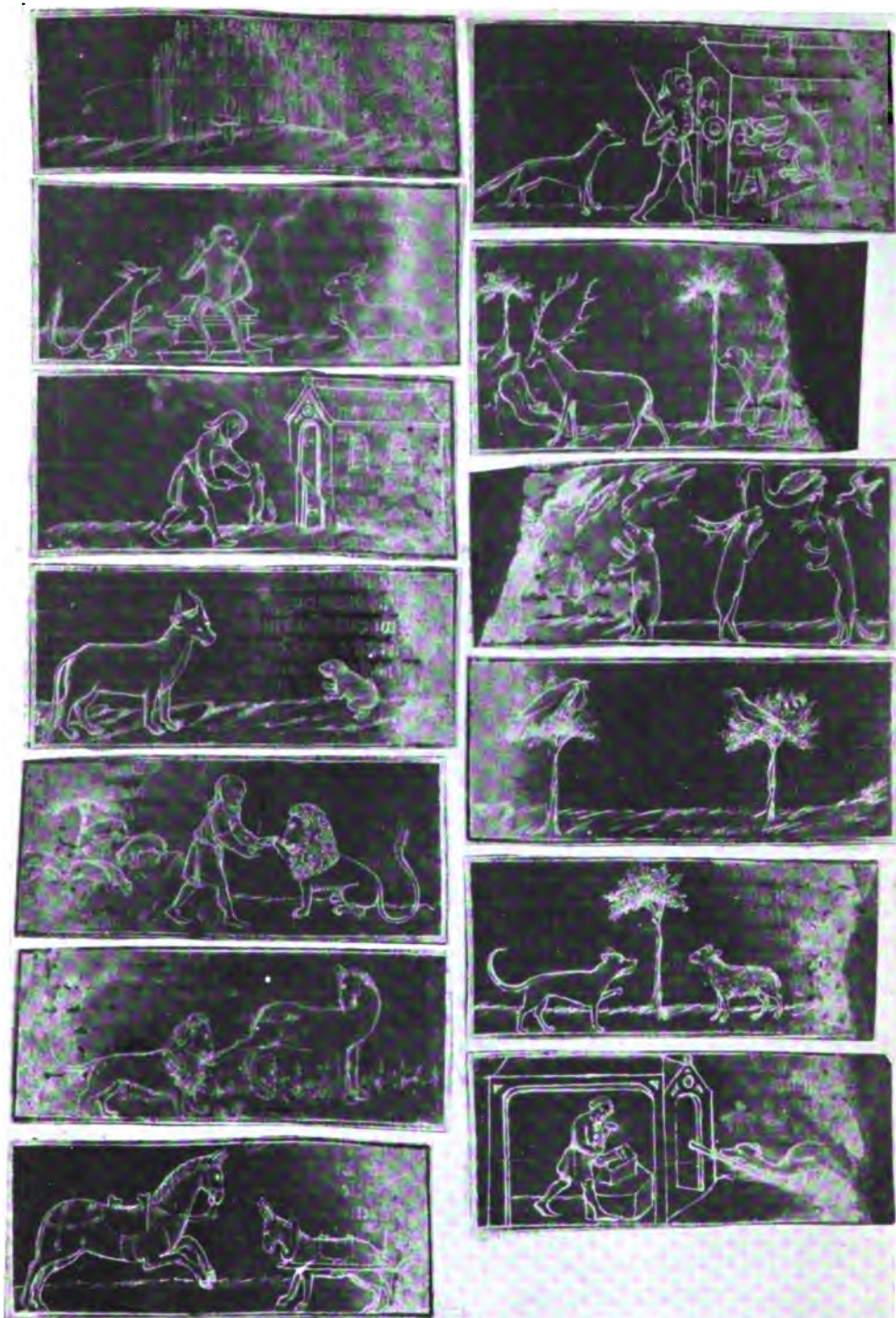




PLATE V

## PLATE V

<i>P</i> Aesop no. 49	<i>P</i> Aesop no. 55
" " " 50	" " " 56
" " " 51	" " " 57
" " " 52	" " " 58
" " " 53	" " " 59
" " " 54	" " " 60

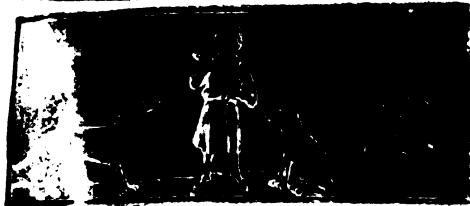




PLATE VI

## PLATE VI

<i>P</i> Aesop no. 61	<i>P</i> Aesop no. 63
" " " 62	" " " 64

<i>P</i> Avianus no. 1 (1)
" " " 3 (2)
" " " 4 (3)







PLATE VII

## PLATE VII

<i>P</i>	Avianus	no.	9(4)	<i>P</i>	Avianus	no.	14(7)
"	"	"	10(5)	"	"	"	15(8)
"	"	"	12(6)	"	"	"	16(9)

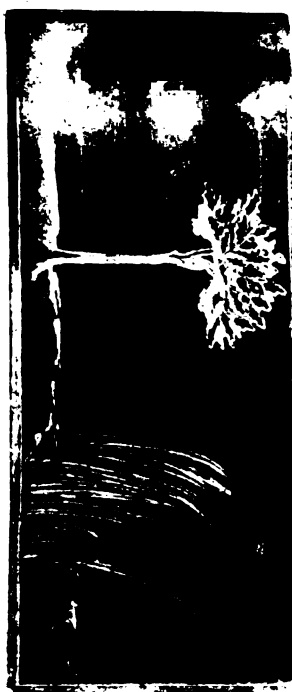
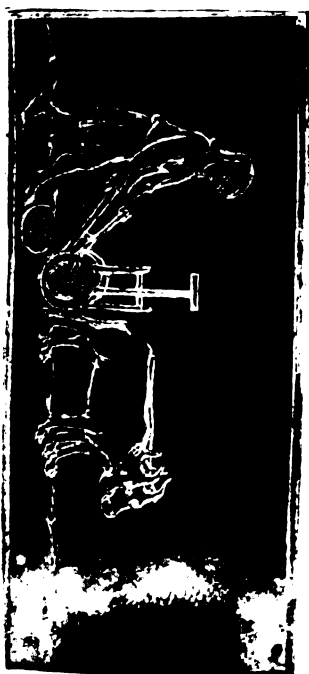




PLATE VIII

## PLATE VIII

*P* Avianus no. 18(10) *P* Avianus no. 22(13)  
" " " 19(11) " " " 25(14)  
" " " 20(12) " " " 27(15)







**PLATE IX**

## PLATE IX

*P* Avianus no. 35(16) *P* Avianus no. 40(18)  
" " " 36(17) " " " 19(add.)  
*B* Aesop " 6 *L* Aesop " 6

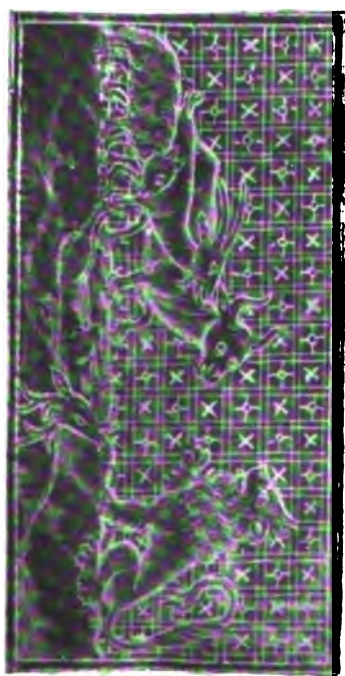




PLATE X

## PLATE X

*B* Aesop no. 7  
*L* " " 14  
*B* " " 16

*L* Aesop no. 7  
*B* " " 14  
*L* " " 16



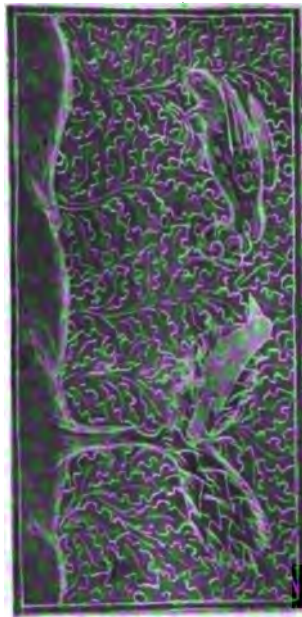
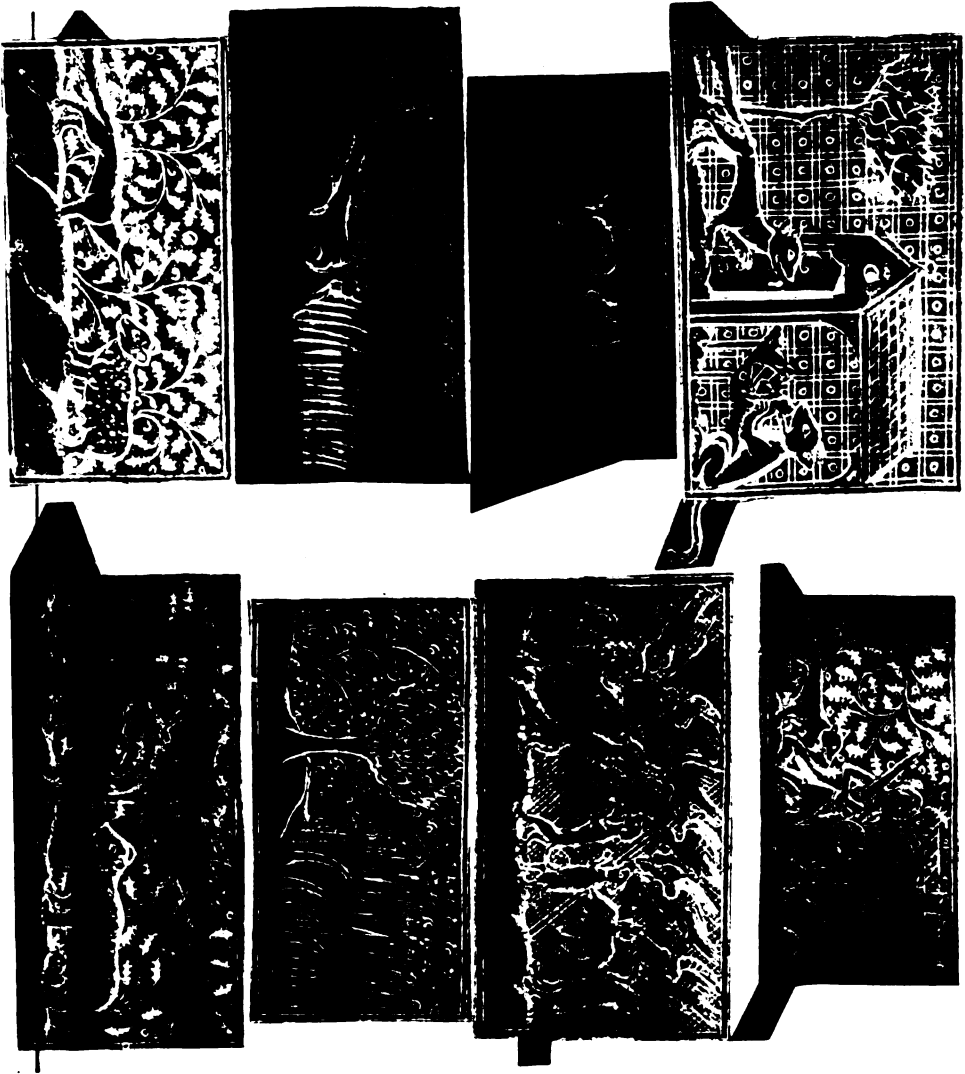




PLATE XI

## PLATE XI

<i>L</i> Aesop no. 43	<i>B</i> Aesop no. 43
<i>B</i> " " 45	<i>L</i> " " 45
<i>L</i> Avianus no. 16(9)	<i>B</i> Avianus no. 16(9)
<i>B</i> " " 40(18)	<i>L</i> " " 40(18)

















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